Manuale di Storia della Chiesa

PREFACE

THIS work is the product of over twenty years of almost continuous application on the author's part to the study and teaching of church history. It has been his constant endeavor in every part of the volume to incorporate the best results of recent research, and to furnish to his readers information at once trustworthy, impartial, and fairly adequate on every topic discussed.

While the work has grown out of the author's own needs and experiences as a teacher, and is primarily intended as a text-book for theological seminaries and universities, he believes that it is equally adapted to the requirements of ministers of the gospel and of intelligent laymen throughout our great Baptist constituency. As he has conscientiously striven to record the facts as he has found them, without distorting them in the slightest degree in favor of any particular view of history, or any peculiar tenets of his denomination, he sees no reason why the work should not be acceptable and useful to members of other denominations as well as to those of his own. The recognition given to the author's fair-mindedness and freedom from partisanship by leading scholars of other denominations who have reviewed his earlier works induces the hope that this also will find a large number of sympathetic readers in the various bodies of evangelical Christians.

It has long been the conviction of the author that a place should be given to church history in the *curricula* of all colleges and universities. A number of leading American universities have followed those of England and Germany in giving to the history of the Christian religion a place side by side with Greek and Roman history and philosophy, mediæval and modern political history, constitutional history, the philosophy of history, the history of philosophy, comparative religion, sociology, etc., as

fundamental to the effective study of humanity. If, as is unquestionably true, Christianity has been a chief factor in the production of all that is best in modern civilization, its history should be relegated to no subordinate place among the instruments of general culture. It is little creditable to the Christian colleges and universities of the United States that this important department of study has been to so large an extent neglected.

A text-book on this subject, scientifically prepared and free from partisanship, should encourage professors of history to include the history of Christianity in the courses they offer, and it is the author's earnest desire that this work may contribute in some small measure to the more extended study and the better understanding of the greatest movement in human history.

The bibliographies interspersed through the volume, and which it is believed will add greatly to its value, are meant to be neither absolutely inclusive nor absolutely exclusive of the literature actually used in its preparation.

To Rev. Joseph Leeming Gilmour, B. D., of Hamilton Ont., one of the most scholarly of our younger ministers, the author is indebted for valuable assistance in the preparation of the Index.

The second volume, completing the work, is in course of preparation and will be published, it is hoped, before the close of next year.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY

LITERATURE: Sections on Church History in the Theological Encyclopedias of Räbiger (English translation), Hagenbach (English translation, with additions by Crooks and Hurst), Zöckler's "*Handbuch der Theol. Wissenschaften*," Cave's "Introduction to the Study of Theology," Drummond's "The Study of Theology," and Schaff's "Propaedeutics"; Introductions to the Church Histories of Schaff, Gieseler, Hurst, Moeller, Niedner, Kurtz, Döllinger, Alzog, Hergenröther, Funk, and Kraus; Fisher, J. A., "Bibliography of Church History," 1885; Dowling, "Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History," 1838; Smyth, E. C., "Value of the Study of Church History in Ministerial Education," 1874; Smith, H. B., "Nature and Worth of the Science of Church History" (in "Faith and Philosophy," 1877); De Witt, "Church History as a Science, as a Theological Discipline, and as a Mode of the Gospel" (in "Bibliotheca Sacra," 1883); McGiffert, "The Historical Study of Christianity" (in "Bibliotheca Sacra," 1893); Stanley, "Lectures on the Study of Ecclesiastical History" (in "History of the Eastern Church," 1872, Introduction); Bright, "The Study of Church History" (in "Waymarks of Church History," 1894).

I. DEFINITION AND SCOPE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

HISTORY in its broadest sense is the setting forth in literary or oral form of the development in time of the divine plan of the universe, in so far as this development has become an object of human knowledge. This definition involves a recognition of the fact that the universe was planned and created and has been continuously sustained and ordered by an infinite God. Human history would include a narration of all that is known of the origin of mankind and of the development of human nature in all its aspects and under all circum-

stances. Sacred history is the setting forth of the known facts of man's development as it has been affected by the providential, inspiring, and self-revealing presence of God.

Church history is the narration of all that is known of the founding and the development of the kingdom of Christ on earth. The term church history is commonly used to designate not merely the record of the organized Christian life of our era, but also the record of the career of the Christian religion itself. It includes within its sphere the indirect influences that Christianity has exerted on social, ethical, æsthetic, legal, economic, and political life and thought throughout the world, no less than its direct religious influences.

The history of Christianity has much in common with the history of other systems of religion, and much that is peculiar. Religion is a universal factor in human life. The religious life of every organized people has a history of its own. Each of the great world-religions has had its origin, its growth, its influence on the social, ethical, and political life of the peoples that have professed it, has undergone changes by virtue of the influence of the other elements of life and thought by which it has been surrounded, has been modified by contact with other systems of religion and philosophy, has developed forms of worship, sacred rites, sacred books, sacred persons and classes, sacred places, methods of propagating itself, and theories of the origin and development of the race and of the goal of human history. The religion of Jesus Christ entered upon its career amid Jewish surroundings. Jesus himself as a man was consciously a member of the Jewish community. His early disciples were all thoroughly imbued with the principles of Judaism. By special divine grace a select few were marvelously preserved from the contamination of error. But as Christianity made its way throughout the Jewish and pagan world it was inevitable that it should be profoundly influenced by the current modes of thought and life and that its polity, doctrines, ordinances, worship, ethical conceptions, and ideals of life, should be assimilated in some measure to those of the world in which it had its being. It may be said in general, that just

in proportion as the Christianity of any age and land has submitted to the worldly influences that have been brought to bear upon it has its development approximated that of heathen religions.

In the above definition of church history it is presupposed that the human race is in an abnormal state, alienated from God, and that the end of Christianity is the restoration of man to a condition of obedience to God and communion with him. The history of the church should show, therefore, the progressive accomplishment of this divine purpose through the centuries, taking full account of the obstacles that have presented themselves to the triumph of Christianity and the means by which they have been surmounted.

II. HISTORIOGRAPHY, OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE.

As the aim of the church historian should be to ascertain and to represent the exact facts in their relations to each other and to the times and circumstances concerned in each case, it is manifestly desirable that in the process of investigation he should deal as impartially with his materials as does the chemist with his specimens. The end and aim of all his research should be the accurate ascertainment of facts in order that truth may emerge. It is incumbent on him to guard scrupulously against allowing his judgment to be swayed by the supposed bearing of the facts on the traditions of his denomination or his own individual opinions.

On the other hand, it is neither practicable nor desirable that the church historian should be indifferent to the subject-matter of his science or that he should be so destitute of convictions as to form no moral judgments on the opinions and acts of parties and individuals whose history he studies and seeks to expound. As a matter of fact, the great mass of those who are in a position to devote their lives to research in church history have been so conditioned by reason of their known convictions and ideals. It is not the scholar who is without personal interest in Christianity and who studies its history in a purely scientific spirit, that is likely to enter into the fullest appreciation of the facts of church history; but

the scholar who is most profoundly imbued with the spirit of Christianity, rejoices in all that is Christlike and heroic, laments the corruptions and perversions of the past, and is most deeply concerned for the honor and purity of the Christianity of the present and the future. Christ is the truth. The church historian must be above all things truthful and truth-loving. That any one who claims to be a follower of Christ should seek to advance the cause of Christ by the suppression of facts or by the suggestion of falsehood is so anomalous as to be incredible were not undoubted instances, ancient and modern, so numerous. The truth-loving church historian will seek to be as scrupulously just to individuals and parties from whom he fundamentally differs as to those with whom he fundamentally agrees. He will be as reluctant to credit disparaging statements against the former, when insufficiently supported by evidence, as to discredit such statements against the latter without adequate reason. The prevalent practice in the past has been to credit every statement that bears against one's opponents and to discredit every statement unfavorable to one's friends. The following points of view may be here discriminated :

1. The Romanist, maintaining that all authority, that of the Scriptures included, inheres in the church ; that the church has the right to legislate independently of Scripture ; that as vicar of Christ on earth the pope possesses of right universal dominion, spiritual and secular, will of necessity study and write church history from a hierarchical point of view. Convinced that "the greater glory of God" is involved in the realization of the aims of the hierarchy, he will regard everything as praiseworthy and justifiable that has ministered to the upbuilding of hierarchical power and that the church has approved, and everything as heretical and worthy of reprobation that has opposed the development of the hierarchical scheme. It is evident that the Romanist, as such, is disqualified from treating objectively the facts of church history. He is not even able to view the facts subjectively as conforming or not conforming to the standard set up by his own personal moral judgment. The standard is an objective one, fixed by church authority.

2. The Anglo-Catholic, accepting as supreme the authority of the ancient undivided church as represented by the Fathers of the first six centuries or more specifically by the canons of the first four General Councils, and laying the utmost stress on apostolic succession, church perpetuity, and catholicity, as marks of the church, will inevitably write church history with a view to establishing the identity of his own church with the church of the Fathers, and the historical derivation of its episcopate from that of the early church, and so from the apostles. It were not to be expected that he would deal sympathetically or fairly with Christian individuals or parties who do not bear his "marks" of churchmanship.

3. The advocates of ecclesiastical development, holding that Christ and his apostles did not design to prescribe or exemplify a definite form of church organization that should be perpetually binding, but that the Christian life which embodied itself in a particular form of organization suggested by and adapted to the needs and circumstances of the apostolic time may assume a thousand other forms, under as many varying circumstances, will attach comparatively little importance to changes in ecclesiastical order and in doctrine from age to age. He will show, *e. g.*, by reference to the circumstances and needs of the times, how and why the simple congregational order of the primitive churches gave way first to presbyterial government, then to simple episcopal, then to prelatical, and at last to papal. He will regard each stage as the natural, if not necessary, outgrowth of antecedents and environments, and while he will not hesitate to condemn corrupt practices, he will be slow to condemn any ecclesiastical institution as such. Freed from the necessity of defending any particular form of Christianity as exclusively valid, he will be in a position to treat sympathetically, with reference to the circumstances of their times, even the most corrupted and distorted forms of Christianity, and especially will he be interested in all efforts, however misguided, to bring about reforms. Such is the position of the great mass of modern German students of church history, and it is among these that we find the closest approximation to true objectivity of treatment combined with deep interest

in every form of Christian life, organization, and doctrine. English Broad Churchmen occupy essentially the same position, but have not busied themselves largely with church history.

4. He that sees in the precepts and example of Christ and his apostles, as embodied in the New Testament Scriptures, an authoritative standard for all times and all circumstances, will look upon any deviation from this standard as obnoxious to the spirit of Christianity. While admitting that apostolic church order is given only in outline, and that much has been left open and free for determination from time to time by the wisdom of bodies of believers organized in the apostolic way, practising apostolic ordinances, and subject continually to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, he will refuse to give his approval to any violation of what he regards as the fundamental principles embodied in the apostolic norm. Yet in view of the speedy and almost complete departure of the post-apostolic churches from the apostolic church order, and of the fact that thenceforward to the present time so large a part of the Christian work that has transformed the world has been accomplished by churches and individuals whose church order, doctrines, and manner of life have fallen indefinitely short of the apostolic requirement, he will judge as charitably as possible those who do not appear to have been willful perverters, but who may be supposed to have been led astray by early training or the force of circumstances, and will rejoice in all that is Christlike and noble in life, in thought, and in deed. While he will be ever alert to discover the existence and to trace the history of individuals and parties that in times of general apostasy have earnestly attempted to restore the apostolic form of Christian teaching and practice, he will guard scrupulously against perverting the facts in this interest; and while he may strongly suspect that if the facts were all known, apostolically organized churches and apostolic types of teaching and life would cut a far larger figure in certain periods than appears from materials at present available, he will be content to state precisely what he finds authentically recorded, and to give his reasons for thinking that the facts may have been more favorable than the extant

documents reveal. The church historian who feels bound in his own life, doctrine, and practice by the apostolic norm should be the most truth-loving, the most charitable, the most fair-minded, the most unpartisan of all. He should be able to exemplify the very best sort of objectivity in his investigation and exposition of the facts of church history. Knowing that truth is mighty and must ultimately prevail, he will believe that a statement of the exact facts in each case will better subserve the cause of truth than any partial or distorted narrative could possibly do.

III. SOURCES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

These embrace all the contemporary information on Christian life, thought, organization, and achievement in each age and country, extant in written or other form. The following specifications may be made:

1. *Contemporary Christian literature of every kind.* (1) Edificatory writings show the ideals of Christian life that prevailed, the evils that had to be guarded against, the methods of using and interpreting the Scriptures, and the current types of teaching. (2) Apologetical literature shows the attitude of the church of each age toward the world and of the world toward the church, and usually embodies the philosophical conceptions that underlie the Christian thinking of the time. (3) Polemical literature reveals the antagonistic forces at work in each age among professing Christians, and while it often gives evidence of the presence of intolerance and partisan rancor and shows little appreciation of the position of opponents, it is exceedingly valuable as furnishing the materials for the history of doctrinal development. (4) The canons of synods and councils and the collections of rules and regulations for the guidance of the churches in matters of discipline belonging to each age and country, throw much light on the practical working of organized Christianity. (5) Creeds, usually formulated as a result of controversy and generally embodying either compromise statements or the opinions of the dominant party, have their obvious uses as materials for church history. (6) Liturgies and hymns produced by and for the

churches of each age and country embody the prevailing ideals of worship and reflect the religious life of the times. (7) Correspondence, public and private, embodying in many cases the frank expression of the opinions of leading actors on current events, is often of the highest value. (8) Papal decretals, rescripts, bulls, briefs, etc., present in concrete form the claims of the hierarchy from time to time, and the methods employed for securing recognition of hierarchical authority. (9) Imperial and royal edicts, capitularies, and other enactments in relation to ecclesiastical matters, have their obvious uses. In fact, civil and ecclesiastical history are so intimately related, especially since the union of Church and State, that most civil records have a bearing direct or indirect on church history. The *Corpus Juris Civilis* is almost as important for church history as the later *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

2. *Christian Archæology*. Religious sculpture and painting, symbolical representations of religious acts and truths (as on the walls of the catacombs and on gems), inscriptions on coins and seals, remnants of church architecture, baptisteries, etc., are embodiments, each in its way, of the religious life and thought of their age, and are worthy of the attention of the church historian.

Abundant materials of all the varieties specified have been preserved, and through the industry of scholars have been made available to the student in printed form. The work of research is still going energetically forward, and it is probable that within a few years little extant material of value will have remained in concealment.

Treatises on church history, ancient and modern, are of value only so far as they are known to rest upon a critical and judicial use of the original sources.

The materials of church history are now so vast that no individual can hope to master them. The best work appears at present not in general treatises on the entire subject, but in monographs on limited periods, particular movements, particular institutions, individual leaders, etc. The general church historian must depend very largely on such monographs prepared by specialists; but he will be careful to test their results on all important matters by direct reference to the sources.

IV. THE EMPLOYMENT OF SOURCES.

1. It is obvious that if sources are to be used the languages in which they are written must be thoroughly mastered. The sources of ancient church history are mostly in the Greek and Latin languages, a knowledge of which is indispensable. Some valuable material exists in the Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, Armenian, and the various Slavonic languages, but few church historians undertake the mastery of these. For the church history of Western Europe during the Middle Ages, Latin is the principal language; but important writings are preserved in the primitive forms of the German, the Romance, the English, and other languages. For modern history the German, French, Dutch, and Italian languages are important, especially the first two.

2. The successful historical investigator must have critical insight in a high degree. A vast amount of spurious material is intermingled with the genuine literature of each age. He must be able to discriminate between the genuine and the spurious. Of genuine writings some are more trustworthy than others, owing to the character, the circumstances, and the competence of the writers. The investigator must be able to judge of the relative value of documents, and amid conflicting evidence to reach conclusions reasonably well assured.

3. Most church historians will find it convenient to make use of translations of the pertinent literature along with critically edited texts in the original languages. When translations are used for securing a general familiarity with the subject-matter, the originals should be carefully compared on all obscure and controverted points.

4. On matters of controversy we are to study carefully the documents on both sides. This is absolutely essential.

5. We are to distrust writers evidently prejudiced when they make grave accusations against opponents, unless there are other reasons for crediting such accusations. The average polemicist of ancient, medieval, and Reformation times had less regard for truth, when in the heat of controversy, than the polemicist of the nineteenth century.

6. On the other hand, admissions by partisan writers of shortcomings on their own side, or of merits on their adversaries' side, are among the best proofs of such facts, independently of the general credibility of the writers.

V. HISTORY OF CHURCH HISTORIOGRAPHY.

The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles are the earliest extant writings in the sphere of church history, the former narrating from different points of view the birth, early life, ministry, death, and resurrection of the Messiah, the latter giving an account of the missionary labors of the apostles, especially of Peter and of Paul, including Paul's two years' residence as a prisoner in Rome. Passing on to the post-apostolic time we may distinguish the following eras of church-historical writing:

1. *Ancient Church Historians.* Hegesippus (about 175–189) wrote five books of "Memoirs," from which Eusebius quotes, but which are unfortunately lost. He seems to have given chief attention to the rise and growth of heresy, and to Jewish sects. Eusebius speaks of him as a converted Jew. Eusebius of Cæsarea (260–340) is entitled to be called "the Father of Church History." One of the most learned men of his time and as the courtier of the Emperor Constantine possessed of every facility for gathering materials and composing a meritorious work, he prepared on a comprehensive plan a "Church History" that has held its position to the present time as the most important work on the ante-Nicene Church (1–324). The scholarly translation by McGiffert, with ample annotations,[1] is indispensable to the student of church history. He was a careful investigator, and quoted largely from many writings that have perished. That his work is uncritical and ill-arranged is a remark that would apply to all ancient and medieval treatises on the subject. His "Life of Constantine" is of the nature of a panegyric, and is too favorable to the first Christian emperor, but it contains much important matter. He also wrote a "Chronicle," in which he gave an abstract of universal history with chronological tables. In the follow-

[1] New York, 1890.

ing century Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, each in his own way, continued the Church History of Eusebius to his own time. These include accounts of the great Christological controversies, and of the struggle of Christianity with paganism during the fourth and part of the fifth centuries. Eusebius' work was translated into Latin by Rufinus, with a continuation to the death of Theodosius the Great (395). Cassiodorus, a Roman statesman, had the Church Histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret translated into Latin by Epiphanius, and himself continued the narrative to 518. This so-called "Tripartite History," along with that of Eusebius, formed the chief authority on ancient church history throughout the Middle Ages.

Sulpicius Severus, a Gallic noble and ascetic (died 420), wrote a "Chronicle," in which church history followed biblical history. His work abounds in the fabulous and is of little value. The works of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, like that of Eusebius, are available in excellent translations in the "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers." Of less importance are the Church Histories of Theodorus and Evagrius (sixth century), which were continuations of those already mentioned.

2. *Mediæval Writers.* The Middle Ages produced nothing important on ancient church history. Contemporary chronicles, often preceded by a digest of early history from the Latin translations of the writings mentioned above, represent the achievements of the age in this department. Lives of the saints, full of fables, abounded. Several compilations of universal history were produced, but these are of little value.

3. *Church Historians of the Reformation Time.* The Protestant Revolution, which was a revolt against the corruptions and the tyranny of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, called forth the "Magdeburg Centuries" (1559–1574), written by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Wigand, Judex, and others. It is a vast and monumental effort to vindicate the Protestant position by an exhibition of all that is most disreputable in the history of medieval Catholicism. Stress is laid upon the protests against Rome that were made from time to time, and much valuable material is brought forward by these scholarly and indus-

trious writers. The work is excessively polemical, but served a useful purpose. It called forth the learned and voluminous "Ecclesiastical Annals," edited by Baronius (1588), who had at his disposal the resources of the Vatican Library. Baronius' work, which embraced only the first twelve centuries, has been continued by various writers to 1585.

In France, Bossuet attempted to vindicate the Roman Catholic Church against Protestant attacks, and to destroy the foundations of Protestantism by his "Discourse on Universal History" (1681). The voluminous work of Tillemont, a Jansenist nobleman, on the first six centuries,[1] was based upon an industrious and somewhat critical study of the sources, and was written in a spirit of moderation. It is still of value.

An epoch-making book was the "History of the Church and of Heretics," by Gottfried Arnold (1699). Deeply pious and somewhat mystical, he used his great learning in an effort to show that what had commonly been stigmatized as heresy was really the effort of primitive Christian life and principles to assert themselves in the face of bitter persecution. His voluminous work was looked upon with disfavor by his contemporaries, but is now highly appreciated by impartial scholars.

4. *Recent Church Historians.* Mosheim (died 1755) is justly called "the father of modern ecclesiastical history."[2] His "Institutes of Ecclesiastical History" (1755) has been translated into English and widely used. He was learned, critical, and impartial, and did much toward popularizing the study of church history. He followed the century method, and in this respect belongs to the older time, but he surpassed most of his predecessors in philosophical insight and comprehensiveness of view. His most valuable work was probably his "Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before Constantine the Great" (1753).

Three German writers of the first half of the present century deserve special mention, because of the intrinsic value of their works and the stimulus they gave to research on the part of others. They followed close upon

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[1] "Memoirs," etc., 1693, *seq.* [2] Moeller.

the emancipation of thought from the old confessionalism and the remarkable development of the critical spirit about the beginning of the century, and in different ways exemplify the modern spirit of research and the determination to deal impartially with all religious parties.

Gieseler's "Text-book of Church History"[1] consists of a brief but very carefully prepared outline, with copious citations from the sources made with marked discrimination. It is still the best manual for such students as are able and willing to utilize the citations.

Neander, well characterized by Schaff as "a child in spirit, a giant in learning, and a saint in piety," "led back the study of history from the dry heath of rationalism to the fresh fountain of divine life in Christ, and made it a grand source of edification as well as instruction for readers of every creed." His "General History of the Christian Religion and Church" (1825–52) was translated into English by Torrey, and in this form reached its twelfth American edition (besides English and Scotch editions) in 1881. It has probably had a wider influence in English than in German. Besides this large general work he published many valuable monographs.

Baur, more generally known as the father of the Tübingen school of New Testament critics, was a church historian of the foremost rank. Of his "History of the Christian Church," published in part after his death (1860), only the portion covering the first three centuries has appeared in English (three volumes, London, 1878). His works on the apostolic age, while revolutionary and destructive, gave a stimulus to research that has borne abundant fruit. His "History of Christian Doctrine" (1865–67) is among the most valuable of his works.

Among the excellent manuals of church history recently published in Germany may be mentioned those of Hase (eleventh edition, 1886; English translation, 1873); Niedner (latest edition, 1866); Ebrard (1865); Rothe (1875); Herzog (1876 onward); Kurtz (tenth edition, 1887; English translation, 1888–90); Moeller (three volumes, 1889 onward; English translation, 1892 on-

[1] 1824 onward; the best edition is the English translation by H. B. Smith, 1857 onward.

ward); and Karl Müller (two volumes, 1892 onward). The two latest are also the best. Among modern German Roman Catholic works on church history may be mentioned those of Alzog (English translation in three volumes, 1874 onward); Döllinger (second edition, 1843; English translation, four volumes, 1840–42); Hergenröther (third edition, 1884–86); Kraus (third edition, 1887); and Funk (second edition, 1890). These are all works of learning, and show the influence of Protestant methods.

British scholarship has not devoted itself zealously to general church history. The only work that deserves mention is Robertson's "History of the Christian Church" (second edition, in eight volumes, 1874). Smith's "History of the Christian Church During the First Ten Centuries" (1880), is a good compilation. Many valuable monographs, especially on the early church and the Middle Ages, have appeared.

In America the largest and most comprehensive work is Schaff's "History of the Christian Church" (1882 onward; Vol. I.–IV. and VI.–VII. have appeared; Vol. V. was left incomplete, and will be edited by Prof. D. S. Schaff). This work, written in the spirit of Neander, combines fullness of information with popular qualities to a remarkable degree. Other recent works of merit are those of Sheldon (four volumes, 1896), Fisher, Dryer, and Hurst. Hurst's "History of the Christian Church" (two large volumes, 1897 onward), based upon the latest researches, written in excellent spirit and in elegant style, has an unusually full bibliography and specially prepared maps, and is in almost every respect a model work.

The best recent works on the "History of Doctrine" are those of Harnack (three volumes, 1886 onward, English translation in course of publication); Loofs (third edition, 1893), the best brief work in German; Sheldon (1886); and Fisher (1896).

VI. PERIODS OF CHURCH HISTORY.

From what has been said regarding the nature and scope of church history, it is evident that the only way

in which it can be studied to advantage is by dividing the nineteen Christian centuries into periods, and by selecting from each period a convenient number of topics for special consideration. The division into periods is somewhat arbitrary, and historians differ considerably in their delimitations. The following division seems, on the whole, the most advantageous:

1. From the birth of Christ to the end of the Apostolic Age (about 100).

2. From the end of the Apostolic Age to the conversion of Constantine (312).

3. From the conversion of Constantine to the founding of the Holy Roman Empire by Charlemagne (800).

4. From the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor to the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution (1517).

5. From the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution to the Peace of Westphalia (1648). This latter event almost synchronizes with the temporary overthrow of monarchy in England, and with the temporary ascendency of dissenting parties over the prelatical church.

6. The era of modern denominationalism (1648 to the present time).

The choice of topics in each period will depend on the judgment of the historian as to what features of the life and thought of the age are most characteristic and significant.

VII. SUMMARY OF REASONS FOR STUDYING CHURCH HISTORY.

1. History is acknowledged by all to be one of the most valuable instruments of intellectual culture. Church history is so essential a part of universal history that the history of humanity would be incomplete and unintelligible without it. Universal history is best understood when Christ is regarded as the central figure, for whose advent the past, with its systems of religion, philosophy, and government was, in an important sense, a preparation; and when Christ's church, under his guidance, is recognized as the aggressive and conquering power in modern history.

2. Without a knowledge of the history of the Christian church in all its departments and relations it is

impossible to understand the present condition of Christianity with its multitudinous sects, its complicated doctrinal systems, and its variegated forms of organization, life, and worship.

3. The history of the Christian church is, in one aspect, the history of Christian life. To know how the people of God have, from age to age, struggled and suffered and triumphed will tend to prepare us to meet the trials that always beset the Christian life; to know how large a proportion of those that have professed Christianity have lived in sin and dishonored the name of Christ will tend to put us on our guard against a similar failure, and to prevent us from despairing when we see how imperfectly many of those around us fulfill their Christian duties.

4. The study of church history enables us to see the working of great principles through long periods of time. Church history is a commentary on the Scriptures. For every teaching of Scripture we can find many a practical exemplification. We can show, as it were, experimentally, how every departure from New Testament principles has resulted in evil—the greater the departure the greater the evil. The study of church history, while it may make us charitable toward those in error by showing us examples in all ages of high types of religious life in connection with the most erroneous views of doctrine, will not tend to make us disregard slight doctrinal aberrations; for we shall know that the most corrupt forms of Christianity have had their origin in slight deviations from the truth.

5. It may be said with confidence that the great mass of minor sects have been formed by those ignorant of church history, and that a knowledge of church history on the part of their founders would have prevented their formation. A widely diffused knowledge of church history would tend powerfully toward a unification of thought as to what Christianity should be, and would be highly promotive of Christian unity. On the other hand, a knowledge of the vast results that have followed from the emphasizing of particular aspects of truth in the past would tend to prevent an underestimate of their importance in the present.

6. The history of the Christian church furnishes the

strongest possible evidence of the truth and assurance of the final triumph of Christianity. If Christianity has surmounted obstacles seemingly almost insuperable; if though sometimes submerged in corruption it has again and again shown itself able to shake off the accumulations of error, and then to march onward with primitive vigor; we have every reason to believe in its sufficiency for all the trials to which it may hereafter be subjected.

CHAPTER II

THE GRÆCO-ROMAN CIVILIZATION AS A PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY

LITERATURE: Histories of Greece, by Grote, Curtius, and Thirlwall; Histories of Rome, by Mommsen, Ihne, Merivale, Neibuhr, Bury, and Arnold; Döllinger, "*Heidenthum und Judenthum*" (English translation, "Gentile and Jew in the Courts of the Temple," 1862); Histories of Philosophy, by Ueberweg, Zeller, Windelband, Erdmann; Bauer, "*Das Christliche des Platonismus*," 1837; Ackerman, "The Christian Element in Plato" (English translation, 1861); Cocker, "Christianity and Greek Philosophy"; Westcott, "Religious Thought in the West," 1891; Hatch, "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church," 1890; Mommsen, "The Roman Provinces" (English translation, 1888); Schiller, "*Gesch. d. Rom. Kaiserzeit unter d. Regierung d. Nero*," 1872: Friedländer, "*Sittengeschichte Roms*," fourth edition, 1874; Renan, "The Influence of Rome on Christianity," 1880; Fisher, G. P., "The Influence of the Old Roman Spirit and Religion on Latin Christianity" (in "Discussions in History and Theology," 1880); Harnack, "Christianity and Christians in the Court of the Roman Emperors Before the Time of Constantine" (in "Princeton Review," 1878); Addis, "Christianity and the Roman Empire," 1893; Arnold, W. T., "The Roman System of Provincial Administration," 1879; Farrar, "Seekers After God," new Edition, 1892; Uhlhorn, "Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism" (English translation, 1879), and "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church" (English translation, 1883); Farrar, "Early Days of Christianity" 1882; Edersheim, "Life and Times of Jesus," 1883, Introductory; and the Introductions to the Church Histories of Neander, Gieseler, Hase, Schaff, Hurst, Moeller, etc.

I. GREEK CIVILIZATION.

CENTURIES before the beginning of the Christian era (660–324) the Greeks had wrought out a civilization that in literature, philosophy, science, and art, greatly surpassed the achievements of all other nations. Their language had been so developed as to constitute the most perfect instrument for the embodiment and conveyance of thought that had ever been known and is still unsurpassed. Their religion was a polytheistic per-

sonification of the powers of nature resting on a semi-pantheistic conception of the world. Their gods and goddesses were the embodiments no less of the baser passions of the human soul than of the nobler qualities, and the moral ideals of the people were low. The idea of sin as an offense against a holy God and as involving guilt was almost wholly absent. Sin was conceived of rather as ignorance, as a failure to understand one's true relations. There is no adequate recognition of the personality of God or the personality and responsibility of man.

II. GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

From 600 B. C. onward philosophy occupied a prominent place in Greek life and in an ever-widening circle of minds tended to undermine faith in the crude polytheism of the time. The possibilities of the uninspired human mind in speculative reasoning were well-nigh exhausted by such thinkers as Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno.

1. *Pythagoras* (582–510) seems to have derived from Egyptian or Oriental sources the doctrine of metempsychosis and that of the harmony of the spheres. Mathematics furnished the basis of his speculative system. The principles of numbers he regarded as the substance of things and as constituting the eternal and self-originated bond of the universe. His doctrine of the harmony of the celestial spheres was based upon the assumption that they are separated from each other by intervals corresponding to the relative length of strings combined to produce musical harmony. The soul he regarded as a harmony, chained to the body as a punishment. Ethical notions were expressed by the Pythagoreans in mathematical form, symbols taking the place of definitions. Pythagoras seems to have taught that the universe is in an eternal flux and that in regular cycles persons and events are repeated. Much stress was laid on a series of contrasts or antitheses, such as Limit—Illimitation, Odd—Even, One—Many, Right—Left, Male—Female, At Rest—In Motion, Straight—Bent, Light—Darkness, Good—Bad, Square—Oblong. These remind us of the æons of the Gnostics, and in other respects

the influence of Pythagoreanism on Gnosticism is manifest.

Pythagoras founded a large number of aristocratic secret societies in the Italian-Greek colonies. These brotherhoods seem to have had a somewhat rigorous ethical code and to have developed a somewhat elaborate ritual. A strict discipline, somewhat like that of monastic bodies, was maintained and the members were forbidden to propagate their views among the people.

A modified Pythagoreanism was much in vogue in Alexandria and elsewhere during the early Christian centuries, and was one of the most influential forms of Greek philosophy in its contact with early Christian thought.

2. *Socrates* (471–399) "called philosophy down from the heavens to earth, and introduced it into the cities and houses of men, compelling men to inquire concerning life and morals and things good and evil."[1] For our knowledge of his ethical and religious teachings we are dependent on his disciples, Plato, Xenophon, and Artistotle. His fundamental conception appears to have been the inseparable union of theoretical insight with practical moral excellence. He believed that virtue was capable of being taught and that all wickedness resulted from ignorance. He fostered the spirit of inquiry by his persistent calling in question of current beliefs, but thereby incurred the hostility of the authorities and forfeited his life. He supposed himself to act and speak under the impulse of a supernatural being (dæmon, *δαιμόνιον*). He defended the existence of the gods and of a divine principle over and above these partial manifestations of deity. He spoke of wisdom as present and regnant in all that exists, and as determining all things according to its good pleasure, being distinguished from the other gods as the ruler and disposer of the universe.[2] Yet he refrained from giving distinct personality to this ruler and disposer, and it is probable that his conception of the universe was monistic or semi-pantheistic. Plato attributes to Socrates an elaborate argument for the immortality of the soul.

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[1] Cicero. [2] Xenophon, "*Memorabilia*," I., 4 : 4; IV., 3 : 3, 13.

3. In *Plato* (427–347) Greek philosophy made its nearest approach to Christianity. He elaborated the thoughts of Socrates and put them into enduring literary form. No Greek writer exerted so much influence on the Jewish thought of the last centuries before Christ or on early and later Christian thought. In order to make himself master of all the wisdom of the past and of his own age he visited Egypt, Cyrene, and probably Asia Minor, and spent some time with the Pythagoreans in Italy. Sicily also was laid under contribution.

"In Plato's philosophy the expanding roots and branches of earlier philosophy are developed into the full blossom, out of which the subsequent fruit was slowly brought to maturity."[1] "Plato's relation to the world is that of a superior spirit, whose good pleasure it is to dwell in it for a time. . . He penetrates into its depths more that he may replenish them from the fullness of his own nature than that he may fathom their mysteries. He scales its heights as one yearning after renewed participation in the source of his being. All that he utters has reference to something eternally complete, good, true, beautiful, whose furtherance he strives to promote in every bosom."[2]

Plato has well been called "the philosopher of the spirit."[3] His theory of "ideas" may be regarded as the central feature of his philosophy. The "idea" is the archetype (the divine thought or plan) of which material objects are the imperfect reflection. Only the perfect idea is real; what seems to us real is only an illusion. In the archetypal world exists the idea of everything that comes into phenomenal existence. Highest among the ideas is the idea of the Good. Of almost equal rank are the ideas of the Beautiful and the True. He seems sometimes to represent these high ideas as efficient causes and even calls them gods. The world-builder (Demiurge) he seems to identify with the idea of the Good. This idea he regards as the cause of being and cognition and as the sun in the kingdom of ideas.

The prominence given to the Good constitutes his system a highly ethical one. "The highest good is not pleasure, nor knowledge alone, but the greatest possible

[1] Boeckh. [2] Goethe. [3] Hurst.

likeness to God."[1] The motive to virtue should be not fear of punishment nor hope of reward, but the fact that it is itself the beauty and health of the soul. To train its citizens to virtue is the highest mission of the State. Virtue for every individual is perfect adaptation to his calling. He seems to have taught the eternity of matter, which was devoid of quality and of proper reality until transformed and ordered by the good God. While Plato used much language that seems to imply belief in the personality of God, his teaching was fundamentally pantheistic. Some would prefer to designate his system "spiritualistic monism."

Plato's philosophy, like that of Pythagoras, profoundly affected Jewish thought during the last two centuries before Christ, and its influence on the Christian theology of the second and following centuries was great beyond computation. Says Eusebius: "He alone of all the Greeks reached the vestibule of truth and stood upon its threshold."

Bishop Westcott bears this high testimony to his important place among religious thinkers: "Plato, more than any other ancient philosopher, acknowledged alike the necessary limits of reason and the imperious instincts of faith, and when he could not absolutely reconcile both, at least gave to both a full and free expression. And so Platonism alone, and Platonism in virtue of this character, was able to stand for a time face to face with Christianity."

4. The philosophy of *Aristotle* (384–322), the greatest of Plato's disciples and the tutor of Alexander the Great, exerted far less influence on the religious thought of the pre-Christian time than that of Plato. His intellect was probably the most comprehensive that the ancient world produced. In logic and dialectics he is still supreme. His philosophy is practical and matter-of-fact rather than mystical and speculative. By virtue of his pre-eminence in systematization and formal reasoning he secured recognition among mediæval theologians as the ultimate authority within this sphere. In natural science he surpassed all the other ancients.

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[1] Ueberweg.

He rejected Plato's doctrine of ideas, maintaining that general ideas are not the only realities or causes of the individuals of a kind, but are mere mental abstractions from the individuals; that the individuals of the human race, *e. g.*, are not unreal reflections of the universal idea man, but that the universal idea man is a mental abstraction from a contemplation of individual men.

Aristotle reached a clear conception of God as an immaterial spirit who is the final cause. He proves that the assumption of such a being or principle is necessary from the evidences of design in nature. This principle or first mover he defined as essentially pure energy. If it were merely potential it could not unceasingly communicate motion to all things. It must be eternal, pure, immaterial form, since otherwise it would be burdened with potentiality. Being free from matter, it is without plurality and without parts. It is absolute spirit, which thinks itself and whose thought is therefore the thought of thought. Itself unmoved, it moves all things. It is the Good in itself and its influence is like the attraction of love. He could not conceive of God as shaping the world at any given time, but looked upon the world-framing process as an eternal one. Thought, which is the mode of God's activity, constitutes the highest, best, and most blessed life. The world has its principle in God. Aristotle approaches the Christian doctrine of a sole personal God, who at the same time is immanent in the universe and transcends it; but it is doubtful whether a recognition of divine personality is involved in his system.[1]

The aim of all moral action, according to Aristotle, is happiness, and happiness consists in living a life of action under the control of reason. This accords closely with Plato's definition of virtue. Morality presupposes freedom of will. His classification of the virtues and his definition of each show deep psychological insight.

5. Less influential than Platonism and more influential than Aristotelianism on the religious life of the pre-Christian and the early Christian time was *Stoicism*, founded by Zeno of Citium (about 308 B. C.). This system was

[1] See his "Metaphysics," IX. and XII. *Cf.* Ueberweg, "History of Philosophy," Vol. I., p. 162, *seq.*

closely related to the Socratic, and Socrates "sat for the portrait of the Stoic sage."

The most characteristic feature of Stoicism is its materialistic pantheism. In this respect it is the antithesis of Platonism. Matter and force the Stoics regarded as the two ultimate principles. Only the material is real. Matter as such is motionless and unformed. Force is the active, moving, and molding principle. The working force in the universe is God.[1]

The world as a whole is regarded as conscious and consciousness is identified with Deity. Periodically all things are absorbed into Deity, the evolutionary process beginning afresh after each absorption. This process is regarded as a necessary one.

The human soul, which is the warm breath in us, is a part of Deity and so has capacity for divine influence. It survives the body, but is absorbed into Deity at the end of the cosmic period.

As in Platonism, virtue is considered the chief end of life. Mere pleasure should never be made an end of endeavor. We should do right because it is right and without regard to consequences. Freedom from passion is the mark of the perfect man. Complete self-control and self-sufficiency, with the right and the courage to terminate life when it suits one's purpose, characterizes the Stoic sage. Stoicism produced an elevated but somewhat somber type of character in its votaries. On the ethical side it had much in common with Christianity. Its materialistic pantheism or monism was to exert a marked influence on Christian theology. The moral writings of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius are so elevated and pure in tone as to suggest dependence on Christian sources.

6. *Epicureanism* (310 B. C. onward), and the various forms of *Skepticism* that arose during the last four centuries before Christ, became the most popular forms of Greek philosophy, and exerted a baleful moral influence on the entire Greek-speaking world and, at about the beginning of the Christian era, on Roman life and thought. Epicureanism was itself essentially skeptical.

[1] *Cf.* Ueberweg, Vol. I., p. 194.

Rejecting all mythical forms and conceptions, denying the supernatural and the immortality of the soul, Epicurus taught that pleasure in the present life is the supreme end of man's being. This did not necessarily involve dissolute living, for this does not yield on the whole the greatest amount of pleasure; but the widespread acceptance of pleasure as the only criterion of conduct could not fail to lead to a debasement of morals. The Skeptics, led by Pyrrho (360–270), asserted that of every two mutually contradictory propositions one is as true as another. The distinctions between the true and the false, between right and wrong, between virtue and vice, were obliterated, and advocates of this doctrine were emancipated from any sort of moral or religious restraint. It was in this form that Greek philosophy promoted so powerfully the worse than Oriental license that sapped the foundations of Greek and Roman society.

III. THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST.

The conquest and absorption of the Greek States by Philip of Macedon (358–336), and the world conquest of the Macedonian-Greek Empire under Alexander the Great (336–323), diffused the Greek civilization, with its matchless language, literature, art, philosophy, and science, over the then civilized world. Greek became the language of government and culture in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and ultimately (after the Roman conquest of the East) in Rome itself. Antioch under the Seleucidæ became a great Greek capital and an important center of culture in which Greek and Oriental elements of life and thought were blended. Alexandria, the capital of the Ptolemies, became the greatest literary, philosophical, and scientific center of ancient times. The Ptolemies lavished their wealth on the gathering of a library and the promotion of learning. It was their ambition to collect in their library the literature of the world, and they expended vast sums in procuring translations into Greek of the chief literary productions of the past. The library is said to have reached the enormous magnitude of four hundred thousand volumes; but if so it must have had many copies

of the same works, and individual works must have been numbered by books. The ablest scholars were brought together, and liberal encouragement was given to literary production and to the work of public instruction. The Alexandrian Lyceum was more like a modern university than was any institution of ancient times.

Highly important in the development of religious thought was the formation under the patronage of the Ptolemies of populous Jewish colonies. Under the royal patronage the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek (the Septuagint version), and a large body of religious literature was produced by Greek-speaking Jews who had become imbued with Greek modes of thought (the Old Testament Apocrypha, etc.). In Philo, who lived in the New Testament time, we meet with the ablest and most elaborate effort to blend Hebrew and Greek thought, and by the application of the allegorical method of interpretation to explain away everything in the Old Testament that was out of harmony with the refined spiritualism of the current modified Platonism.

Representatives of Indian theosophy (Brahminism and Buddhism), of Persian dualism (Zoroastrianism), and of the surviving Babylonian sects seem to have availed themselves of the opportunity offered by the desire for universal knowledge that expressed itself so influentially in Alexandria, to expound their systems, and the esoteric philosophy or theosophy of the Egyptian priests emerged from the temples and made its contributions to the stock of current thought.

What is true of Alexandria applies in a measure to the cities of Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, and by the beginning of the Christian era Hellenistic influence had become almost dominant in Rome, now grown almost as cosmopolitan as Alexandria.

Greek religion, while it furnished a spiritual interpretation of nature, and while it contributed largely toward the development of æsthetic life, failed utterly to produce a pure morality, or to satisfy the religious longings of the more earnest spirits. Long before the beginning of the Christian era its foundations had been undermined by philosophical speculation, and skepticism was almost universal. The blending of Greek thought with the

theosophy of the Orient had intensified the religious yearnings of a large class of thinkers without being able to satisfy them, had brought into prominence the great problems of being, such as the origin and destiny of the world and of man, the origin and purpose of evil, the relation of the world-framer to the Supreme Being, the relation of the Supreme Being to man and to the world, the relation of matter to spirit, etc., but had failed to provide any adequate solution of these problems. Many had come to realize the need of a divine revelation, and above all of a Divine Saviour.

IV. THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

The religion of the early Romans was closely related to that of the Greeks. Its differences in development were due chiefly to the idiosyncrasies of Roman character. The Romans as a race were remarkably deficient in poetical and imaginative faculty. They were austere, practical, matter-of-fact, utilitarian. Fundamentally their religion was a pantheistic worship of nature. Everything that exists was regarded as permeated by Deity. The individual deities were partially personified abstractions of the powers of nature. As compared with the Greek religion it produced more of calm piety, was practised with more dignity and order, was more strictly ritualistic, was more carefully upheld and administered by the State, and was more practical in its subservience to the interests of the State. Images and temples were not introduced until a hundred and seventy years after the founding of the city.

Religion with the Romans was never a matter of feeling, always a matter of form. The securing of divine favor was thought to depend upon the exactitude with which all ceremonies were performed and all prayers uttered. The slightest mistake in word or gesture rendered the entire proceedings ineffective. The same rite was sometimes repeated thirty or even fifty times because of slight defects in utterance or manipulation.

Theoretically every householder was the priest of his household as the king was the priest of the State; but the necessity of having the religious rites performed by

experts gave great power to the priests. They alone had perfect familiarity with the names and functions of the gods and knew precisely what god was to be propitiated in order to secure the needful blessing or to ward off threatening calamity, and also the details of the rites by which favor was to be obtained.

Even before the founding of the republic (B. C. 509) there was a Pontifex Maximus at the head of a college of pontiffs, whose business it was to supervise all the religious affairs of the State and to give judgment in every religious cause. These pontiffs were attorneys and counselors in religious law, and as officials of the State had vast influence.

The College of Augurs were the official soothsayers, whose business it was by observing the flight of birds and other phenomena to determine the attitude of the gods toward contemplated State measures.

The Roman religion in its primitive form seems to have been highly promotive of the sterner virtues. Truthfulness and honesty, almost unknown among the Greeks, were distinguishing traits of the better class of Romans. Family life was comparatively pure, and the virtue of the Roman matron and her dignified position are proverbial. Fidelity to the State at the utmost personal cost was a common virtue and treason was by no means so common as among the Greeks. The Roman Senate at its best was the ablest, most dignified, and most honorable body known to antiquity.

From about 240 B. C. Rome came more and more under the influence of Greek religion and philosophy. The conquest of the East (including Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia) was achieved stage by stage (200–63), and Roman law and administrative order were communicated to the Hellenistic provinces; but the conqueror was vanquished by the conquered. During the entire period of contact Rome was gradually appropriating the religion and the culture as well as the luxury and license of the Hellenistic Orient.

It was the policy of Rome to tolerate and utilize for the purposes of the State the religions of conquered peoples. There was no disposition to regard its own gods as

exclusively powerful and worthy of worship. Every new god conciliated added so much to the effectiveness of the State.

Most important for our present purpose was the influence of Greek philosophy on Roman thought. It was "the rationalism of Euhemerus, the skepticism of Euripides and the Pyrrhonists, the agnosticism of Protagoras, and the atheism of Diagoras and Theodorus," that found most acceptance among the Romans during the century preceding the birth of Christ. Stoicism, with its materialistic pantheism that often expressed itself in language hardly distinguishable from pure theism, and its stern morality that repudiated pleasure and the hope of reward as motives, was never popular among the Romans; yet it profoundly influenced some of the greatest minds and made an important contribution to the development of Roman law into a system of equity of world-wide applicability.

Disbelief in the current religion had become almost universal among the educated classes before the beginning of our era; but those who were most pronounced in their skepticism insisted on its careful maintenance as a State institution and as useful for the illiterate masses.

When the republic was transformed into the empire (31 B. C.) Augustus strove in vain to check the process of decay and to restore the national religion to its pristine position. He assumed personally the office of Pontifex Maximus, thus combining in his own person the civil and religious supremacy and giving full recognition to the popular religion as an institution of the State.

The practice of apotheosizing and worshiping the emperors, however corrupt and despicable might be their characters, exerted a most degrading influence on the religious life of the empire in the early Christian time; but it introduced a common object of worship throughout its entire extent and had a distinctly universalizing tendency. Provincial assemblies for the exercise of this cult became highly important from a social and political point of view. Bringing the people together, as they did, for festive worship, they promoted political life in many ways.

The religious cravings of the people were catered to but by no means satisfied by Oriental priests, sorcerers,

soothsayers, and astrologers, who flocked to Rome and drove a thriving trade. Apollonius of Tyana (3 B. C.–96 A. D.), imbued with the spirit of the Neo-Pythagorean philosophy, practising a rigorous asceticism, and imposing on the credulity of the people by mysteries and pretended miracles, attracted many followers in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy.

The Roman Empire may be regarded as having prepared the way for the spread of the Christian religion in the following ways:

1. The Roman conquest broke down the barriers between East and West and between province and province, and welded the whole civilized world into an organic whole administered from Rome as its center. Palestine was a Roman province at the beginning of our era and Jewish rulers administered the government under Roman authority. Jews were free as never before to settle in all parts of the Græco-Roman world, and Jewish synagogues, which were in many cases to furnish opportunity for the planting and dissemination of Christian truth, were to be found in every city. A religion originating in Judea had at this time a far better opportunity to make its way throughout the world than it would have had under other circumstances.

2. The extension of Roman citizenship to individuals throughout the provinces was of immense advantage to such preachers of the gospel as possessed it.

3. The construction of excellent roadways throughout the empire for military and commercial purposes was no doubt greatly promotive of the diffusion of Christianity.

4. Apart from the excellence of the roads travel was rendered far safer than it had ever been before. The profound peace that settled over the world, the careful enforcement everywhere of law and order, made the work of the missionary comparatively easy. The Roman Empire was to the early Christian missionary what the British Empire is to the modern, with this important difference, that England favors and protects missionaries as such, while Christianity was to the Roman Empire an unlawful religion and was frequently persecuted.

5. The extension of the use of the Greek language

made it possible for the Greek-speaking promulgators of Christianity to find intelligent hearers everywhere without learning new languages.

A recent German writer says:

The task of Rome was to unite—to unite, we may say as confidently, for Christ. Born at the same time, the Roman Empire and the Christian Church were also providentially appointed for each other. The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of seed. If the seed is to be sown the field must be prepared. The Roman Empire was the prepared field. The kingdom of heaven is like leaven. If the leaven is to be mixed with the meal, the meal must be shaken together. The Roman Empire was the shaken heap of meal first of all to take up the leaven. All the peoples of the Old World hitherto had lived and labored apart, all their gains and achievements, their riches and treasures, their works of art and scientific results, their ancient traditions and legends, their gods and rites of worship, all existing elements of culture and forces of civilization, were now comprised in one empire. Other empires have exceeded this in territory and in population, but there has never been a second empire in the whole course of history which so united in itself all the cultivated nations of its time.[1]

[1] Uhlhorn, "Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism," p. 15.

CHAPTER III

PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY IN JEWISH LIFE AND THOUGHT

LITERATURE: Works of Josephus and Philo (original and English translation); Old Testament Apocrypha (original in Septuagint); Bissell, "The Apocrypha of the Old Testament with Historical Introductions, a Revised Translation, and Notes Critical and Explanatory," 1880; Ball, "The Ecclesiastical or Deutero-canonical Books of the Old Testament, commonly called the Apocrypha," 1892; "The Zend-Avesta," translated and edited by Darmesteter; Reuss, "*La Bible*," Parts VI. and VII.; Wace, "The Apocrypha," 1888; Schürer, "A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ" (English translation), 1885 onward; works on Jewish History, by Ewald (English translation), Jost, Grätz (English translation), and Stanley; Wellhausen, "*Die Pharisäer u. d Sadducäer*," 1874; Geiger, "*Sadducäer u. Pharisäer*," 1863; Cohen, "*Les Pharisiens*," 1877; Derenbourg, "*Histoire de la Palestine*," 1867; Drummond, "The Jewish Messiah," 1877; Drummond, "Philo Judæus," 1888; Dähne, "*Geschichtliche Darstellung d. jüdisch-alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie*," 1834; Gfrörer, "*Philo u. d. alexandrinische Theosophie*," 1831; Lucius, "*Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältniss zum Judenthum*," 1881; Demmler, "*Christus u. d. Essenismus*," 1880; Articles on Apocrypha (*Apokryphen*), Philo, Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Messiah, Proselytes, Dispersion (*Diaspora*), Pseudepigrapha, etc., in the Encyclopedias of Herzog-Hauck, Schaff-Herzog, McClintock and Strong, Kitto, and Smith ("Dictionary of the Bible"). For fuller bibliography see Schürer, as above, at the head of each section.

THE Old Testament history of the chosen people leaves off with the completion of the fortifications of Jerusalem by Nehemiah, notwithstanding the determined efforts of the Samaritans to prevent it, the introduction of rigorous reforming measures by Nehemiah, and the failure of Sanballat and his associates successfully to resist these measures. The date reached is about 432 B. C. The people had been delivered from their Babylonian captivity by Cyrus, king of Persia (535 B. C. onward), and the temple had been restored by Zerubbabel, under the patronage first of Cyrus and then

of Darius Hystaspes (534–515). About 457 B. C. Ezra, a scribe who had remained behind in Babylon, was commissioned by Artaxerxes Longimanus to make inquiries regarding the condition of the Jewish people in Judah and Jerusalem and to convey royal gifts of gold and silver for religious uses. He was also given authority to put in force the moral and ceremonial laws of Jehovah as he understood them, it being part of the policy of the king by thoroughly conciliating the God of the Jews to secure his favor "for the realm of the king and his sons."

I. THE EFFECTS OF THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

1. The deportation of the people was by no means complete. Many of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah had escaped to Egypt and it is probable that some remained in the land. Of the Northern kingdom a still larger proportion probably remained behind. The breaking up of external religious institutions and the pressing in of heathen peoples had resulted in an almost complete relapse of the remnant of the northern tribes into heathenism.

2. The Jews of the captivity, so far from yielding to the heathen influences by which they were surrounded, were brought by their discipline of suffering to emphasize more than ever the spiritual side of religion and to repudiate with decision everything savoring of idolatry.

3. Monotheism, long inculcated by their inspired leaders, was now thoroughly grasped by the people as such, and the licentious idolatry that had possessed irresistible attractions for the Jewish masses was now looked upon with abhorrence.

4. They were ready to welcome the conquest of Mesopotamia by the Persian kings, who professed a comparatively pure form of dualism and who abhorred the idolatry of the Babylonians, and they no doubt found means of rendering material assistance to the invading hosts. That Cyrus and his followers should show special favor to a people who welcomed their conquest and whose religious and moral ideals had much in common with those of the Persians might have been expected.

II. INFLUENCE OF THE PERSIAN CONTACT.

1. *The Persian Religion.* The religion of Cyrus and his people was a system of dualism whose elaboration is commonly ascribed to Zoroaster (about 660–583), and which is embodied in its most authentic form in the Zend-Avesta. Zoroastrianism supposes the existence from the beginning of two antagonistic principles, good and evil, each having its personal (or personified) head. Ormazd (Ahura Mazda) is the prince of the kingdom of goodness and light, Ahriman of the kingdom of evil and darkness. Ormazd was conceived of as the embodiment and author of wisdom and power, as the promoter of growth and progress, as absolutely holy and beneficent, as unspeakably glorious and fair, as supremely intelligent and watchful. He is the author and upholder of all that is good. His attributes correspond closely with those of Jehovah, the chief difference being the limitation of his power by the antagonistic energy of Ahriman. This difference is strikingly set forth in Isa. 45 : 5–7, where Jehovah says "to his anointed, to Cyrus," "I am the Lord, and there is none else; beside me there is no God: I will gird thee, though thou hast not known me: that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me: I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I am the Lord that doeth all these things." This is a most instructive passage. Jehovah to make good his soleness does not hesitate to claim for himself the functions ascribed by the Persians to Ahriman as well as those ascribed to Ormazd.

Beneath each of these primal principles is a host of subservient principles or angels, each having its particular antagonist in the opposite kingdom. The six good archangels are Vohu Manah (Good Mind), the mediator between Ormazd and man and corresponding to some extent to the Logos (Word) of John's Gospel; Asha Vahishta (Best Righteousness), the principle of cosmic order; Khshathra Vairya (the Wished-for Kingdom), representing the aspiration of the people after the universal triumph of righteousness; Spenta Armaita (Holy

Harmony), embodying the ideal of peace and good will among men ; Haurvatat (Wholeness) ; and Ameretat (Immortality). Closely related to these is Sraosha (Obedience). Standing below these are the Yazatas (Worshipful Ones), of which the chief are Mithra (Angel of Light), Rashnu (Angel of Justice), Arshtat (Truthfulness), Parendi (Riches), Ashi (Rectitude), Verethraghna (Victory), Hvar (Sun), Mah (Moon), Tishtrya (Star), and Atar (Fire). These angelic beings (or abstractions) are almost infinite in number. Each individual human soul is supposed to be accompanied by a Fravashi (Guardian Angel) who contends with the corresponding evil powers and fortifies the soul in its struggle for the right and the good.

Ahriman (Angra Mainyu) stands at the head of the demonic hosts, which are the antitheses of the hierarchy of Ormazd.

Zoroastrian dualism is advantageously differentiated from the pantheistic-polytheistic systems of the East by its doctrine of human freedom and responsibility, which furnished the basis of a relatively pure morality. Persistent choice of the good weakens the power of evil. Purity, physical and moral, is insisted on. Uprightness, charity, and generosity are constantly inculcated. The utmost stress is laid on truthfulness. Asceticism is absent from the system, and the wholesome enjoyment of what nature has provided is encouraged.

The doctrines of the resurrection of the dead and of a future life of blessedness or misery, dependent on the character of the present life and determined by a judgment following immediately the death of the body, are clearly taught. Heaven, hell, and purgatory (the latter for those whose good and evil deeds are found to have been equal), are provided for in the system.

The coming of a saviour and the final triumph of the kingdom of Ormazd, with the banishment "of the wicked, evil-doing Daevas into the depths of the dark, horrid world of hell," are clearly taught in the Avesta and the Pahlavi Texts.

Worship was addressed not only to Ormazd, but just as freely to the lower orders of angelic beings, and some of the litanies remind us of those used in the Catholic churches of the later time.

2. *Persian Influence on Jewish Thought.* This is seen (1) In the excessive scrupulosity with which the later Jews, going far beyond the prescriptions of the Levitical code, discriminated between things clean and unclean; (2) in the relative indifference to temple worship and the stress laid on popular instruction and worship as seen in the formation of village synagogues; (3) in the energy with which the later Jews resisted every effort to induce them to embrace false religions; (4) in the elaborate system of angelology and demonology found in the apocryphal books that were written during the Greek period; (5) in the book of Esther we see Judaism terribly persecuted by the later Persian power and saved by the patriotism of a Jewess, who by her charms had won the heart of King Ahasuerus; (6) the Persian influence is probably traceable as one of the elements in the Essene sect.

3. *The Synagogue and the Synagogues.* The Jews no doubt became accustomed to congregational worship apart from the temple during the Babylonian captivity. It was not to be expected that with the restoration of the temple they should forego the means of frequent edification and instruction that they had found helpful. Ezra called the people together on the Sabbath days to receive instruction in the divine law, and this practice rapidly spread throughout the land and into the dispersion. The services of the synagogues were intended not to supplant but to supplement the temple worship. The general introduction of synagogue worship marks a distinct advance in the educational status of the people. Henceforth religion was to be more and more a matter of teaching and learning. The "Great Synagogue," in a rudimentary form at least, was organized by Nehemiah, on the occasion of his second sojourn in Jerusalem (436 B. C. onward.) The religious condition of the people he found on his arrival to be deplorable. Alliances had been formed with such enemies of the established order as Sanballat, the Sabbath was desecrated, and the Law was disregarded (Neh. 13 : 6–31). It is by no means certain that the eighty-five priests, who as representatives of the people pledged themselves and their constituents to observe the Law, constituted the Great

Synagogue; but it is probable that out of this united acceptance of Nehemiah's reforms grew a great national organization, composed normally of one hundred and twenty members, whose business it was to promote the due observance of the Law and the results of whose labors are seen in the careful selection and editing of the sacred books and in the formation of the Old Testament canon. To this body is commonly ascribed the introduction of a new Hebrew alphabet, the supplying to the text of vowel signs and accents, the ordering of the synagogue worship, and the beginning of the elaboration of the ceremonial law that was ultimately embodied in the Talmud. During this period, and probably under the direction of the Great Synagogue, schools for instruction in the Scriptures were established, and a class of professional scholars (scribes) arose whose authority was generally recognized.

III. THE JEWISH PEOPLE UNDER THE MACEDONIAN RULERS.

Reference has already been made to the importance of the Macedonian conquest as a means of diffusing throughout the civilized world the Greek language and thought, and of promoting the action, reaction, and blending of the religious and philosophical life and thought of Europe, Asia, and Africa. In no way did this great upheaval exert more directly its beneficent influence in the direction of preparing the world for the coming of Christ and for the literary embodiment and diffusion of his teachings than through the Hellenizing of a large part of the Jewish race.

The leaders of the people made prompt, unconditional, and cordial submission to Alexander the Great in 332 B. C. He was so favorably impressed by their attitude and their representations that he treated them with the utmost consideration. The wide dispersion of the Jews, and their ability to be of service to the conqueror as guides to every part of the East and of Egypt no doubt had something to do with the cordiality of his bearing. Considerable numbers accompanied him on his expedition to Egypt. In founding his great Egyptian capital, Alexandria, he offered the most liberal inducements to

the Jews to settle there, and large numbers settled in the Fayyum. Ptolemy I. seized and occupied Syria on several occasions (320, 302, etc.), and carried to Egypt thousands of Jews and others, maintaining throughout the good-will of the people, who always resented the authority of the Seleucidæ. The Ptolemies seem to have respected the religious principles of the Jews, while the Seleucidæ attempted to supplant their religion by forcing heathen institutions upon them. A few of the monuments of this important period of Jewish history may be here briefly described.

1. *The Temple near Heliopolis.* Heliopolis was the ancient site of an Egyptian temple, devoted to the worship of the sun. About 164–162 Onias, son of the high-priest Onias III., failing to secure the succession to the Jerusalem high-priesthood, went to Egypt, and with the co-operation of Ptolemy IV., transformed an old heathen temple into a Jewish sanctuary and introduced a regular temple service. This service continued until the temple was closed by the Romans in A. D. 73. While this service was looked upon with disfavor by the leading Jews of Palestine, and while many Egyptian Jews continued to regard visits to the Jerusalem sanctuary as important, its introduction and maintenance mark a distinct stage in the liberalizing of Jewish religious thought.

2. *The Greek Version of the Old Testament* (*Septuagint*). The Jews shared fully in the great literary activity that was fostered in Alexandria by the munificence of the early Ptolemies. Among the most important products of this activity was the Septuagint. No credit is at present given to the Jewish tradition (preserved by Josephus), which represents it as having been produced by seventy scholars appointed by one of the Ptolemies for this purpose, who wrought independently and reached precisely the same result. Considering the vast expenditures of the Ptolemies in the gathering of the Alexandrian Library, it is not improbable that they extended their patronage to this work. It was probably begun during the time of Ptolemy II. (285–247), and completed under Ptolemy VII. (182–146). The Pentateuch was the first to be put into Greek. Palestinian Jews regarded the version as a desecration. Greek-speaking Jews were naturally

delighted to have the sacred oracles in the popular language. The Septuagint is a very free rendering, the desire to bring the Old Testament writings into accord with Greek modes of thought having been largely influential. Extensive additions are made to several of the books, and ultimately the apocryphal books were incorporated. This version is highly significant as showing that a large and influential part of the Jewish people had come to prefer a free Greek translation to the Hebrew original, and that Greek modes of thought had been extensively adopted by the Jews along with the Greek language. It also facilitated aquaintance with the Jewish religion on the part of Greek-speaking Gentiles, and was an important aid to the proselyting efforts of zealous Jews. Before the beginning of the Christian era this version was in common use not only in Egypt, but also in Syria, Asia Minor, and to a considerable extent in Palestine itself. The writers of our New Testament books were for the most part content to quote freely from it.

3. *The Apocrypha.* This term (meaning *concealed* or *obscure*) is applied to the considerable body of Jewish writings that were incorporated in the Septuagint with the Greek translations of the Hebrew canonical books, but which have no place in the Hebrew canon. Several of these (Baruch, in part, the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach, and 1 Maccabees) were written originally in Hebrew, but are preserved only in Greek. The rest seem to have been composed in Greek. The *Apocryphal Ezra* (1 Esdras) is made up in part of materials from the canonical Ezra, but largely of extra-canonical materials. The aim of the writer seems to have been to present a complete history of the temple from the suspension of the services at the captivity, to the rehabilitation of temple worship after the restoration. The *additions to Esther* consist of a dream of Mordecai regarding the deliverance of his people, the decree of extermination by Artaxerxes, prayers of Mordecai and Esther, a second edict of Artaxerxes, and the explanation of Mordecai's dream. The *additions to Daniel* consist of a prayer of Azarias, the song of the three children in the furnace, and the story of Bel and the Dragon. The *Prayer of Manasses*, in captivity, is usually inserted

among the hymns following the Psalms. *Baruch* purports to have been written by the friend and amanuensis of Jeremiah. It narrates the destruction of Jerusalem, and gives an account of a deputation of Babylonian Jews to Jerusalem on behalf of Nebuchadnezzar and his son, who confessed their sins and sought the intercession of the Jerusalem saints. The *Letter of Jeremiah* is addressed to the Babylonian captives, and is a warning against idolatry. *Tobit* is a charming religious story, which sets forth Jewish life in the Babylonian captivity in its noblest, purest form. It abounds in the miraculous, and Persian angelology figures prominently, but it is highly moral in tone, and exhibits in a striking way the rewards of righteousness and the penalties of wickedness. *Judith* also is an edifying story, whose scene is laid in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Its aim is to show forth Jewish heroism and virtue; but the heroine acts upon the theory that the end justifies the means, and the morality of the work is from the Christian point of view unsatisfactory. *First Maccabees* is an authentic narrative of the Maccabean struggle against Antiochus Epiphanes. *Second Maccabees* covers substantially the same ground, with some extension of scope, but is legendary and untrustworthy. The other Maccabean books are still less worthy of attention. *Ecclesiasticus*, or *The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach*, written in Hebrew about 190–170, and translated into Greek by the grandson of the author about fifty years later, is an able, earnest work, in which the influence of Greek philosophy is manifest. It is well worth reading, because of its intrinsic merits and as showing the trend of Jewish thought in the second century before Christ. The *Wisdom of Solomon* is still more decidedly Greek in its tone, and belongs to a later time.

The dates of most of the Apocrypha are uncertain. Tobit may have been written about 200 B. C.; Sirach, about 190, and the rest during and after the Maccabean age. The Wisdom of Solomon and part of Baruch may have been written in the early Christian time.

4. *The Pseudepigrapha.* Closely related to the Apocrypha are the numerous Jewish religious writings of the later ante-Christian and the early Christian time known

as Pseudepigrapha (works falsely ascribed to biblical personages, and so spurious). Many of these are as important as any of the Apocrypha, as showing the types of religious thought current among the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era, and as helping to explain some forms of early Christian heterodoxy. Some of these have been preserved only in Ethiopic versions.

(1) How are we to account for the fact that so large a proportion of the Jewish literature of the age, including several of the Apocryphal writings, were pseudepigraphic? It may be answered: (*a*) That the rights of authorship were from the beginning ignored or disregarded by Jewish writers. Few of the canonical writers took any pains to attach their names to their works. (*b*) The chief concern of writers of this class was to impress certain thoughts as profoundly as possible upon their contemporaries, and as there had been developed an excessive regard for antiquity it was considered legitimate to ascribe their productions to ancient worthies. (*c*) Some of these writings were intended as denunciations of contemporary abuses and of obnoxious persons in authority, and it was deemed safer to embody the uncomplimentary remarks in fictitious works ascribed to the past. (*d*) It may be safely said that in most cases there was no fraudulent intent, but that the end in view was beneficent.[1]

(2) A few of the more important Pseudepigrapha may be mentioned as specimens: (*a*) The *Psalter of Solomon*, probably written in Hebrew, but extant only in Greek, a collection of psalms in imitation of the canonical, attributed to the time immediately following the overthrow of the Asmonean monarchy by the Romans (63 B. C.). The writer regards the Asmoneans as usurpers, and rejoices in their downfall. He represents Pharisaism rather than Sadduceeism. In place of these godless rulers the speedy coming of the Messiah, the Son of David, with the setting up of his kingdom, is earnestly prayed for. Faith in the resurrection and in divine retribution is strongly set forth. (*b*) The *Book of Enoch*, probably composed in Hebrew more than a century before Christ, employed by the New Testament *Jude* (ver. 14, 15),

[1] *Cf.* Dillmann, in Herzog and Schaff-Herzog.

much used by early Christian writers, preserved only in an Ethiopic version,[1] consists of a series of revelations supposed to have been made to Enoch. The work is rich in angelology and in astrological lore, attempts to explain everything in heaven and on earth, and contains important expressions of Messianic hopes. The Messiah is called "Son of God," "Son of Woman," "the Elect," "the Word," and "the Lord of Spirits." Its expressions in regard to the Messiah are so clear and definite, and so much in accord with the reality, that some critics have been led to ascribe them to later Christian interpolation. Yet the representation is essentially Jewish, for the Messiah is regarded as "only a kind of deputy for God,"[2] rather than as God incarnate. (*c*) The *Book of Jubilees*, probably written in Hebrew during the first Christian century, and before the destruction of Jerusalem, but extant only in Ethiopic, is a sort of rabbinical commentary on Genesis. It attempts to show how Cain and Abel got their wives, how Noah got the animals into the ark, why Rebekah had a special affection for Jacob, etc. It abounds in angelology and in fanciful stories. (*d*) The *Sibylline Books*, so far as they were a product of Hellenistic Judaism, may properly be classed with the Pseudepigrapha. Not content to claim for their views the authority of the patriarchs and prophets of their own race, some of these enterprising religionists thought it worth their while to ascribe to the Greek Sibyl poetical effusions embodying in ill-disguised form prophecies of the coming Messiah and other Jewish teachings. No doubt it was the hope of the writers to impress Jewish religious thought on pagan minds by this means. Early Jewish Christians carried forward this work of manufacturing Sibylline verses, and many of the early Christian writers quoted from the Sibylline Books as if they fully credited their genuineness. A large body of pseudepigraphical literature grew up in the second and third Christian centuries, especially among the heretical sects.

IV. THE MACCABEAN STRUGGLE.

1. The *Occasion* of the struggle was as follows: Up to

[1] German translation by Dillmann, English translation by Schodde. [2] Bissell.

199 B. C. Palestine, though it had been a bone of contention between the Egyptian and the Syrian rulers and had suffered greatly from invading armies, had been for the most part under the Egyptian rule and with important exceptions had enjoyed a considerable measure of religious liberty. The whole of Syria, apart from Palestine, had become thoroughly Hellenized, and it was natural that with the incoming of Syrian authority pagan influences should be brought powerfully to bear in this stronghold of Judaism. At the time of the Syrian conquest Palestine was in an exceedingly depressed condition and its inhabitants had become weary of Egyptian rule, which of late had been less beneficent than heretofore. Antiochus III. sought to make good his conquest by bestowing favors on the inhabitants. He offered special inducements to Jews scattered abroad to return to Jerusalem, provided a pension for the maintenance of the temple worship, assisted in the repairing and completion of the temple, and expressed his wish that the nation should "live according to the laws of their own country." He exempted priests, scribes, and temple singers from taxation and gave three years' tax exemption to all inhabitants of the city. Those who had been enslaved were liberated. Such is the purport of a letter of Antiochus to his general, Ptolemy, quoted by Josephus.[1] Whether these promises were fully carried out we do not know. Seleucus IV. (187–176) abandoned this policy of conciliation, and his treasurer, Heliodorus, who afterward murdered him, sought to rob the temple of its treasures. But it remained for Antiochus IV., whom his admirers called Epiphanes (*illustrious*), but who was more justly surnamed Epimanes (*madman*), by trampling upon the religious rights of the people, outraging their religious feelings, and inflicting upon them every conceivable indignity and cruelty, to arouse the theocratic patriotism of the nation to the fiercest and most uncompromising resistance. Thwarted in his effort to establish his authority in Egypt he seems to have vented his spleen upon the Jews of Judea, whose brethren in Egypt had no doubt been active opponents of his preten-

[1] "Antiq.," XII., 3 : 3.

sions. Much ill feeling had no doubt already arisen between the rigorous Jews and the promoters of Greek customs, now aggressive in Jerusalem itself. The high-priest Onias III. sternly resisted the encroachments of pagan life. His brother Jason led the Hellenizing opposition and was able by the royal favor to supplant Onias in the office of high-priest. Naturally he used his position for the overthrow of strict Judaism. He erected a gymnasium for Greek sports near the temple and sought to occupy the attention of the priests themselves with secular frivolities.

Jason was soon supplanted by Menelaus, who had gained the royal support, and a struggle between these claimants ensued. It was a lamentable time for devout Jews. The attempt of Jason to displace Menelaus by force led to the intervention of the king, who after his failure in Egypt through Roman interference was prepared for any degree of cruelty. The massacre of Jewish spectators at a Sabbath military parade, the plundering of the city, the prohibition on penalty of death of Jewish sacrifices, temple services, and religious rites, the decree for the destruction of the sacred books, the desecration of the temple through the introduction of heathen sacrifices, the forcing of swine's flesh down the throats of priests and devout people, the driving of a herd of swine into the temple precincts, are among the many abominations committed by this ruler, who seems to have been eccentric to the verge of insanity.

2. *Mattathias and his Sons.* The revolt was organized by the priest Mattathias of the Asmonæan family and his five heroic sons. Mattathias soon committed the command of the patriot movement to his son *Judas Maccabæus*, who from 166 till 160, when he was slain in battle, won victory after victory over the demoralized Syrian forces. He was succeeded by his younger brother *Jonathan*, who availed himself of a dispute over the Syrian throne to secure for himself from one of the contestants recognition as high-priest, and from the other civil supremacy, thus becoming the theocratic head of the people. He remained a vassal of the successful contestant and was murdered while seeking to protect him against a later rival (143). His brother *Simon* succeeded to the leader-

ship and declared the nation independent. This was a time of great rejoicing, "for every man sat under his own fig tree and there was none to terrify him, nor were any left in the land to fight against them."[1] Assassinated through the treachery of his son-in-law, he was succeeded by *John Hyrcanus* (135–105), who reigned with brilliant success for thirty years, crushed the Samaritans, and forced the Edomites to become Jews. His age is noted for the full development of the Jewish sects that flourished in the New Testament time and for the rise or better organization of the *council of elders* to be afterward known as the *Sanhedrin*. Internal strife marks the remainder of Jewish history until the Roman conquest in 63 B. C.

V. RISE OF RELIGIOUS PARTIES.

1. *Jewish Sects.* Nothing in the history of Jewish life and thought during the time immediately preceding the beginning of our era is more noteworthy than the sectarian divisions that prevailed. These sects have their germs in the early Persian time, but they reached their full development after the Maccabean wars. Ezra and Nehemiah, with their rigorous separatism and insistence on the exact observance of the Law, were the forerunners of the *Pharisees*. The great synagogue and the rabbinic schools of the Persian and early Greek time were essentially Pharisaic institutions. The Aramaic paraphrases of the books of the Bible (*Targumim*) were Pharisaic products. The elaboration of the Levitical law that reached its final form in the Talmud had a like origin. Determined resistance to the intrusion of Persian, pagan-Aramaic, and Greek customs and modes of thought, resulted in the course of time in producing the narrowness, bigotry, unamiableness, and hypocrisy that our Lord so unsparingly denounced. During the Persian and the early Greek time priests and scribes formed a single class and were essentially Pharisaic. During the later Greek and early Roman time Sadduceeism held the priesthood by virtue of political influence, while the study

[1] 1 Macc. 14 : 11, 12.

of the law was almost wholly in the hands of the Pharisees. The great body of the pious Jews of the apostolic age were Pharisees. The worldly aristocracy of the nation was Sadducean. Geiger, a modern rationalistic Jew, compares Phariseeism with Protestantism and Sadduceeism with Catholicism. He regards Jesus as standing primarily on Pharisaic ground and seeking to reform Pharisaism by combating its onesidedness and narrowness.[1] It is no doubt true that Jesus accepted the great body of doctrine for which the Pharisees stood and rejected every doctrine and view of life that characterized the Sadducees.

Judas Maccabæus and the pious hosts (*Chasidim*) whom he led to victory were in principle Pharisees. The name Pharisees (*Perushim*) seems to have originated in the time of John Hyrcanus (135-105), against whose alliances with heathen princes (first Syrian and then Roman) they protested with all earnestness. The term means "Separatists," and emphasized their determination to remain a peculiar people and to resist every effort at amalgamation with the great world-powers. Their numerical and moral superiority led to their complete triumph after the death of Alexander Jannæus, son of John Hyrcanus, who ruled 104–78. His widow Alexandra "put all things into their power" and "made them bear good-will to" her deceased husband.[2] The high-priesthood remained with the Sadducees, but the influence of the Pharisees in all religious matters was thenceforth supreme.

2. *The Characteristic Teachings of the Pharisees.* These were as follows: (1) While laying great emphasis on the study and observance of the Old Testament Law (*Thorah*), they attached almost equal importance to "the tradition of the fathers."[3] To interpret Scripture in opposition to tradition was regarded as highly culpable. (2) They held tenaciously to the immortality of the soul, to the resurrection of the dead, and to the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. Eternal imprisonment and torment are the portion of the wicked. The righteous have "part in the world to come." (3) They had

[1] "*Sadducäer und Pharisäer*," pp. 31, 35, etc.
[2] Josephus, "Antiq.," XIII., 16 : 1. [3] *Ibid.*, 10 : 6.

a complete system of angelology. (4) They believed strongly in the divine foreknowledge and foreordination, yet insisted upon human freedom and responsibility. According to Josephus: "They assert that everything is accomplished by fate. They do not, however, deprive the human will of spontaneity, it having pleased God that there should be a mixture, and that to the will of fate should be added the human will with its virtue or baseness."[1] They say that "some but not all things are the work of fate; some things depend on the will of man as to whether they are done or not."[2]

3. *The Sadducees.* (1) The Sadducees were in almost every respect the antithesis of the Pharisees. They consisted chiefly of the unprincipled and aspiring few who by ingratiating themselves with the heathen rulers were able to gain offices and emoluments. "They only gain the well-to-do," wrote Josephus; "they do not have as their followers the common people."[3] Again: "This doctrine has reached few men; these however are of the first consideration."[4] The possession of the high-priestly office placed them at the head of the theocracy, and gave them wealth and social rank. Not all priests were aristocrats or opponents of the rabbinic legalism; but many of the most influential in the apostolic age and for a century before were such.

(2) The origin and significance of the name cannot be said to have been fully determined. There is almost a consensus of opinion among modern scholars that it was not derived from the adjective *Zaddiq*, righteous, but from the proper name Zadok. The question at issue is, who of the many persons bearing that name was supposed to be the founder of this type of Jewish life? It is highly probable that Zadok, a noted priest of the time of Solomon, whose posterity had continued to exercise priestly functions during the intervening centuries, was the individual had in mind.

(3) Apart from their aristocracy and their inclination toward pagan customs and modes of thought, the following peculiarities may be noted: (*a*) They accepted the

[1] Josephus, "Antiq.," XVIII., 1 : 3. [2] Josephus," War," II., 8 : 14.
[3] *Ibid.*, "Antiq.," XIII., 10 : 6. [4] *Ibid.*, XVIII., 1 : 4.

written Law (*Thorah*) only, rejecting the entire body of traditionary interpretation and elaboration by the rabbinic schools.[1] It was supposed by early Christian writers that they rejected all of the Old Testament save the Pentateuch, but this view is without documentary support, and has been generally abandoned. Adhering strictly to the letter of the Law, they are said to have been more rigorous in the infliction of penalties than the Pharisees, who were able to explain away requirements that conflicted with their moral consciousness.[2] The same principle prevailed in relation to judgments on the clean and the unclean. While following the Levitical prescriptions they mercilessly ridiculed the absurdities of the Pharisaic refinements. (*b*) They denied the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, the existence of angels and spirits, and the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, maintaining that the eschatological system of the Pharisees had no foundation in the Law. (*c*) They were deists, denying the divine activity in human affairs, and holding that man is the cause of his own prosperity and adversity. (*d*) Accordingly they rejected what they considered the fatalistic doctrine of the Pharisees, maintaining that man has perpetually the power to choose between and to do good and evil at his discretion. The similarity of their views to those of the Epicureans was early remarked, and may have been due to the influence of the latter.

4. *The Essenes.* (1) For our knowledge of this sect we are almost wholly dependent on Josephus, Philo, and Pliny. Their accounts are for the most part concordant, but differ in some details. The rise of the party is veiled in obscurity. Josephus implies the existence of the sect about 150 B. C.[3] The descriptions that have come down to us apply to the apostolic age, to which Josephus and Philo belonged. The Essenes were essentially a monastic order. "Their aim of life was to be separate from the world with its evil practices, to live a life of holiness and devotion to God, to benefit mankind, to become the temple of the Holy Spirit, so as to be enabled to prophesy and perform miraculous

[1] Josephus, "Antiq.," XIII., 10 : 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, XX., 9 : 1, comp. with XIII., 10 : 6. [3] *Ibid.*, XIII., 5 : 9.

cures, and to prepare themselves for a future state of bliss and reunion with the Father of Spirits."[1]

(2) About the beginning of our era they are said to have numbered some four thousand, and to have had communities in many of the villages of Palestine. Their most populous community was that in the desert of Engedi, on the Dead Sea. Their numbers, while not large, indicate a considerable influence on Jewish life, for they commonly practised celibacy and depended chiefly on proselytism and the education of children entrusted to them for the maintenance of their numerical strength. It is probable that they enjoyed the confidence and favor of a large number who were not prepared to subject themselves to the rigorous discipline of the sect. It is probable that all the communities were organically united under a single control. Each community had a complete organization. Membership was obtained by initiation into secret rites. After a year's probation and instruction the candidate received ceremonial lustration (resembling Christian baptism). After two years' further testing he was introduced to the common meals and to full communion. A rigorous pledge of secrecy was exacted. Each candidate was required to deliver up his property to the order, and the strictest community of goods was practised. "By putting everything together without distinction, they enjoy the common use of all."[2] Even clothes were common property. The officials for the administration of the communal affairs were appointed by the entire body of the initiated. They engaged in agriculture and in various branches of industry, but renounced trade as corrupting in its tendency, and refused to manufacture articles for use in war, or that they judged injurious. In addition to their practice of celibacy they renounced luxury of every kind, forbade swearing, prohibited slavery, eschewed anointing with oil as luxurious, practised frequent bathing in cold water, were exceedingly modest in performing natural functions, and refused to offer animal sacrifices, sending gifts of incense to the temple instead. It does not appear, as has sometimes been maintained, that they renounced the use

[1] Ginsburg. [2] Philo.

of flesh and of wine, though they were no doubt abstemious in a high degree.

(3) The doctrinal position of the Essenes may be stated as follows: (*a*) They accepted the Old Testament Scriptures and "are described by the orthodox Jews themselves as the holiest and most consistent followers of the Mosaic law."[1] (*b*) They agreed with the Pharisees, against the Sadducees, in the principal points in which these bodies were at variance. (*c*) They differed from the Pharisees in renouncing marriage and animal sacrifices, and in denying the resurrection of the body. Yet they believed strongly in the immortality of the soul and in future rewards and punishments. (*d*) Essenism has so much in common with the religion of Christ that some writers have been inclined to regard Jesus himself and his forerunner, John the Baptist, as members of this society. There can be no objection to supposing that Jesus, who professedly based his teaching on the Jewish Scriptures, incorporated in his teaching whatever was best and most spiritual in Jewish life and thought. The teaching of the Essenes on seeking the kingdom of God might well be emphasized and spiritualized by the Saviour. Our Lord's requirement, as a condition of discipleship, of a willingness to renounce all earthly ties and possessions reminds us of the Essenic terms of admission to fellowship. The emphasizing of brotherly love is common to the two systems. The Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount strongly resemble the Essenic teaching. The celibacy of John the Baptist and of Jesus, and the preference for celibacy under existing circumstances expressed by the Apostle Paul[2] have been regarded as significant points of contact between Essenism and Christianity. The prominence given by the Essenes to bodily healing has its parallel in the practice of Christ and his disciples, due allowance being made for Christ's exercise of divine power. The renunciation of warfare, oaths, and slavery on the part of the Essenes reminds one strikingly of the attitude of Jesus on these matters. While Jesus did not formally forbid slavery, it is generally admitted that the spirit of his

[1] Ginsburg. [2] 1 Cor. 7 : 25, *seq.*

teaching excludes it. Essenism and Christianity agree in their requirement of absolute truthfulness and purity of heart and life. Both alike lay stress on the practice of prophecy. That Jesus infinitely transcended the narrow limits of Essenism by spiritualizing and universalizing the truths that it contained, and eliminating the formalism and the asceticism that characterized it, does not detract from our interest in comparing the adumbrations of the earlier system with the perfect revelation of the later. (*e*) There are certain non-Jewish or anti-Jewish teachings and practices in Essenism, the origin of which has been a matter of controversy. Many recent scholars, Jewish and Christian (Frankel, Jost, Graetz, Derenbourg, Geiger, Ginsburg, Ewald, Hausrath, Reuss, and Kuenen), have sought to prove that the seemingly anti-Judaistic elements are really derivable from the extreme Pharisaic point of view. Among those who admit the probability of foreign influences opinion is pretty evenly divided between those who ascribe these features to Persian dualism (Lightfoot, Hilgenfeld, etc.) and those who ascribe them to Pythagorean influence (Zeller, Keim, Schürer, etc.). Some (as Lipsius) prefer to derive these features from the influence of Syro-Palestinian heathenism, while others (as Seydel and Lillie) seek to derive Essenism and Christianity itself from Buddhism. The influence of Persian thought on Pharisaic Judaism in general is commonly admitted. There seems little difficulty in supposing that in the case of the Essenes these influences extended somewhat farther than with the Pharisees. That which savors most of Persian influence is the semblance of sun-worship. Josephus speaks of "their piety toward God" as "extraordinary," and grounds this statement on the fact that "they never speak about worldly matters before the sun rises, but offer up with their faces toward it, certain prayers, handed down by their forefathers, as if supplicating it to rise."[1] If Josephus' testimony is accepted, it can hardly be denied that their attitude toward the sun involved a certain amount of superstition, though Josephus seems to commend rather than condemn their practice. Their

[1] "War," II., 8 : 5.

rejection of animal sacrifices is in accord with Persian dualism, as are also their wearing of white garments, their lustrations, and their angelology. With equal readiness several of the peculiarities of Essenism might be derived from Pythagoreanism, such as "its aspirations for bodily purity and sanctity, its lustrations, its simple habits of life apart from all sensual enjoyments, its high estimation (if not exactly its requirement) of celibacy, its white garments, repudiation of oaths, and especially its rejection of bloody sacrifices, also the invocation of the sun and the scrupulosity with which all that was unclean (such as human excrements) was hidden from it; and lastly, the dualistic view of the relation of soul and body."[1] It is probable that some features of later Pythagoreanism itself are due to Persian influence. It may be said in conclusion that the particulars in which Essenism deviated from Pharisaic Judaism may be best explained by the supposition of a combination of Zoroastrian and Pythagorean influences. The precise methods in which these influences were applied cannot be determined.

5. *The Samaritans.* The territory occupied by the ten tribes before the captivity was overrun by a motley host of heathen peoples, with whom the remnants of Israel became to a great extent amalgamated. The restoration brought back only a small portion of the ten tribes. The refusal of Zerubbabel to allow the people of Israel to participate in the work of rebuilding and to join with them in religious matters led ultimately to the building of a temple on Mount Gerizim and the complete religious estrangement of Jews and Samaritans. The Samaritans have maintained themselves in small numbers until the present time. Their recension of the Pentateuch, while evidently corrupted in the interest of their claim to superiority over the Jews, otherwise represents a very early text. It is not easy to determine the precise religious position of the Samaritans at the beginning of the Christian era. Apart from their contention that Gerizim and not Jerusalem was the true sanctuary, their interpretation of the Pentateuch did not differ, except in

[1] Schürer.

a few points, from that of the Jews. Their aversion to anthropomorphic and anthropopathic representations of God had probably been developed before the beginning of our era. They no doubt derived from the Persians their elaborate angelology. To a host of good and evil angels they assigned the function of mediating between God and men. The chief cause of variance between Samaritans and Jews after the restoration was the refusal of the former to submit to the rigorous requirement by Ezra and Nehemiah of separation from heathen wives. It would seem that the Samaritans laid far less stress on rigorous separatism and on ceremonial purity than did the Pharisaic Jews. Samaria proved a fruitful soil for Christian heresy in the early centuries of our era.

VI. THE DISPERSION.

1. *The Causes and Extent of the Dispersion.* Enough has already been written to show the extent and importance of the Jewish settlements in Egypt under Alexander and the Ptolemies. What is true of Egypt is true of Syria, where every town had its large Jewish community and its synagogue. A Sibylline writer of about 140 B. C., remarks that every land and every sea is filled with Jews. By this time the Maccabean rulers had entered into a close alliance with Rome. In 139–138 Simon Maccabæus sent an embassy to Rome and secured from the Consul Lucius a letter addressed to all the kings and countries under Roman influence, enjoining upon them to do the Jews "no harm, nor fight against them, nor their cities, nor their country, and that they should not aid their enemies."[1] A list of the princes and countries especially addressed is here given. This list was evidently dictated by the Jewish ambassadors and indicates the extent of the dispersion at this date. It also shows how highly the friendship of this cosmopolitan people was appreciated. As Alexander and his successors had treated them with consideration as an important means of extending and conserving their influence, so now the Romans offer them full protection because they

[1] 1 Macc. 15 : 15, 24.

wish to have the support of the Jews in carrying out their stupendous scheme of world-conquest and world-administration. Strabo, Philo, and Josephus, all bear testimony to the influential presence of the Jews in every part of the habitable world. The enumeration of localities from which Jews were present at the great Pentecostal feast in Acts 2 : 9, 11 has the same bearing. They were a great trading people and their commercial importance was generally recognized.

A large proportion of the descendants of those who went into captivity, especially of the ten tribes, made their permanent home in Mesopotamia, Media, and the adjoining regions. Josephus represents the descendants of the ten tribes in these regions as beyond computation.[1] Schürer supposes that "they were numbered, not by thousands but by millions." Nehardea and Nisibis were their chief centers. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Syria, especially in the cities and towns, were Jews. Josephus relates that in Damascus eighteen thousand (elsewhere ten thousand) Jews were massacred on one occasion. This would indicate a vast Jewish population. Philo estimated the Jews of Egypt in the apostolic time at one million. From Egypt they spread westward to Cyrene and southward to Ethiopia and Abyssinia. Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, and the isles of the sea, were the abiding-places of multitudes of Jews. Pompey brought many captive Jews to Rome (63 B. C.), but most of these were soon at liberty and prospering in business. The extent of the Roman colony in the New Testament time may be inferred from Josephus' statement that eight thousand Roman Jews joined with a deputation from Palestine about 4 B. C. In 19 A. D. the Roman Jews came into disfavor and were banished. Four thousand men suitable for military service were sent to Sardinia.[2] Sejanus, their accuser, came into disfavor soon afterward and the Emperor Tiberius seems to have allowed them to return (31 A. D.). The Emperor Claudius issued an edict of banishment against the Jews (about 49–52), but it was not carried fully into effect.

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[1] "Antiq.," XI., 5 : 2.

[2] Tacitus, "Ann.," II., 85; Josephus, "Antiq.," XVIII., 3 : 5.

2. *Proselytes.* It were not to be expected that so vital and aggressive a people as were the Jews of the dispersion should be content to restrict their activity to the maintenance of the faith among themselves. As a matter of fact they gained the reputation of being the most zealous of proselyters. While they were by no means popular in the heathen communities where they resided, and while heathen writers lost no opportunity to hold them up to contempt, earnest spirits were everywhere found who, dissatisfied with the corrupt heathen cults and with the heathen philosophy of the time, longed for a purer, more spiritual, and more authoritative form of religion.

(1) *Methods of Jewish Propagandism.* (*a*) It was probably their doctrine of God as the Almighty Creator and sole and righteous Ruler of the universe, to be worshiped not under material forms but as a spirit, a God who rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked in this life and in the life to come, that was most influential in winning converts. (*b*) Again, Judaism provided, through its sacrifices and purificatory rites, for deliverance from sin and gave the promise of present and future blessedness. (*c*) The morality of Judaism, however far it may have fallen below the Christian ideal, was immeasurably superior to that of the best forms of heathenism. (*d*) The well-being and happiness of the average Jewish family was no doubt, under ordinary circumstances, greatly superior to that of the average heathen family in the same community. These facts would aid zealous Jews in persuading discontented heathen to accept their creed. (*e*) Again, Oriental religions were much in vogue in Western Asia and Europe about the beginning of our era. Egyptian religion, in its various phases, had multitudes of adherents in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. The Greek and Roman religions had lost their hold on the popular mind. In searching for something more satisfying and reasonable, heathen were in many cases willing to listen attentively to what skillful Jewish propagandists had to say.

(2) *Numbers of Proselytes.* The numbers won to the Jewish faith must have been very considerable. A careful modern writer states that "at or before the

beginning of the Christian era they might have been reckoned by hundreds of thousands, if not millions."[1] Josephus says: "Many of the Greeks have been converted to the observance of our laws; some have remained true, while others, who were incapable of steadfastness, have fallen away again."[2] "Likewise among the mass of the people there has for a time now been a great amount of zeal for our worship; nor is there a single town among Greeks, or barbarians, or anywhere else, not a single nation to which the observance of the Sabbath as it exists among ourselves has not penetrated, while fasting and the burning of lights, and many of our laws with regard to meats, are also observed."[3] Similar testimony is borne by such pagan writers as Seneca and Dio Cassius. Among the most noted proselytes was King Izates of Adiabene, who sent his five sons to Jerusalem to be educated. His successor, Monobazus, had a palace in Jerusalem. It is probable that a large proportion of the proselytes were very imperfectly instructed in the principles of Judaism and continued to practise much of heathenism; but the multitude of converts in all parts of the civilized world shows that Judaism was at the beginning of the Christian era by no means an obscure religion in which little interest was taken outside of the Jewish nation, but that it was awakening a surprising amount of attention throughout wide circles.

(3) *Classes of Proselytes.* Two classes of converts are distinguishable, "God-fearing Gentiles" or "proselytes of the gate," and "proselytes of righteousness." The former "bound themselves to avoid . . . blasphemy, idolatry, murder, uncleanness, theft, disobedience toward the authorities, and the eating of flesh with its blood."[4] The latter were admitted to all the privileges of the theocracy, after circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice. That proselyte baptism was practised before the beginning of the Christian era has been questioned by some, but without sufficient reason. Some who have rejected the antiquity of proselyte baptism have yet admitted that the proselyte was required to take a purificatory bath after his circumcision and before his admission to

[1] Bissell. [2] "Apion," II., 10. [3] "Apion," II., 39. [4] Bissell.

full standing as a Jew; but the distinction between a ceremonial bath and baptism is unwarranted, as the same Hebrew word is used for both. It is probable that the great mass of proselytes belonged to the former class.

VII. THE JEWISH-ALEXANDRIAN PHILOSOPHY—PHILO JUDÆUS.

Reference has already been made to the importance of Alexandria as a focusing point for the world's philosophical and theological thought and to the literary activity of the Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt. Before the beginning of our era there had been developed a remarkable type of philosophical thought known as the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy. This system reached its highest development and found its ablest exponent in Philo (born 32-20 B. C., died about 53 A. D.).

1. *Sketch of Philo.* Of a wealthy and aristocratic family (his brother held a high office under the Emperor Caius and was the intimate friend of the Jewish King Agrippa), Philo enjoyed all the educational privileges that Alexandria afforded. Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Greek philosophy and familiar with Greek literature, he was yet a devout Jew. He was of the opinion that the Greeks had derived from the Jewish Scriptures all that was wise, true, and lofty in their thinking. It was his task, as it had been the task of others of his type, to show the complete harmony of the divine revelation of the Old Testament with all that is best in Greek philosophy. It was his conviction that the Scriptures translated into Greek and rightly interpreted might wield a mighty influence for the salvation of mankind. The fact is that his own modes of thought and views of life were fundamentally those of the Greek philosophy (a composite of Pythagoreanism, Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Stoicism), and he undertook to show by applying the allegorical system of interpretation to the Scriptures that these were not as they seemed to be, simple, unsophisticated narratives of the dealings of God with his people, but that underneath the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic representations of God and the uncouth representations of the sins and follies of

the heroes and worthies of Hebrew history, everything that was wise and exalted in Greek philosophy lay concealed.

2. *The Allegorical Method of Interpretation.* This, as applied to ancient documents, was not the invention of Philo or of his Jewish-Alexandrian predecessors. It had been employed for centuries by the Greeks in the interpretation of Homer and was probably in common use among the Egyptian priests. In fact it is an obvious device in connection with any esoteric system of religion. But it is doubtful whether it had ever been employed so systematically and effectively as by this writer. Everything that is opposed to his philosophical conceptions of God and the universe and to his sense of propriety in the recorded deeds of men of God yields readily to this universal solvent. It is almost certain that if Philo and those like-minded had been shut up to a literal treatment of the Scriptures they would have rejected them as falling in their opinion far below the writings of the Greek philosophers in dignity, beauty, and spirituality. Having no true historical perspective, they were unable to appreciate the progressiveness of divine revelation or to understand aright the relation of the human and the divine in Scripture. This corrupting feature of Philo's work was laid hold of by early Christian writers.

3. *Philo's Eclecticism.* His system embraces elements of Pythagoreanism, Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Stoicism, very imperfectly blended or systematized.

(1) His *idea of God,* from which he sought to eliminate everything anthropomorphic and anthropopathic, was exceedingly transcendental. He sought to hold fast to the personality of God and his freedom in willing, and yet denied that he had qualities. God is above all qualities and only negations can be predicated of him. Yet he did not hesitate to affirm that God is eternal, self-existent, omniscient, omnipotent, perfect, efficient, free, and self-determining. In fact he seems to have combined, without reconciling them, the Platonic idea of the divine transcendence and absoluteness with the Stoic doctrine of divine immanence.

(2) Regarding God as *exalted above all possibility of contact with matter,* which he characterizes as "lifeless,

erroneous, divisible, unequal," and hence essentially evil, he felt the need of bridging the gulf between God and the world by the supposition of certain "*creative and regulative Powers.*" These Powers seem to combine the features of the current Jewish angelology with those of the Stoic Logoi and the Platonic Ideas. The three sets of expressions he uses almost indifferently. These Powers are represented as the thoughts of God, the heavenly archetypes of earthly things, as that which gives life, reality, and durability to matter, as the breath of God's mouth. It is difficult to determine whether Philo intended to ascribe personality to the Powers or regarded them as mere abstractions. Most of his expressions seem to favor the latter view.

(3) Most important of all for early Christian theology was his doctrine of the *Logos*. Here also he sought to combine Jewish with Platonic and Stoic conceptions. "Philo has gathered together from East and West every thought, every divination that could help to mold his sublime conception of a Vicegerent of God, a Mediator between the Eternal and the ephemeral. His Logos reflects light from countless facets. It is one of those creative phrases, struck out in the crisis of projection, which mark an epoch in the development of thought."[1] The multiplicity of Philo's representations of the Logos make it impossible to define his conception in a single phrase. The Platonic Idea of Good, the Stoic World-Soul, and the Jewish conceptions of the Shechinah, of the Name of God, of the Heavenly Man, of the eternal High Priest, seem to have been combined in his thought and in his expressions. The Targums (Aramaic paraphrases of the Hebrew Scriptures) frequently employ the term Word (*Memra*) to denote God as revealing himself. Such Old Testament representations as "the Angel of the Lord" and "Wisdom" are not lost sight of. In relation to God the Word is "Eternal Wisdom," "the sum of the thoughts of God," "the Idea of Ideas, which imparts reality to all lower ideas," "the whole mind of God, considered as traveling outside of itself and expressing itself in act."[1] He is the "Shadow of God," the

[1] Bigg.

"Eldest Son," "the First-born" of God. He is thought of as the "Sum," as the "Creator," as the "Captain," and the "Archangel" of the other Powers. In relation to the universe the Word is represented as the instrumental cause or organ of creation, as the Creator, as the Vicegerent of the Great King. In relation to man the Logos is "the Mediator, the Heavenly Man, who represents in the eyes of God the whole family upon earth."[1] He is the High Priest, the Supplicator, the Paraclete. Philo makes him say: "I stand between the Lord and you, I am neither uncreated like God nor created like you, but a mean between the two extremes, a hostage to either side."

Philo's conception of the Logos falls short of the New Testament doctrine in the following respects: (*a*) There is no sense of the necessity of the incarnation; (*b*) there is no proper feeling of the need of atonement to be wrought out by self-emptying and self-sacrifice on the part of the Son of God; (*c*) there is no place for a divine-human Saviour, for sin is thought of as mere ignorance, as salvation consists in enlightenment; (*d*) it does not appear that Philo conceived of the Logos as a Person in our sense of the term. His personifications are such as he freely applies to any idea whatever.

(4) The relation of the *prologue of John's Gospel* to the Philonic Logos doctrine is still a matter of dispute. While it is not improbable that the writer of this Gospel was familiar either with Philo's writings or with the Jewish-Alexandrian mode of thought from which they proceeded, its simplicity and freedom from heathen speculative elements radically differentiate his representation from the Philonic, and show clearly the divine impress. It was on the theology of the Gnostics and of the Alexandrian school of Christian thought (second and third centuries) that Philo's writings were to exert the most marked influence.

VIII. MESSIANIC EXPECTATIONS.

Nothing was more characteristic of later Judaism than

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[1] Bigg.

the prominence and definiteness of its Messianic expectations.

1. *The Earlier Messianic Hope.* The earlier Messianic hope had been centered in the glorious and blessed future of the nation, and did not go much beyond the range of contemporary circumstances. While the glorious future of the nation was not lost sight of by later Jews, far more stress was laid by them on the relation of the individual and of the non-Jewish world to the Messianic kingdom.

2. *The Doctrines of Immortality and Resurrection.* These having come more clearly into the consciousness of the people, eschatological elements naturally occupy a more prominent place in their Messianic expectations.

3. *God as King of the World.* God is now definitely thought of as the King of the world, and the Messiah as judging and ruling the world on God's behalf. The book of Enoch represents the Messiah as hidden and kept with God before his earthly appearing.[1] His name is said to have been named before the sun, the signs, and the stars were formed.[2] Before the world was created he was chosen and hidden with God.[3] His glory is said to be from eternity to eternity. In him dwells the spirit of wisdom. He will judge the hidden things, and no one will be able to hold vain discourse before him.[4] Very similar is the teaching of the Fourth Book of Ezra. The Messiah was ready to appear as soon as the people should repent and perfectly fulfill the law. A single day of repentance on the part of the nation would usher in Messiah's kingdom.[5]

4. *His Secret Presence.* In some accounts his secret presence is assumed, and his revelation is delayed by the sins of the people. His appearing is conceived of as sudden, and as accompanied by miraculous displays of power. The appearing of Messiah was to be followed by a marshaling of the heathen powers for a final conflict, and the overthrow of these hosts of evil by the power of God. The Messiah then sits in judgment on the throne of his glory. He is called in the book of Enoch "Son of Man," "Son of Woman."[6] He strikes terror to the hearts of the kings of the nations, and destroys

[1] 46 : 1, 2; 62 : 7. [2] 48 : 3. [3] 48 : 6. [4] 49 : 2–4.
[5] See Schürer, Vol. II., 2, p. 163, etc. [6] 62 : 5, *seq.*

them from the face of the earth. "As long as there are sinners in the world, so long does the wrath of God endure, but as they disappear from the world the divine wrath also vanishes."[1]

5. *Renovation and Purification.* The renovation and purification of Jerusalem follows, the new city greatly to surpass in splendor the old at its best. Some representations seem to imply that it existed already in heaven, and was to be suddenly let down at the appointed time.

6. *The Gathering of the Dispersed.* The dispersed are next to be gathered, and are to participate in the glorious and joyful kingdom which, centering in Jerusalem and Palestine, is to extend throughout the world. War and strife shall be at an end, and righteousness, benevolence, and all virtue shall universally prevail. Suffering and disease shall be no more, and men shall live nearly a thousand years, continually renewing their youth. Childbirth shall be painless and physical effort without weariness. Some thought of this earthly kingdom as everlasting, others looked upon it as a prelude to a still more glorious heavenly kingdom.[2] According to some, "the coming age "consists in a renovation of the heavens and the earth. Some supposed that this renovation would occur at the beginning and some at the end of Messiah's reign.

7. *The Universal Resurrection.* The next stage in the panorama is the universal resurrection. This is to be followed by the final judgment. The Jewish eschatology provided for an intermediate state between death and the resurrection in which righteous souls are happy and the wicked suffer.

8. *Non-Suffering Messiah.* From the views of the Messiah already set forth, it is evident that the idea of a suffering and sin-atoning Messiah had little place in the Jewish thought of the age under consideration. If such passages as Isa. 53 were Messianically interpreted at all, little emphasis was placed upon the features of the character and purpose of the Messiah there set forth.

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[1] Mishna, "Sanhedrin," X., 6. [2] Apocalypse of Baruch and Fourth Ezra.

PERIOD I

FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE END OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE (4 B. C.–100)

CHAPTER I

JESUS THE CHRIST

LITERATURE: The four Gospels constitute the chief sources. See also the Harmonies of Robinson, Clark, Broadus, and Stevens and Burton; the New Testament Introductions of Bleek, Reuss, Weiss, and Zahn; the Lives of Christ by Andrews, Neander, Edersheim, Ewald, Lange, Farrar, Geikie, Pressensé, Weiss, Keim, Stalker, Broadus, and Wallace; works on the Biblical Theology of the New Testament by Weiss, Beyschlag, Van Oosterzee, Stevens, and Adeney; Hausrath, "History of the New Testament Times"; Wendt, "The Teaching of Jesus"; Bruce, "The Kingdom of God; or, Christ's Teaching according to the Synoptical Gospels," and "The Training of the Twelve"; Candlish, "The Kingdom of God"; Fairbairn, "Studies in the Life of Christ"; Schürer, "The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ"; and "Ecce Homo." The Bible dictionaries and the encyclopedias may also be consulted with profit, as may also the files of German, French, English, and American theological reviews.

I. THE FULLNESS OF THE TIME.

THE last two chapters of the Introduction have set forth the achievements of the ancient world in philosophy and religion, the diffusion and blending of the elements of civilization that had been developed through the Macedonian and Roman conquests, and the failure of ancient civilization to regenerate the world or to satisfy the deeper longings of mankind. Judaism itself, under the influence of the Persian, Greek, and Roman civilizations, had undergone a process of development and had produced a remarkable literature; but the best Jewish life was utterly dissatisfied with actual achievement and looked forward with earnest longing to a Messianic era. In the Roman world faith in the popular mythology had been destroyed by philosophy, and the better forms of philosophy had been supplanted for the most part by Greek skepticism, whose motto was "Enjoy to the full the present," and which was fundamentally anti-social and selfish. Jews and Gentiles alike were in need of a

Saviour, and the better spirits were deeply conscious of that need.

In Jesus of Nazareth was fulfilled all that was noblest and most spiritual in the aspirations of Jews and Gentiles, and in a very direct and accurate way the predictions of the Old Testament prophets. It was only after the world had been made ready for the reception and the propagation of his religion that the Divine-human Redeemer appeared.

For the history of the earthly career of our Lord we are dependent almost wholly on the four Gospels, which from different points of view embody the apostolic remembrances of the acts and words of the Master, and which taken together give us what the Holy Spirit designed we should know about the Word made flesh.

II. THE PRE-INCARNATE WORD.

John alone of all the evangelists lifts the veil of the infinite past, and in the language of the Stoics and of Philo reveals to us the eternal facts and relations of the Godhead: "In the beginning was the Word (Logos), and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that hath been made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. . . There was the true light, which lighteth every man coming into the world. . . And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us." In these simple but profound sentences we have not the gropings after truth of a Philo, but the clear dogmatic statement of the identity of Jesus the Christ, the Word made flesh, with the eternal divine thought and projective activity that conceived and planned and made the universe, and that as the "true light" "lighteth every man coming into the world." The writer is not concerned with the earthly genealogy of the Messiah. He is content to say, "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us."

III. FROM CONCEPTION TO BAPTISM.

1. *The Genealogies.* Matthew and Luke connect the incarnate Saviour with Abraham, the father of the Hebrew people, and with King David. Matthew speaks of

Jesus Christ as "the son of David, the son of Abraham," and indicates the chief persons in the line of succession from Abraham to "Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ." Luke traces the line from Joseph, whose son Jesus was supposed to be, through David, Abraham, and Adam, to God. His list includes far more names than Matthew's, and the two lists, while agreeing in the principal names, differ greatly in detail. But it is remarkable that both trace the succession through Joseph rather than through Mary. These genealogies seem to be wholly independent of each other, but are not contradictory. It would have been easy, with all the facts in hand, to construct scores of different genealogical schemes, in which the lines would cross each other from time to time, all being equally correct and none being complete. It is highly probable that our Saviour did not concern himself at all about his family connections, and that the working out of these schemes occurred after his ascension.

2. *The Annunciation to Mary.* Luke alone records the angelic annunciation to Mary of the conception and birth of Jesus, as well as the circumstances relating to the conception of John the Baptist and the intercourse of Mary and Elisabeth. Matthew records an annunciation by the Lord to Joseph, troubled on account of the premarital pregnancy of his wife, of the conception that had occurred by the Holy Ghost.

3. *The Birth and Childhood.* Luke alone records the occasion of the visit of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem and the laying of the new-born Jesus in a manger, as well as the angelic annunciation of the birth to the shepherds, the visit of the shepherds, the circumcision, and the presentation in the temple. Matthew alone narrates the visit of the wise men from the East, the alarm and persecuting measures of Herod, the flight into Egypt, and the return. Luke alone tells us that "the child grew and waxed strong, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him," that he visited the temple when twelve years of age, that he was subject to his parents during the succeeding years, and that he advanced "in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and men."

4. *The Forerunner.* All four evangelists give accounts

of the ministry of John the Baptist. Matthew and Mark alone refer to his rough attire and his diet of "locusts and wild honey." With the enthusiasm and intensity of a prophet John denounced the sins of the people, warning them that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, urging them to flee from the coming wrath, "preaching the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins," baptizing in the Jordan such as confessed their sins, and proclaiming the approaching advent of one mightier than he who should baptize them "with the Holy Ghost and with fire."

IV. THE BAPTISM, THE TEMPTATION, AND THE TESTIMONY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

All four evangelists bear witness to the baptism of Jesus by John. Matthew alone refers to the hesitation of John on account of his recognition of superiority in Jesus, and Jesus' answer, that "thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness." All four record the descent of the Spirit upon the baptized Jesus, and all but John record the expression of the divine approval.

The temptation, narrated very briefly by Mark and in detail by Matthew and Luke, is one of the most significant events in the early life of Jesus. The materials for this narrative could have come from Jesus alone. The question as to the occasion on which this autobiographical account of a momentous experience was given has been much discussed. The fact that the narrative implies the assertion of Messiahship on the part of Jesus has led some critics to the conclusion that the earliest suitable occasion for the communication of this experience was in the third year of his Galilean ministry, when at Cæsarea-Philippi he took his disciples into his confidence and made known unto them the sufferings that awaited him (Matt. 16 : 21; Mark 8 : 31–9 : 1 ; Luke 9 : 22–27). But for our purpose the fact of this wonderful experience, and the consciousness of Messiahship that must have resulted, alone need to be insisted upon. The narrative shows that Jesus as a man was subject to temptations, that he was assailed by temptations to satisfy his physical desires by miraculous means, to astonish the multitudes by showing his superiority to natural law, and to make earthly dominion an

object of his striving. These temptations must have been real, or they would have no significance. There is no evidence that Satan ever renewed his assault. This consciousness of Messiahship, involving his mission as a suffering Saviour, was henceforth complete.

John alone mentions the testimony of John the Baptist before the priests and Levites, and afterward before the assembled people, to Jesus' Messiahship: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," and his indication of Jesus to two of his own disciples as the "Lamb of God," and so worthy to be followed. One of these was apparently John himself; the other he tells us was Andrew, who having recognized in Jesus the Messiah brought his brother Simon Peter to become the third disciple. He alone records the winning to discipleship of Philip and Nathanael, the transmutation of water into wine at Cana, and Jesus' short sojourn, with his mother, his brethren, and his disciples, in Capernaum.

V. THE PUBLIC MINISTRY OF JESUS.

1. *Duration.* The duration of our Lord's public ministry cannot be accurately determined. The Gospel narratives are apparently constructed on no chronological plan, and the data for accurate chronology are wanting. The recurrence of Passovers during the ministry has been supposed to form a basis for determining the number of years covered; but much uncertainty exists as to the number of Passovers. Supposing his public ministry to have begun after the fifteenth year of Tiberius, the date given by Luke (3 : 1, *seq.*) for John's ministry, it could not have been much earlier than the beginning of A. D. 29. On the basis of John 2 : 13; 5 : 1; 6 : 4; and 13 : 1, rests the supposition that Jesus' ministry lasted for three years. But the "feast of the Jews" (ver. 1) was probably not a Passover. The first three Gospels make distinct mention of only one Passover, that at the close of Jesus' ministry. It must be left an open question whether the crucifixion occurred in the spring of 30, or in that of 31. In the former case we should have a ministry of one year and a part of another, in the latter of more than two full years.

2. *Divisions.* The public career of Jesus may be divided as follows: (1) The Early Judean Ministry, of which John alone gives an account (2 : 13–4 : 42), and which includes some of his most important teachings and acts: The first cleansing of the temple, the conversation with Nicodemus, the preaching and baptizing in Judea, John's testimony at Ænon, and the visit to Samaria, with the conversation with the woman at Jacob's well; (2) The Galilean Ministry to the Choosing of the Twelve, recorded chiefly in the Synoptic Gospels, with a few parallels in John; (3) the Galilean Ministry from the Choosing of the Twelve to the Withdrawal to Northern Galilee; (4) the Galilean Ministry till the Departure for Jerusalem; (5) the Berean Ministry on the way to Jerusalem; (6) the Passion Week; (7) the Forty Days from the Resurrection to the Ascension.[1]

3. *Jesus' Conception of his Life-Work.* As already suggested, consciousness of Messiahship was present at the baptism and became clear and definite in connection with the temptation. The task he assumed was the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth, a kingdom "not of this world," that "cometh not with observation," that is "within" believers, that is likened to "a grain of mustard seed," which, though exceeding small, becomes a tree, to a bit of leaven that leavens the mass of meal, to treasure hidden in the field which should be purchased at whatever cost, and to a "pearl of great price" for which all of one's possessions are no more than a fair equivalent. He made it clear from the beginning that he could not carry out the Messianic programme of current Jewish thought. His kingdom was "to have no officers, no headquarters, no political features, no worldly associations."[2] It was to be a spiritual kingdom, whose membership was to consist of individuals won to belief in his divine personality and mission, brought into loving obedience to his will, united with him spiritually in his plans and purposes, ready to take up their crosses and follow him, ready to suffer obloquy, the breaking up of all social and family ties, and death itself for his sake, whose relationship to him he declared to be that of the

[1] "Harmony," of Stevens and Burton [2] Votaw.

branches to the vine, and who should abide in him as he in them. His disciples were to be "born anew" (or "from above"). A complete transformation of the individual character and life was to be a condition of entrance into his kingdom. He chose to deny himself all earthly possessions and comforts in order that he might devote himself unreservedly to the well-being of his fellow-men. He required renunciation of all earthly things as a condition of discipleship. Some who, imbued with Jewish Messianic ideas, had arrayed themselves among his disciples under the impression that an earthly kingdom was to be established by the Master, forsook him when he made known to them clearly that his religion was one of absolute self-denial, and that it involved on his part and on theirs boundless sufferings.

The Beatitudes set forth his ideal of life. Poverty of spirit and material poverty even to the extent of hunger and thirst, mourning and weeping, subjection to the hatred and abuse of men, are to be regarded as blessings; meekness, purity in heart, peace-making, are commended; while woe is pronounced upon the rich, the full, the laughing, and the popular. Self-humiliation is a condition of true exaltation, self-exaltation leads to real abasement. He came not to destroy the law but to fulfill it. Love to God, involving a spirit of absolute obedience to his will and joyful participation in his plans and purposes, and involving specifically love to man equal to love of self, he represents as the sum and substance of the law. Enemies are to be loved, not hated. Retaliation and revenge are absolutely prohibited. To make sure of sufficiently emphasizing his disapproval of revenge he commands that evil be repaid with good.

Jesus represented himself as a revealer of the Father from whom he came forth and to whom he was to return, as "the way, the truth, and the life," *i. e.*, as the way by which sinful men may return to the Father, as the embodiment of all truth that sinful men need to know in order to their eternal well-being, as the life by participation in which through faith men may become sons of God.

His life of self-denial and well-doing was to culminate in a sacrificial death. He represents himself as a shep-

herd voluntarily laying down his life for the sheep (John 10 : 17, 18), as giving "his life a ransom for many" (Mark 10 : 45). He regarded his violent death as a fulfillment of Scripture and the time of it as fixed in the divine purpose. On his part the sacrifice was to be a voluntary one. He had power to lay down his life and power to take it again. His going away, according to the Johannean representation, was a condition of the coming of the Paraclete, who should lead his disciples into all truth, and it would entitle them to claim in his name the exercise of unlimited divine power on their behalf.

5. *His Methods of Teaching.* On a few occasions Jesus addressed great multitudes. The Sermon on the Mount is the most noteworthy specimen of a prolonged address of this sort. In this remarkable discourse the ethical element prevails. Jesus sets forth in brief, pointed, emphatic sayings the contrast between the type of life that belongs to his kingdom and that which prevailed in current Judaism. It is a gospel not of outward observances or of doctrinal definitions, but of the inner life. Nothing is said about faith, repentance, atonement, or baptism, but much about inward conformity to the law of God, which is essentially the law of love. His shorter discourses frequently assumed the form of parables, as was very common among Oriental teachers. Private conversations, as in the cases of Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman, gave occasion for many of his most precious utterances. To the inner circle of his disciples he was wont to give explanations of his parabolic discourses and to communicate his plans and purposes more clearly than to the unreceptive multitude. Yet he had frequently to complain bitterly of lack of understanding on the part of those who had been so long time with him, though, "Never man spake like this man."

6. *His Works of Power.* Nothing is more striking in the career of Jesus than his reserve in the exercise of divine power in the physical realm. Miracles were expected by the Jews as "signs" of Messiahship, but when asked for from motives of curiosity or demanded in a spirit of unbelief they were uniformly refused. Most of his mighty works were the proper expression of his benevolence, as in the restoration of their dead to bereaved

relatives, the feeding of the famishing multitudes, the casting out of demons, the healing of the sick and the blind. They were also "symbols of his spiritual and saving work. . . When he healed bodily blindness it was a type of the healing of the inner eye; when he raised the dead, he meant to suggest that he was the Resurrection and the Life in the spiritual world as well; when he cleansed the leper, his triumph spoke of another over the leprosy of sin."[1]

7. *His Rejection by his People.* "He came unto his own (possessions), and his own (people) received him not." His explanation of this rejection was that light had come into the world and that men loved darkness rather than light because of their evil deeds. To their unwillingness to do God's will he attributed their unbelief in himself. Their rejection and malicious plottings he ascribed to the influence of the devil, whose children he declared the unbelieving Jews to be. Like him they were liars and enemies of the truth. They were the bond-servants of sin, when by accepting the truth they might become free. Though he accepted to a great extent the doctrinal teaching of the Pharisees, as against those of the Sadducees, his antagonism to a religion of outward observances, his denunciation of current Pharisaism as hypocrisy, and his proclamation of the doctrine that love to God and love to man rather than ceremonial sacrifices, avoidance of things unclean, and physical purgations, constitute true religion; and his disregard of the rules of Sabbath observance and insistence that the Sabbath was made for man not man for the Sabbath, aroused the bitterest antagonism of the Pharisaic guardians of the Law and led them to resolve on his death. The aristocratic Sadducees, including the high priests and the political party in sympathy with Roman life and rule, no doubt regarded Jesus as a fanatic, the prevalence of whose teachings would imperil the hierarchical system in which they were deeply interested, and they were willing to co-operate with the Pharisees in measures for his destruction. The Roman officials, feeling little personal interest in Jewish religious questions, thought it a matter of policy to gratify the in-

[1] Stalker.

fluential parties at the expense of an obscure enthusiast, who moreover was represented as calling himself a king and as hostile to Cæsar.

A few hundred more or less closely attached followers and a small band of devoted disciples constituted the apparent result of Jesus' ministry. Few even of these had entered fully into an understanding of his teaching or into sympathy with his purposes. In Galilee, where Pharisaism was comparatively uninfluential, he gained considerable recognition ; in Judea, where Pharisaism was strong, he made little impression. At the critical moment, when confession of Jesus might mean death, all forsook him and fled, Peter, who had been foremost to confess his divine character and Messiahship, denying him with cursing and swearing.

8. *The Trial and Crucifixion.* Of those who had attached themselves to Jesus a large proportion were grievously disappointed because of his failure to fulfill the Jewish Messianic hopes. On one occasion (John 6 : 15) an effort was made to force him to become king. Disappointed in their expectations and repelled by his mysterious statement about the necessity of eating his flesh and drinking his blood (John 6 : 53–58), "many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him" (ver. 66). On this occasion he foretold the treachery of one of his disciples (ver. 70). At last he determined on going to Jerusalem for the Passover, arousing the popular enthusiasm by a public proclamation of his Messiahship, making a triumphal entry into the city, and suffering the death that he foresaw awaited him.

The popular enthusiasm alarmed Sadducees and Pharisees alike, and the two parties united in compassing his death. An insurrection would bring upon Jewish officials the condemnation of the Roman government. It must be prevented by the destruction of the popular leader. His prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, for whose salvation he yearned, the conspiracy between the chief priests and Judas for his quiet arrest, the last Supper and the designation of the traitor, the farewell discourses, the intercessory prayer, the watching and agonizing in Gethsemane, the betrayal and arrest in the garden, his arraignment before Caiaphas, the high priest, his condemna-

tion on the ground of blasphemy because of his confession of Messiahship, the mockings, scourgings, and contemptuous treatment following the condemnation, the shameful denial of Peter, the trial before Pilate, the attempt of Pilate to release him, the cry of the multitude, "Crucify him, crucify him," Pilate's weak yielding against his own judgment to the demands of the Jews, the crucifixion—these events followed each other with startling rapidity, and to the terrified disciples the cause of Jesus no doubt seemed to suffer an ignominious collapse.

9. *The Resurrection and Ascension.* Notwithstanding the plainness of his predictions, the disciples seem to have had little expectation of the resurrection of their Master. His repeated manifestation after the resurrection, his words of counsel now wonderfully impressive, above all the Great Commission: "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. 28 : 16–20; cf. Mark 16 : 15–18), his final words showing that his death and resurrection had been in fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, commanding that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all the nations, beginning at Jerusalem" (Luke 24 : 47), his reminder to his disciples that they were witnesses of these things, his bidding them tarry in the city until they should be clothed with power from on high, his ascension into heaven—these words and manifestations made heroes of the timid, discouraged disciples. They were now convinced, as they could never have been convinced before his death and resurrection, of the spirituality of his kingdom and the certainty of its triumph. "They worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy: and were continually in the temple, blessing God" (Luke 24 : 52, 53). The teachings of the Master, treasured in their memory but imperfectly understood, now became luminous and glorious. They were able now to enter with consuming zeal upon the great task

of evangelizing the world that he had marked out for them with full assurance of ultimate triumph.

VI. SOME ESTIMATES OF THE CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF JESUS.

The most important testimonies are contained in the apostolic writings, but as these are familiar and will be utilized to some extent in the next chapter, more recent estimates will be here given:

It is generally allowed that Jesus appeared as a public man with a mind whose ideas were completely developed and arranged, with a character sharpened over its whole surface into perfect definiteness, and with designs that marched forward to their ends without hesitation. . . The reason of this must have been that during the thirty years before his public ministry began his ideas, his character, and designs went through all the stages of a thorough development. . . For one with his powers at command, thirty years of complete reticence and reserve were a long time. Nothing was greater in him afterward than the majestic reserve in both speech and action that characterized him.[1]

Referring to the Messianic prophecy in Isa. 42 : 1–4 represented as fulfilled in Jesus (Matt. 12 : 18–21) Bruce remarks:

No other type of Messiah could have any attractions for him; not the political Messiah of the Zealots, whose one desire was national independence; not the Messiah of common expectation, who should flatter popular prejudices and make himself an idol by becoming a slave; not the Messiah of the Pharisees, himself a Pharisee, regarding it as his vocation to deliver Israel from pagan impurity; not even the austere Messiah of the Baptist, who was to separate the good from the evil by a process of judicial severity, and so usher in a kingdom of righteousness. The Messiah devoutly to be longed for, and cordially to be welcomed when he came, in his view was one who should conquer by the might of love and truth; who should meet the deepest wants of man, not merely gratify the wishes of the Jews, and prove a Saviour to the whole world; who should be conspicuous by patience and hopefulness, rather than by inexorable sternness,—a humane, universal, spiritual Messiah, answering to a divine kingdom of kindred character,—the desire of all nations, the fulfillment of humanity's deepest longings, therefore not destined to be superseded, but to remain an Eternal Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

The teacher made the truth he taught. His teaching was his articulated person, his person his incorporated teaching. The divin-

[1] Stalker.

ity the one expressed, the other embodied. He came to found a kingdom by manifesting his kinghood, by declaring himself a king. The King was the center round which the kingdom crystallized. His first words announced its advent; his last affirmed its reality, though a reality too sublimely ideal to be intelligible to the man of the world.[1]

His teaching . . . from the very first has for its background a unique self-consciousness, the incomparable significance of his person, and from the beginning was directed toward something that must be more than teaching, that must be work and deed, viz., the founding of God's kingdom. And this founding was finally accomplished, not by his teaching as such, but by his personal devotion to and completion of his life-work, by his death and resurrection. Does his teaching thereby lose its original fundamental significance, and sink down to a mere introduction to New Testament revelation? It must be said that little as the teaching of Jesus in itself, apart from the conclusion of his life, could have called into existence the kingdom of God, as little could that ending of his life have called it into being without the foregoing doctrinal revelation.[2]

The glad tidings which Jesus proclaimed were tidings of the kingdom of God. In delivering this message he, on the one hand, proclaimed the fact that the kingdom was beginning to be set up; and on the other hand he announced the requirements to be fulfilled in view of that fact. The whole contents of the teaching of Jesus can be classed under this general theme, and the two points of view from which he expounded it. His preaching in regard to the kingdom of God contained partly instruction as to the existence of the kingdom, its nature, its realization, and development; and partly exhortations to the fulfillment of the conditions of membership. . . His object was to establish that kingdom practically among his hearers; and therefore he continually aimed at inciting them to become members of it.[3]

No life ends even for this world when the body by which it has for a little been made visible disappears from the face of the earth. It enters the stream of the ever-swelling life of mankind, and continues to act there with its whole force for evermore. Indeed, the true magnitude of a human being can often only be measured by what this after life shows him to have been. So it was with Christ. The modest narrative of the Gospels scarcely prepares us for the outburst of creative force which issued from his life when it appeared to have ended. His influence on the modern world is the evidence of how great he was; for there must have been in the cause as much as there is in the effect. It has overspread the life of man and caused it to blossom with the vigor of a spiritual spring. It has absorbed into itself all other influences, as a mighty river, pouring along the center of a continent, receives tributaries from a hundred hills. And its quality has been even more exceptional than its quantity. The life of Christ in history cannot cease. His influence waxes more and more; the dead nations are waiting till it reaches them, and it is the hope of the earnest spirits that are bringing in the new earth. All

[1] Fairbairn. [2] Beyschlag. [3] Wendt.

discoveries of the modern world, every development of juster ideas, of higher powers, of more exquisite feelings in mankind, are only new helps to interpret him; and the lifting up of life to the level of his ideas and character is the programme of the human race.[1]

[1] Stalker.

CHAPTER II

THE APOSTLES

LITERATURE: The Acts of the Apostles, the apostolic Epistles, and the Apocalypse contain nearly all the authentic materials. See also Josephus, "Jewish War," "Against Apion," and "Autobiography"; Neander, "Planting and Training of the Christian Church"; Döllinger, "First Age of Christianity and the Church"; Schürer, "History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ"; Hausrath, "History of New Testament Times"; Baur, "Church History of the First Three Centuries"; Keim, "*Rom u. d. Christenthum*"; Ewald, "History of Israel," Vol. VII; Weizsäcker, "The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church"; McGiffert, "The Apostolic Age"; Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170," and "St. Paul, the Traveler and Roman Citizen"; Harnack, "*Gesch. d. Altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*," esp. part II., "*Die Chronologie*"; works on New Testament Introduction and the Biblical Theology of the New Testament, as in Chap. I.; works on the Life of Paul, by Conybeare and Howson, Farrar, Geikie, Sabatier, Stalker, and Baur; Vedder, "The Dawn of Christianity"; Wallace, "Labors and Letters of the Apostles"; Pfleiderer, "Paulinism"; Bruce, "St. Paul's Conception of Christianity"; Stevens, "The Pauline Theology," and "The Johannine Theology"; Schiller, "*Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit unter d. Regierung d. Nero*"; Addis, "Christianity and the Roman Empire"; Uhlhorn, "Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism," and "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church"; Lightfoot, "Dissertations on the Apostolic Age"; Farrar, "The Early Days of Christianity"; and Arnold, "*Die neronische Christenverfolgung.*"

I. THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH TO THE CONVERSION OF SAUL.

1. *The Pentecostal Baptism.* The risen Lord had charged his disciples "not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which, said he, ye heard from me: for John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence" (Acts 1 : 4, 5). They seem not yet to have given up their Jewish Messianic hopes. Before the Lord's ascension they had asked him whether he was about to "restore the kingdom to Israel" (Acts 1 : 6). He replied that it was not for them "to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set within his own authority."

But he assured them that they should receive power when the Holy Ghost should come upon them, and that they should be his "witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." After the ascension, as they were standing in a dazed condition "looking stedfastly into heaven, two men stood by them in white apparel," and assured them that this Jesus, which was received up from them into heaven, should so come in like manner as they beheld him going into heaven. Returning to their lodgings in Jerusalem, profoundly impressed by what they had seen and heard, the eleven "with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren, with one accord continued stedfastly in prayer." During these days of prayerful waiting, Peter called attention to the breach in the ranks of the Twelve caused by the treachery of Judas, and Matthias was appointed by lot to fill it.

On the day of Pentecost (fifty days after the Passover), when Jews and proselytes "from every nation under heaven" had gathered in Jerusalem, the disciples "were all together in one place. And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire; and it sat upon each one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." The gathered multitude of Jews and proselytes were drawn together by the noise and "were confounded because that every one heard them speaking in his own language." Some were amazed, thinking a great miracle was being wrought, while others attributed the phenomena to drunkenness on the part of the disciples. Peter repudiated the charge of drunkenness and showed that the marvelous phenomena were the fulfillment of a prophecy of Joel. He took occasion to make an impassioned address on "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God . . . by mighty works and wonders and signs," as his hearers themselves knew. He dwelt upon the fact that he had been crucified and slain "by the hand of lawless men," having been "delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God," and upon the fact

that "God raised him up, having loosed the pangs of death." Of the resurrection he said, "we all are witnesses." He attributed the wonderful phenomena that had brought the people together to the agency of Christ in his exaltation at the right hand of God. He declared to the house of Israel: "God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified." The awakened multitude asked what they should do. Peter exhorted them to "repent" and "be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of" their "sins." About three thousand heeded the exhortation and were baptized that day. "And they continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers" (Acts 2).

2. *The Jerusalem Church.* The original disciples, with their multitude of enthusiastic converts baptized upon a profession of their faith, may be said to have constituted the first Christian church. Our Lord himself seems to have organized no local communities of believers. He preached in the synagogues and in the temple and had his inner and outer circles of baptized disciples, and these as a whole may, without impropriety, be designated as the pre-pentecostal church. But the churches, as organized bodies, are an apostolic institution. Even after Pentecost the great body of believers in Jerusalem had for some time very little organization.

It is related that "fear came upon every soul and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles." This would indicate the prevalence of intense religious excitement and expectancy. These believers had not yet adjusted themselves to their new relations and were doubtless uncertain whether it was the will of the Lord that they should continue to live in the world and to occupy themselves with secular concerns. "And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any man had need. And day by day, continuing stedfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favor with all the people. And the Lord added to them day by day those that were being saved." This

disregard of secular interests beautiful in itself and highly appropriate at the time could only be temporary in that or any other community. The common supply of the necessaries of life would soon be exhausted and the entire body would be reduced to dependence on miracles or on charity.

The healing of a lame man by Peter and John at the door of the temple brought together a crowd of people to whom Peter preached Jesus as the crucified, risen, and glorified Servant, as the Prince of life, as the Holy and Righteous One, whose sufferings had been foretold by the prophets and "whom the heaven must receive until the times of restoration of all things." The concourse of the people and Peter's enthusiastic preaching alarmed the "priests and the captain of the temple and the Sadducees," who arrested Peter and John. Their boldness and the certainty that a miracle had been performed so impressed the authorities that the apostles were released. The number of believers had by this time increased to five thousand (Acts 4 : 4).

It is remarkable that in the preaching of this time great stress is laid on the fulfillment of prophecy in the death and resurrection of Jesus; and yet the Jews are made to feel the guilt of his crucifixion.

The liberation of the apostles was an occasion of thanksgiving and praise on the part of the brethren. It is reported (Acts 4 : 31) that "the place was shaken wherein they were gathered together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with boldness. And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul: and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common . . . for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto each, according as any one had need."

The deception of Ananias and Sapphira and their sudden death under Peter's censure, and many other "signs and wonders wrought among the people" (Acts 5 : 12), caused "multitudes both of men and women" to be added to the Christians. Peter's credit increased to

such an extent that the people brought their sick into the streets that his shadow might fall on them, and multitudes of sick were brought from the cities round about to be healed by him. Again the Sadducaic authorities threw the apostles into prison, but an angel of the Lord opened the prison door and bade them preach in the temple to the people. Arraigned again and bidden to desist from preaching, they declared that they must obey God rather than men. Warned by Gamaliel as to the futility of violent interference with enthusiasts, the authorities beat them and let them go, charging them "not to speak in the name of Jesus."

The presence in the city of more than five thousand believers, many of whom were dependent on the charities daily distributed, rendered the problem of equitable distribution a very serious one. The apostles, occupied much in the ministry of the word, in response to complaints of neglect on the part of the Hellenistic Jews, asked the brethren to select from their number "seven men of good report, full of the Spirit and of wisdom," whom they might "appoint over this business." The choosing of Stephen and six others by the brethren and their appointment by the apostles with prayer and the laying-on of hands constituted these the first officials, apart from the apostles, in the infant church. It is interesting to note that these servers of tables were introduced in response to a deeply felt practical need and not as part of a deliberately planned system of church order.

Following the introduction of this division of labor in the Jerusalem church we are informed that "the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem exceedingly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." This continued multiplication must have brought the numbers far above five thousand, the last numerical estimate given. Nothing is known of the subsequent career of the "great company" of converted priests.

Stephen proved to be not only a server of tables but a minister of the word as well. "Full of grace and power," he "wrought great wonders and signs among the people." The discomfiture of certain Hellenistic

Jews who tried to argue with Stephen led them to accuse him of blasphemy against Moses and against God. Arraigned before the Jewish authorities on this charge, he gave utterance to the inspired discourse recorded in Acts 7, in which he showed that Jesus is the proper complement of Hebrew history and the true fulfillment of Hebrew prophecy, and ended with a stern denunciation of the Jews before him as "stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears" and as "betrayers and murderers" of "the Righteous One" foretold by the prophets whom their fathers had persecuted. Enraged by his denunciations, they refused to hear more, but "rushed upon him with one accord; and they cast him out of the city, and stoned him, who, having had a vision of the opened heavens," with "the glory of God and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God," committing his spirit to the Lord Jesus, prayed that the sin of his murder might not be laid to the charge of his murderers, and "fell asleep."

It is related that "the witnesses" against Stephen "laid down their garments at the feet of a young man named Saul," and that "Saul was consenting unto his death."

The martyrdom of Stephen is significant for the following reasons: First, because it was the first Christian martyrdom; secondly, because it introduced a general persecution of the Christians in Jerusalem and led to their dispersion and to the wide dissemination of Christian truth; and thirdly, because it launched upon his persecuting career Saul of Tarsus, there having already been planted in his mind and heart seeds of truth that would afterward spring up and bear fruit.

The solemn burial of Stephen by his devout brethren is followed immediately in the narrative by a record of Saul's persecuting work: "But Saul laid waste the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison."

"They that were scattered abroad," we are informed, "went about preaching the word." Philip, another of the seven servers of tables, was among the first to enter upon evangelistic labor outside the city. Shortly after the outbreak of persecution he "went down to the city

of Samaria and proclaimed unto them the Christ." His preaching and his healing of the sick aroused profound interest, and the consideration thus gained by the evangelist caused a certain magician named Simon to covet the power of the Spirit and to submit to baptism in order that he might gain it. When the news of the reception of the gospel by the Samaritans reached the apostles in Jerusalem they sent Peter and John to look after the new believers. Philip had baptized them "into the name of the Lord Jesus." The apostles prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost, and as "they laid their hands upon them" they received this special enduement. Simon Magus sought to purchase the power of communicating the Holy Spirit, and received the scathing rebuke of Peter. The name of Simon figures prominently in the pseudonymous works of the second and third centuries as one of the most corrupt of the Gnostic leaders and as a malignant opponent of Peter and of orthodox Christianity. The villages of Samaria were also evangelized at this time.

Under divine impulse Philip journeyed "toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza." There he met an official "of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, who was over all her treasure, who had come to Jerusalem for to worship." Prompted by the Spirit, Philip joined himself to the eunuch's chariot and hearing him reading from Isa. 53, without any proper understanding of its meaning, "beginning from this Scripture, preached unto him Jesus." Convinced that Jesus is the Christ and that it was his duty as a believer to enter into the fellowship of believers and to assume the obligations and responsibilities of discipleship, he desired to receive Christian baptism. Calling the attention of the evangelist to "a certain water" to which they had come, he asked to be baptized. It is related (Acts 8 : 38, 39) that "they both went down into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and he baptized him. And when they came up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip." The eunuch "went on his way rejoicing." Philip "was found at Azotus: and passing through preached the gospel to all the cities, till he came to Cæsarea."

II. FROM THE CONVERSION OF SAUL TO THE JERUSALEM CONFERENCE (A. D. 31–46 or 35–49).

1. *The Conversion of Saul.* Not content with laying waste the church in Jerusalem, Saul of Tarsus, the educated Pharisee who had sat at the feet of Gamaliel, and who had received a regular Greek education as well, still "breathing out threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest and asked of him letters to Damascus unto the synagogues, that if he found any that were of the way, whether men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem." In seeking to exterminate the religion of Christ he thought he was rendering service to God; for he was no doubt fully persuaded that its prevalence would mean the subversion of the Law, whose preservation and observance he regarded as supremely important. A man of his intelligence must have learned much of the new religion. Stephen's eloquent discourse may have impressed him; but it had the immediate effect of infuriating him against the innovators, and may have led to a resolution to devote his life to destroying them. We have several varying accounts, all emanating from himself, of his sudden conversion on the road to Damascus (Acts 9, 22, 25). The shining from heaven of a great light, the voice saying, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" his answer, "Who art thou, Lord?" the answer, "I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest," his inquiry what he should do and the Lord's directions, his blindness, his healing and baptism by Ananias of Damascus, the commission given him by the Lord as a "minister and witness," with the promise of Divine protection and support, are the chief items of the narratives. That he regarded the change wrought in him as sudden, and as the direct result of special Divine intervention, admits of no doubt. Almost immediately he began to proclaim Jesus in the synagogues as the Son of God, to the amazement of believers who had known him as a persecutor. "But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is the Christ" (Acts 9 : 22). The Jews plotted to kill him, but he escaped through the good offices of the disciples, and returned to Jerusalem.

There the brethren were at first afraid of him, but "Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles," and by narrating the facts of his conversion won their confidence. After preaching in Jerusalem for some time and disputing with the Hellenistic Jews, his life was again in danger, and he was sent by the brethren to Tarsus by way of Cæsarea.

From the Epistle to the Galatians we learn that before his first visit to Jerusalem as a Christian he had gone away into Arabia, and had again returned to Damascus. The stay in Arabia and the second sojourn in Damascus probably occupied more than a year, and the first visit to Jerusalem probably occurred in A. D. 33 or 35.[1]

2. *Peter's Early Ministry.* After the outburst of persecuting fury that followed the martyrdom of Stephen, we are informed that "the church throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria had peace, being builded up; and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, was multiplied." It is noticeable that the church is still spoken of as a unity though its membership was scattered over several provinces. Peter's ministry and works of healing at Lydda and at Joppa, the two-fold vision by which Cornelius, a God-fearing centurion, was directed to send for Peter, and by which Peter was directed to put aside his Judaizing scruples, and to minister to the centurion at Cæsarea, is remarkable as having opened Peter's eyes to the fact "that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him," and as leading to the first baptism of a Gentile into the Christian fellowship. Peter's Judaizing disposition was to reassert itself, and the brethren at Jerusalem were still to be fully convinced by Paul of the universality of the gospel provision. Peter found some difficulty in justifying his course at Cæsarea to the apostles and brethren in Judea; but when the manifest Divine leading in the matter was made known to them they glorified God.

3. *Evangelization in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch.* Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch were also evangelized as

[1] Ramsay dates this visit A. D. 37, in accordance with his view that Paul's conversion occurred in A. D. 35. Harnack and McGiffert support the earlier dates.

a result of the scattering of the brethren occasioned by "the tribulation that arose about Stephen," and "a great number" are said to have "believed." Barnabas was sent to Antioch to carry forward the good work, and "much people was added unto the Lord." Feeling the need of such help, he "went forth to Tarsus to seek for Saul." Both Barnabas and Saul labored a whole year in this great center. They gathered a church, "taught much people," and here "the disciples were first called Christians" (Acts 11 : 26). There being a famine in Judea the disciples at Antioch, "each man according to his ability," determined to send relief to their suffering brethren. Barnabas and Saul were the agents of their beneficence. The brethren in Judea were suffering at this time from persecution at the hands of Herod as well as from famine. The execution of James the brother of John, and the imprisonment of Peter, who was delivered by angelic ministry, are among the features recorded. After narrating the smiting to death of Herod by the Lord, it is said: "But the word of the Lord grew and multiplied."

Antioch henceforth figures as a great Christian center, side by side with Jerusalem. A church is now spoken of as being there, and among the "prophets and teachers" were "Barnabas, Symeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen the foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul." Under the direction of the Holy Spirit, Barnabas and Saul were separated for missionary work and were sent forth whithersoever the Spirit might lead. From the record it would seem that they were designated and sent forth by the "prophets and teachers" whose names have been given, and who are said to have been ministering and fasting when the Divine will was revealed to them; but if this were so, the transaction no doubt had the approval of the entire body of believers.

The death of Herod Agrippa, referred to above, occurred in 44. The first missionary journey of Saul and Barnabas may have begun during the same year. It may be observed that the record of the labors of the apostles during the years 34–44 is exceedingly meagre. It is probable that Paul spent at least ten years in evangelistic work in Syria and Cilicia. It is not at all likely that he and his com-

panions confined themselves closely to Antioch, but their labors were no doubt abundant and widespread. Nothing further is related of Peter and the other apostles until the conference at Jerusalem.

4. *The First Missionary Journey of Paul and Barnabas.* It is noteworthy that the Saul designated as a missionary now becomes Paul in the narrative. This change of name has by some writers been connected with the conversion of the pro-consul Sergius Paulus, on the island of Cyprus, near the beginning of the journey. The better view seems to be that Paul was already his name as a Roman citizen, and that in his missionary work among the Gentiles he preferred this to his Hebrew name. Sailing from Cyprus they landed at Perga, in Pamphylia, some miles from the mouth of the river Cestrus. Thence they journeyed to Antioch in Pisidia, where they visited the synagogue, and on the invitation of the rulers of the synagogue Paul preached with such effect, that "the next Sabbath almost the whole city was gathered together to hear the word of God." The gathering of the multitude aroused the animosity of the Jews, whose blasphemous opposition led the missionaries to turn their attention definitely to the Gentiles, who glorified God that the gospel was for them also; and "as many as were ordained to eternal life believed.'

Driven from Antioch by Jewish persecution, they journeyed to Iconium, leaving behind them a body of disciples "filled with joy and with the Holy Ghost." Here they preached in the synagogue and "a great multitude both of Jews and of Greeks believed." Here Jewish and Gentile opposition was encountered and the missionaries "fled into the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra, and Derbe, and the region round about: and there they preached the gospel" (Acts 14 : 6, 7).

At Lystra, because of the healing of a cripple, the people sought to worship Paul and Barnabas as gods. But they were followed hither by hostile Jews from Antioch and Iconium, a mob was raised against them, and Paul was stoned.

At Derbe they "made many disciples." Then they returning passed through Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, "confirming the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith," warning them of the tribula-

tions that awaited them, "and when they had appointed for them elders in every church and had prayed with fasting, they commended them unto the Lord, on whom they had believed."

On the return journey they preached in Perga, which for some reason they had omitted to do at the beginning of the tour. Thence they returned to Antioch, where they submitted a report of successful work among the Gentiles and remained for a considerable time (Acts 14 : 27, 28).

It is to be remarked that Paul and Barnabas organized the believers in the various towns into churches and appointed elders to look after the spiritual interests of each body. Nothing is said about deacons as officials in these churches. The organization effected was of the simplest kind, elders, after the example of the Jewish synagogues, having been appointed for the direction of Christian life and work. That they should have been appointed by the missionaries and not by the believers themselves was due, no doubt, to the inexperience of these recent believers and their desire that those who had led them to a knowledge of the truth should direct them in the matter of organization. No doubt the apostles appointed those in each case who were known to have the confidence of their brethren, and in all probability the appointments were formally made after full consultation with the churches.

III. FROM THE JERUSALEM CONFERENCE TO THE NERONIAN PERSECUTION (A. D. 47 or 49–64).

From this time onward Paul is the great central figure in the history of the apostolic churches, the Acts of the Apostles being henceforth devoted almost exclusively to the narration of his labors, while the labors of the rest of the apostles are almost wholly lost sight of.

1. *The Conference at Jerusalem.* Either during the absence of Paul and Barnabas in Asia Minor, or shortly after their return, "certain men came down from Judea and taught the brethren, saying, Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved."

This caused not a little disturbance in the church, and to allay strife it was determined that "Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question." They utilized their journey for declaring to the brethren of Phœnicia and Samaria the joyful tidings of the conversion of the Gentiles.

On their arrival in Jerusalem "they were received of the church and the apostles and elders, and they rehearsed all things that God had done with them." Certain Pharisaic believers insisted that these Gentile converts must be circumcised and charged to keep the law of Moses. Peter spoke the decisive word, referring to his own inauguration of Gentile evangelization "a good while ago," and to the fact that Gentile believers had received the Holy Ghost as well as others, and claiming that God made no distinction between them and Jews. He deprecated the thought of putting a yoke upon these brethren. Jews and Gentiles alike are saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus.

Barnabas and Paul then rehearsed "what signs and wonders the Lord had wrought among the Gentiles by them." James, who is commonly regarded as the most Judaizing of the apostles, gave it as his judgment "that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles turn to God, but that we write unto them to abstain from the pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from what is strangled, and from blood." This statement of the case was adopted.

"Then it seemed good to the apostles and the elders, with the whole church, to choose men out of their company and send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas." A letter was drafted containing a rebuke to those who had troubled the Antiochian brethren with words, subverting their souls, recognizing the work of Paul and Barnabas, "men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," mentioning the appointment of Judas and Silas to tell them "the same things by word of mouth," and enumerating the requirements to be made of Gentile believers as formulated by James. The decision of the brethren in conference and the visit of Silas and Judas brought about a good understanding between these two primitive churches. Paul and Barnabas remained for a short time in Antioch, "teaching and preaching the word of the Lord, with many others also."

The conference in Jerusalem is from a historical point of view highly important. It shows us in Jerusalem an organized church, with apostles, elders, and brethren, who act conjointly. So far as

appears, the apostles expressed the opinions that prevailed and the elders and brethren assented; but it is probable that all alike were free to express themselves and that the opinion of an unofficial member would have received all the consideration to which it was entitled. We have here an example of inter-congregational intercourse, delegated members of the Antiochian church going to Jerusalem and conferring with the church there, the Jerusalem church in turn appointing representatives to visit the Antiochian church and to explain more fully, if need be, the position of the mother church. Above all, it settled definitely the right of Gentiles to become Christians without passing through Judaism.

For some reason not easily explained, the writer of Acts omits an interesting episode in the history of the relations of the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch. This deficiency is supplied by Paul in Gal. 2 : 11, *seq.*, who also describes the Jerusalem conference more briefly and from a somewhat different point of view (Gal. 2 : 1–10). According to Paul's account, Cephas (Peter) came to Antioch probably some time after the return of Paul and Barnabas with Silas and Judas, and at first ate with the Gentile Christians, but when remonstrated with by certain emissaries of James, "he drew back and separated himself, fearing them that were of the circumcision. And the rest of the Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that even Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation." Paul felt obliged to administer a scathing rebuke to his Judaizing brethren and to set forth in vigorous language the equality, nay, the superiority of Gentile to Jewish Christians. On this occasion he seems to have stated in the clearest manner the doctrine of justification by faith as against the doctrine of justification by the works of the law.

It is evident that a new phase of the Gentile question was introduced at this time. Even James had agreed to recognize Gentile Christians on condition that they abstain from certain heathen practices, most of them fundamentally immoral; but it seems to have been tacitly understood at the Jerusalem conference that Jewish Christians should continue to observe the Law. Peter himself was led by his enthusiasm so far to violate the Jewish ceremonial law as to eat with Gentile Christians; but his Jewish prejudices were still strong and he was not ready to break with James, who insisted on the rigorous observance of the Law by Christian Jews.

Paul's uncompromising attitude and stern words of rebuke must have intensified the opposition of the ex-

treme Judaizers and have been irritating even to Peter and Barnabas. Zealous propagandists of the extreme Judaizing position visited the communities in Asia Minor (and no doubt in Cyprus and Phœnicia) that had been evangelized by Paul and Barnabas, denounced Paul as a pretended apostle, and insisted that to be a Christian one must first become a Jew by submitting to circumcision and observing the Jewish ceremonial law.

The Epistle to the Galatians, the aim of which was to counteract this pernicious teaching and to vindicate the writer's character as a divinely chosen apostle of Jesus Christ, was probably written some time after Paul's encounter with Peter and soon after the beginning of the Judaizing propaganda that followed. Objection to the early date on the ground of the intimation in the Epistle that the writer had visited the Galatians more than once (4 : 13), is met by the fact that on the return journey he revisited the communities that had previously been evangelized. The fact that he communicates to the Galatians, as fresh information, the discussions at Jerusalem and Antioch respecting the status of Gentile Christians, bears strongly against the supposition that the Epistle was written after the second missionary journey, in connection with which he could hardly have failed to communicate to them the decisions reached. That the work of the perverters had followed closely upon the conversion of the Galatians through his labors is evident from 1 : 6.

A recent writer, who has devoted years to geographical and archæological research in Asia Minor with special reference to apostolic history,[1] has made it clear that the term Galatia in the apostolic times included not only Galatia proper, but Pisidia, South Phrygia, and Isauria as well. The Galatians addressed in the Epistle would accordingly be the Christians in Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Lycaonia, Lystra, and Derbe, the fruits of the first missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas.

The Epistle was probably written at Antioch shortly before Paul started on his second missionary journey, about A. D. 46 or 47. The chief objection urged against this early date is the elaborateness of the doctrinal system of

[1] Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire," 1892.

the Epistle as compared with that of the Epistles to the Corinthians, and to the Thessalonians written during the second missionary journey. The similarity of its teachings to those of the Epistle to the Romans has inclined critics to place the time of its composition some years later. But it is scarcely to be supposed that the apostle after more than fifteen years of profound occupation with the Christian religion had not yet matured his system. Difference of circumstances in the communities addressed accounts sufficiently for the differences of doctrinal presentation. In this Epistle the apostle had to meet the arguments of determined and unscrupulous Judaizers, and nothing was more natural than that he should set forth clearly and strongly the doctrine of justification by faith without the works of the law.

2. *Paul's Second Missionary Journey* (A. D. 46 or 47–49 or 50). Not very long after the Jerusalem conference Paul suggested to Barnabas that they two should revisit the brethren in the cities where they had preached. "Barnabas was minded to take with them John also, who was called Mark." Paul objected, on the ground that on the previous tour Mark had left the party at Perga without a satisfactory reason. "Barnabas took Mark with him and sailed away unto Cyprus; but Paul chose Silas . . . and went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches." What resulted from the journey of Barnabas and Mark we are not informed. Among the incidents of Paul's journey were the revisiting of Derbe and Lystra, the choice of young Timothy as a fellow-laborer, the circumcision of Timothy, whose father was a Greek, "because of the Jews that were in those parts" (Acts 16 : 3), the Divine prohibition to labor in Asia and Bithynia, and the Macedonian appeal in a vision, to which the apostle readily responded.

Philippi was the first Macedonian city to be evangelized. The conversion and baptism of Lydia and her household, the expulsion of the spirit of divination from a Pythoness which led to the beating and imprisonment of Paul and Silas, the opening of the prison doors by an earthquake, the conversion and baptism of the jailer and his family, the fear of the magistrates and their desire to release the missionaries privately, and their confusion when

Paul proclaimed himself a Roman citizen and demanded to be vindicated publicly, are the events recorded. At the request of the magistrates they departed after meeting with the brethren and comforting them.

The relations of Paul to the Philippian church were peculiarly tender. About ten years after the founding of the church, when he was in bonds in Rome, he wrote the church one of the most beautiful of all his letters, on the occasion of their ministering to his needs. It is a personal letter and is not doctrinal in intention; but it is rich in doctrine as well as in practical exhortation. That the organization of the church had been completed by this time is evident from the fact that he addresses the body of believers "with the bishops and deacons." Here in this Gentile church we have a plurality of bishops or overseers, but no "presbyters."

At Thessalonica Paul preached in the synagogue and some Jews believed, "and of the devout Greeks (proselytes) a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few" (Acts 17 : 4).

Luke gives us a very meagre account of Paul's work in Thessalonica. The apostle supplies further information in the Epistles to the church written about 48 or 49, during his residence at Corinth. After commending their "work of faith and labor of love and patience of hope," their exemplary Christian conduct, and their wholesome influence on other communities, and reminding them of his own zealous, loving, and self-sacrificing labors on their behalf and of his holy, righteous, and unblamable demeanor among them, he refers to his desire to revisit them that had been thwarted by Satan and his sending of Timothy to minister to them while he waited alone at Athens, and concludes with a series of exhortations, suggested no doubt by what Timothy had reported regarding their estate. No doubt there was special occasion for the exhortation to "abstain from fornication," to "study to be quiet," to attend to their secular affairs, laboring with their hands. His eschatological instructions probably grew out of what he had heard regarding their disturbance of mind concerning such matters.

Both Epistles are addressed to the church by Paul and Silvanus and Timothy. The second deals especially with the "coming of our

Lord Jesus, and our gathering together unto him." The Thessalonians had been led by a misunderstanding of the apostle's teachings or through some other influence to regard this coming as "present." He warns them against this error, that was doubtless producing an unwholesome condition in the church, and points out to them, in obscure and mysterious language which they probably understood, that certain great events must precede the *parousia* of the Lord. Here also attention is called to a disposition, doubtless connected with the expectation of the immediate coming of the Lord, to neglect necessary secular labor. He exhorts the Thessalonians to withdraw from every disorderly brother.

Driven from the city through Jewish opposition Paul and Silas went to Berœa, where "the Jews received the word with all readiness of mind, examining the Scriptures daily whether these things were so" (Acts 17 : 11). Jews from Thessalonica followed them and aroused such opposition as to interfere with their labors. Paul proceeded to Athens without Silas and Timothy. While waiting for their arrival "his spirit was provoked within him, as he beheld the city full of idols" (17 : 16). Athens was noted no less for her culture than for the profusion of idolatrous objects within her walls. He found curious and contemptuous listeners in abundance, but few prepared to accept the truth. "But certain men clave unto him, and believed: among whom also was Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them" (17 : 34).

Later tradition was busy with the name of Dionysius, representing him as the first to evangelize France and as the author of a great body of theosophical (Neo-Platonic) writings that really originated about the beginning of the sixth century.

Corinth was the scene of more prolonged and more fruitful labors (*c.* 48–50). It was at this time the principal city of Greece and, from the confluence of Greek, Roman, and Oriental culture and vices, was one of the most cosmopolitan of the cities of eastern Europe and was famous for luxury and vice. The book of Acts informs us (chap. 18) of his arrival, of his association with "a certain Jew named Aquila, a man of Pontus by race, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome," that as a fellow-craftsman (tent maker) he

"abode with them, and they wrought," that "he reasoned in the synagogue every Sabbath, and persuaded Jews and Greeks;" that opposition and blasphemy on the part of the Jews led him to withdraw from the synagogue and to hold his meetings in the house of a proselyte named Titus Justus; that "Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, believed in the Lord with all his house"; that "many of the Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptized"; that he was encouraged by a vision to zeal and persistence; that he "dwelt there a year and six months"; that the Jews rose in might against him and arraigned him before the judgment-seat of Gallio, the proconsul, who refused to pronounce judgment and "drave them from the judgment-seat"; and that, "having tarried after this yet many days," he "took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence for Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila."

From the Epistles to the Corinthians, written the one from Ephesus, the other shortly after his departure from Ephesus (*c.* 51–53), we learn much as to the apostle's feelings in entering upon the work, his methods of presenting the truth there, and the moral and doctrinal difficulties in which the church became involved. Paul bears testimony to the high proficiency that the church had attained "in all utterance and all knowledge," so that they came "behind in no gift." He laments that partisanship has arisen among them, on the basis of attachment to individual workers (Paul, Apollos, Cephas); adjures them "to speak the same thing"; assures them that all the workers are building on the same foundation, Jesus Christ; cautions them against the subtleties of philosophical speculation ("the wisdom of this world"), which there is some reason to suspect Apollos had indulged in and encouraged; refers to a previous letter in which he had warned the Corinthian Christians "to have no company with fornicators"; devotes much attention to various sins of unchastity, the enormity of which the Corinthians very imperfectly realized; lays down the principles to be observed in relation to objects associated with idolatry; gives instructions as regards the conduct and apparel of women in Christian assemblies; calls attention to the diversities of spiritual gifts among believers and to the

corporate oneness and multiplicity of function in the membership of the church; exalts love as the cardinal Christian virtue; discusses prophecy and the speaking with tongues, discouraging without absolutely condemning the latter; discusses the resurrection, which he makes fundamental in the Christian system; and urges upon the church a weekly offering for the fund he was collecting for the Jerusalem Christians.

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians indicates that the first had produced the desired effect and that the abuses in the church had been remedied. It abounds in self-vindicatory matter, due no doubt to the efforts of a strong Judaizing party in the church to disparage him and thus destroy his influence. It contains many of the apostle's noblest utterances. He refers to the liberality of the Macedonian churches as an incentive to increased liberality on the part of the Corinthians.

It is probable that the apostle wrote one or more epistles to this church that have not been preserved, and that he was the recipient of written communications from the church. There seems no sufficient reason to see in 2 Cor. 10–13 a separate epistle that has become accidentally incorporated here. Its contents are not such as to fulfill our expectations as regards the lost epistle.

3. *Paul's Third Missionary Journey* (*c.* 50–53). Leaving Corinth in company with Priscilla and Aquila, the apostle made his way eastward. At Ephesus he reasoned with the Jews in the synagogue, but declined to abide. Leaving his companions there and promising to return he sailed for Cæsarea. It is related that "when he had landed at Cæsarea, he went up and saluted the church, and went down to Antioch." It is commonly understood that by "the church" the mother church at Jerusalem is meant. After spending some time there he departed for Ephesus, revisiting the churches in Galatia and Phrygia on the way. If the Epistle to the Galatians was not written during the previous visit to Antioch, as is probable, it was written on this occasion. Between Paul's first and second visits to Ephesus "a certain Jew named Apollos, an Alexandrian by race, a learned man, came to Ephesus, and he was mighty in the Scriptures." We know something of the type of the speculative phi-

losophy and the methods of biblical interpretation in the midst of which he had received his training. He may well have seen and heard the great Philo and could hardly have escaped the influence of his teachings. He had accepted Christ, but was imperfectly instructed in the way of the Lord. He is said to have known only the baptism of John. But Priscilla and Aquila, when they had heard him, "took him unto them and expounded unto him the way of God more carefully," doubtless as they had learned it from Paul. With the good will of the Ephesian brethren he had gone to Achaia, where he was to labor with acceptance and be an occasion of division in the Corinthian church.

On reaching Ephesus Paul found certain other disciples who had received only John's baptism and who knew nothing about the impartation of the Holy Ghost. Instructed by the apostle they "were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus," and when he "had laid his hands upon them the Holy Ghost came upon them; and they spake with tongues and prophesied." Paul now entered upon a period of remarkably successful work, preaching for three months in the synagogue and afterward, by reason of opposition, in "the school of Tyrannus." Here his labors continued for two years (*c.* 50–52), "so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks." The healing of the sick and the casting out of demons caused fear to fall upon Jews and Greeks alike, "and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified." Some who had practised magic brought their books, whose value was estimated at fifty thousand pieces of silver, and publicly burned them. "So mightily grew the word of the Lord and prevailed."

As the apostle was about to leave Ephesus with the view of revisiting the churches in Macedonia and Achaia, a riot was raised against the Christians, led by the idol-makers, whose trade had been seriously interfered with by the prevalence of the word of God. This was promptly put down by the authorities, who feared the censure of the Roman government. In Ephesus was a great temple of Diana, and the idol-makers sought to arouse the multitude by crying, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

Having taken an affectionate leave of the brethren Paul journeyed to Macedonia and passed thence to Greece, visiting and exhorting the churches he had founded. It was during his stay in Macedonia that he wrote Second Corinthians. Corinth was probably his headquarters during the three months spent in Greece (Acts 20 : 3), and it was doubtless there that "the plot" was "laid against him by the Jews." While there he wrote the Epistle to the Romans (*c.* 53), in which more fully than elsewhere he expounds his conception of Christian truth in its relations to Judaism. The church addressed was no doubt prevailingly Gentile, but had a not inconsiderable Jewish minority. He had long desired to visit Rome and enter into personal relations with the Christians there. It was his plan at this time, after visiting Jerusalem with the collections that he had taken great pains to gather, to proceed to Rome, and to be set forward by the brethren there on a missionary tour to the farther west.

Several German critics (Schultz, Weizsäcker, Jülicher, *et al.*) and a recent American writer (Dr. McGiffert) are of the opinion that chap. 16, containing the salutations, was originally addressed not to the Roman church but to the Ephesian. It is thought that the apostle could hardly be expected to know intimately so large a number of the Roman Christians and to be familiar even with their household meeting-places before he had ever set foot in Rome. The presence there of Priscilla and Aquila, whom we last left at Ephesus, would suggest this transfer of the chapter. But there is nothing inherently improbable in supposing that these devoted Christian workers should have returned to Rome, whence they had been driven some years before, or that many other of Paul's converts in the East had removed to the great metropolis. Supposing this to have been the case the apostle might well have learned through these many particulars about the Roman church.

Returning through Macedonia he sailed from Philippi to Troas, accompanied by a number of the brethren. At Troas, "upon the first day of the week," the brethren "were gathered together to break bread." Paul, intending to leave the next day, discoursed until midnight and restored the young man who from drowsiness had fallen from the third story. "From Miletus he sent to Ephesus and called to him the elders of the church." His farewell charge, in which he warned them that grievous

wolves would enter in among them, not sparing the flock, assured them that for himself he expected bonds and imprisonment and that they should see his face no more, and tenderly exhorted them to take heed unto themselves and all the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them bishops, is probably the most pathetic of all his recorded utterances. At Cæsarea he was entertained by Philip, the evangelist, who abode there and was probably at the head of the local church. He had four daughters who had the gift of prophecy. At Tyre and at Cæsarea Paul was warned prophetically of the fate that awaited him in Jerusalem (Acts 21 : 8–14).

It would seem that by this time Paul's work among the Gentiles had become so widely known and Jewish hostility toward him had become so acute that a violent outbreak against him might be expected in Jerusalem. But he was "ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ."

4. *Paul's Last Visit to Jerusalem and the Cæsarean Imprisonment* (*c.* 54–56). In Jerusalem the brethren received Paul and his companions gladly. In conference with James and the elders he "rehearsed one by one the things that God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry." They rejoiced in what had been accomplished, but referring to the fact that "the many thousands" "among the Jews of them that believed" were "all zealous for the law," and that he was reported to be teaching "all the Jews that" were "among the Gentiles to forsake Moses," they asked him to demonstrate his Jewish loyalty by undergoing, with others, a purifying ceremony. This he did. But Jews from Asia who knew of his work among the Gentiles raised an outcry against him when they saw him in the temple, charging that he had defiled the temple by bringing Greeks into it. Rescued from the mob by the Roman officials, he attempted to vindicate himself by rehearsing his religious history. When he came to his divine commission to preach to the Gentiles, the mob raised an outcry and demanded his life. Brought into the castle by order of the chief captain, he was about to be scourged, but he asserted his Roman citizenship and was spared this indignity (Acts 22).

The next day the chief captain called "the chief priests and all the Jewish council" (Sanhedrin) together "and brought Paul down and set him before them." When he was about to make his defense the high priest Ananias ordered that he be smitten on the mouth. This aroused his indignation and led him as a Pharisee to appeal to the Pharisees. By this means he set the two Jewish parties by the ears, and the chief captain had Paul taken back to the castle for protection. Jewish malignity had reached its height. A number of zealots "bound themselves under a curse, saying that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul."

Informed of the plot by his nephew, Paul induced the chief captain to send him with a strong guard to Felix, the governor at Cæsarea. Felix, a corrupt and licentious official, had little sympathy with the Jews, and yet he dared not antagonize them by liberating his great prisoner. He was willing, along with his immoral consort, to hear the apostle preach, but not to abandon his vicious life. For two years he allowed Paul to lie in prison (Acts 24 : 27).

Felix was superseded by Porcius Festus at the end of this time. The new governor reheard the case and submitted it to King Agrippa, who permitted Paul to speak in his own defense. Agrippa and Festus would probably have released Paul, but he had appealed unto Cæsar and they felt that he had thus placed himself outside of their jurisdiction (Acts 26 : 32).

5. *Paul's Voyage to Rome and his Roman Imprisonment* (56–59). The perilous voyage to Rome in charge of the centurion, Julius, the shipwreck and sojourn at Melita, and the arrival at Rome, are related in a very realistic way, probably by Luke himself, who was an eye-witness of much of the later missionary work of the apostle. The journey to Rome probably occurred about A. D. 56–57. The writer of Acts relates that in Rome "Paul was suffered to abide by himself with the soldier that guarded him;" that he summoned to his lodgings the chief of the Jews and explained to them the cause of his imprisonment; that he denied having done anything against the Jewish people or the customs of the fathers; that he sought to convince them from the Law of the

truth of the gospel; and that he "abode two whole years in his own hired dwelling, and received all that went in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, none forbidding him." Neither this writer nor any other New Testament writer gives us any further information about the fate of the apostle. Yet it is probable that no period of his ministry was more fruitful than these two years in Rome.

The Epistles to the Colossians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, Philemon, and Second Timothy were probably all written during this time. In Ephesians 6 : 18–20 he asks his readers to pray that utterance may be given unto him in opening his mouth, to make known with boldness the mystery of the gospel, for which he was "an ambassador in chains." In Philippians he rejoices in the gifts received from his Macedonian brethren and conveys to them the salutation of all the Roman saints, especially of them that are of the household of Cæsar (Phil. 4 : 21, 22), and expresses the hope that he may soon be permitted to visit them. In Philemon he speaks of himself as "Paul the aged, and now a prisoner also of Jesus Christ" and as having begotten Onesimus, the runaway slave, in his bonds. He expresses a wish that Onesimus might be permitted to minister to him. In Second Timothy he speaks of Onesiphorus as having often refreshed him, as not having been ashamed of his chain, but as having sought out and found him when he was in Rome. He urges Timothy to come to him shortly, states that Demas forsook him, "having loved this present world," that Alexander the coppersmith did him much evil, and that at his "first defense" all forsook him. Yet he rejoices that the Lord stood by him and strengthened him, that through him "the message might be fully proclaimed, and that all the Gentiles might hear." He had been "delivered out of the mouth of the lion." He asked Timothy to bring his cloak, books, and parchments left at Troas.

If Paul's two years of Roman imprisonment occurred 57–59, as seems probable, and if he suffered martyrdom in the great Neronian persecution in the summer of A. D. 64, as is commonly supposed, we have an interval of five years without known events. The silence

of Acts regarding his liberation or his martyrdom is difficult to explain. If he was liberated about A. D. 59, it may be that from age and suffering he was physically incapable of further missionary labors, and that he remained among the Roman Christians till the great persecution, or he may have carried out his earlier purpose to preach the gospel in the farther west. Clement of Rome in his Epistle to the Corinthians (*c.* 95) mentions the martyrdom of Paul and Peter together as belonging to his own generation, though he says nothing of time or place. Origen and Tertullian (beginning of the third century) represent Paul as suffering martyrdom at Rome under Nero. Harnack, denying the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles in their present form, holds that after Paul's liberation he produced the genuine writings that lie at the basis of these Epistles. This theory involves the supposition that he visited Asia Minor during the interval. The absence of a record of Paul's labors during the years 59–64 is far from proving that no such labors found place. The Pastoral Epistles, as genuine writings of the apostle, can be best accaccounted for by supposing a somewhat prolonged interval between his Roman imprisonment and his martyrdom and another visit to Asia Minor. From 2 Timothy, probably addressed to Timothy at Ephesus, Aquila and Priscilla appear to have been in Ephesus. If they were in Rome when the Epistle to the Romans was written, they may have returned to Ephesus at the time of the Neronian persecution. On this theory the notices regarding imprisonment in the Pastoral Epistles would refer to a second Roman imprisonment of the apostle preceding his martyrdom.

6. *Peter's Career from the Apostolic Conference Onward* (47–64). The book of Acts is strangely silent regarding the later activity of the apostle of the circumcision, and we possess but little information from any other source. In First Corinthians Paul refers to a party in the church that made his name their watchword and he speaks of him (9 : 5) as accompanied on his journeys by a believing wife. It is probable that for a number of years he devoted most of his time to mission work among the Jews of Syria, returning occasionally to Jerusalem. Toward the end of his career he may have occupied himself more largely with Gentile work.

The first of the Epistles that bear his name is pronounced by modern critics thoroughly Pauline in tone. That his Jewish prejudices should have gradually given way in view of the great work among the Gentiles accomplished by Paul and that he should have read with diligence the Epistles of that great thinker is not inconceivable ; and there is no difficulty in supposing that his less original mind should have become imbued with

Pauline modes of thought. That he should have chosen Rome as the sphere of his latest labors, where the Christians were prevailingly Gentile and where Paul had for some years lived and labored, would strongly confirm the view that his conceptions of Christianity had become assimilated to those of Paul.

Recent criticism is almost unanimous in maintaining that Peter closed his career in Rome, suffering martyrdom under Nero in 64. The absence of any mention of Peter's presence in Paul's Epistles written from his Roman prison is thought to be against the supposition that Peter's ministry in Rome had begun at that time; but if Peter reached Rome about A. D. 59, the date of Paul's supposed release, sufficient time would be allowed for him to gain the large influence in the city that tradition ascribes to him.

It is not improbable that during Paul's imprisonment (Cæsarea and Rome) Peter should have felt prompted to visit the churches of Asia Minor now deprived of Paul's ministry. The address of Peter to "the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," presupposes such a visit on the part of the author. Silvanus and Mark, Paul's earlier companions, are associated with him at the time of writing. Mark was with Paul during his Roman imprisonment. The salutation at the close from "the (church) that is in Babylon," as it is commonly understood, would seem to indicate that the letter was written from Rome, the symbolical Babylon, especially as nothing is known of a church in Babylon at that time, and it is improbable that Silvanus and Mark labored in Mesopotamia.

The First Epistle was chiefly consolatory in view of the then present tribulations, and hortatory against current forms of vice and irreligion and in favor of obedience to constituted authority (to the king as supreme, to governors, to masters on the part of servants, to husbands on the part of wives), likemindedness, compassion, brotherly love, humble-mindedness, patience, and rejoicing in being partakers of Christ's sufferings. The author speaks of Christ as "the Shepherd and Bishop" of the souls of believers, and of himself as "a fellow-elder" with the elders of the churches.

The Second Epistle consists of exhortation to the practice of Christian virtues, of a severe arraignment of certain immoral forms of error, and of a remarkable eschatological passage in which "the day of the Lord" is represented as coming "as a thief," in which "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat," to be followed by "new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." The writer refers, in support of this representation, to the Epistles of his "beloved brother Paul, wherein are some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unsteadfast wrest, as they do all the other Scriptures, to their own destruction."

This Epistle did not gain general recognition as a genuine work of Peter and as a canonical book until after the time of Eusebius (*c.* 325), but its useful character had caused it to be widely read and led to its ultimate reception into the canon. The chief objections to its genuineness are that no mention of it in Christian literature occurs before the third century; that, like the Epistle of Jude, to which it bears a striking resemblance, it combats forms of Gnostic heresy supposed to be of a later origin; that it refers to Paul's writings as "Scripture"; and the seeming remoteness of its composition from the early Christian time as implied in 3 : 4. But it is probable that the "Fathers" referred to are the ancient Jewish patriarchs, and there is no feature of the heresy combated that might not have arisen before 64. Even supposing the author to have been dependent on the Epistle of Jude a later date is not necessary. If the First Epistle is genuine and bears evidence of strong Pauline influence, the mention of Paul's Epistles among the "Scriptures" would not be unnatural.

Early tradition, gathered up by Papias (A. D. 140–160) represented Peter as the virtual author of the Gospel according to Mark. It is highly probable that Mark wrote under the influence of Peter and recorded the words and deeds of the Saviour as Peter was accustomed to narrate them.

Several apocryphal works, written in the second century, bear Peter's name (the Preaching of Peter, the Gospel of Peter, the Apocalypse of Peter), and he figures very prominently in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions (end of second century).

There is no ground for the later Roman Catholic contention that Peter was the first pastor of the Roman church, or that he occupied a position of primacy among the apostles, although our Lord's address to Peter recorded in Matt. 16 : 18, 19, wrongly interpreted, could be easily perverted in this interest.

7. *The Ministry of James, the Brother of Jesus.* There is no evidence that the brothers of Jesus believed in his Messiahship until after his resurrection. A special manifestation to him of the risen Christ no doubt made of James the zealous disciple that we find him to have been. After Peter had become occupied with missionary work outside of the city, and especially after he had compromised himself in the eyes of the Judaizing Christians by eating with Gentile Christians, James came to be the recognized leader of the mother-church. It does not appear that he ever abandoned the contention that it is obligatory on Christian Jews to observe the Law. While he countenanced missionary work among the Gentiles and agreed to the recognition of Gentile converts without circumcision, as a Jew he felt bound to observe the whole law and to require other Jewish converts to conform to this practice. That the mother-church, of which James remained pastor until his death, enjoyed immunity from the severer forms of persecution may be inferred from absence of any notices of suffering; that the Christians of Jerusalem were exceedingly poor is evident from the continued efforts of Paul to gather funds for their relief. Later Christian writers (Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, etc.) represent James as the "bishop" of the Jerusalem church; but this term is never applied to him in the apostolic writings. The authority he enjoyed was due not to official position but rather to force of character, relationship to the Lord, and stanch adherence to Judaism. According to an early tradition embodied by Hegesippus in the fifth book of his "Memoirs," and quoted by Eusebius,[1] James had attained to an extraordinary reputation for sanctity among the Jews and had received the titles "the just" and "bulwark of the people." He is said to have been "holy from his mother's womb," to have drunk "no wine nor strong drink," to have eaten no flesh, to have never had his hair or beard cut, and to have abstained from anointing himself with oil and from bathing. "He alone was permitted to enter into the holy place; for he wore not woolen but linen garments."

[1] "Church History," Bk. II., ch. 23.

It is represented that after Paul had been delivered out of their hands and sent to Rome, some of the leaders of the Jews questioned James about Jesus and that his confession led to the conversion of so many as to alarm the authorities, who cast him from the pinnacle of the temple and afterward stoned and beat him to death. Josephus relates that advantage was taken of the interregnum between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus to destroy this just man. The high priest Annas is said to have called the Sanhedrin together and secured his condemnation. This occurred about A. D. 61.

8. *The Labors of Other Apostolic Men.* We know almost nothing of the career of John from the time of the apostolic conference, when Paul reckoned him as one of the "pillars" of the Jerusalem church, to the Neronian persecution. It is probable that long before A. D. 64 he had entered upon his missionary work in the province of Asia. But his writings and the most that we know of his labors are of a later date. To Jude, a brother of the Lord, a short canonical Epistle is ascribed. He probably remained in connection with the Jerusalem church. Early tradition, of uncertain value, represents Andrew, Matthew, and Bartholomew as laboring in the region of the Black Sea; Thomas, Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite in the remote East as far as India, and Philip in Asia Minor. We have no trustworthy accounts of the results of their labors or of the dates or circumstances of their deaths.

According to tradition Mark labored in Egypt and founded the church in Alexandria. As he was with Paul during his Roman imprisonment and with Peter when he composed his first Epistle, and as he is said to have been succeeded in Alexandria by Annianus in the eighth year of Nero (62), his residence there must have included some time before 62. If he composed the Gospel that bears his name under Peter's influence it was probably shortly before the Neronian persecution.

Of Barnabas after his separation from Paul we know nothing except that he labored for a time on the island of Cyprus. The Epistle to the Hebrews, written probably after the Neronian persecution, was ascribed by Tertullian and by many later writers to Barnabas.

Of Apollos, the learned Alexandrian Jew, whose labors in Ephesus and in Corinth have already been referred to, nothing further is known. Luther ascribed to him the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and this opinion has been adopted by a number of recent writers.

Of Luke, "the beloved physician" and the author of the Gospel bearing his name and of the book of Acts, who was closely associated with Paul in his missionary labors and during his imprisonment, nothing further is known. Some early Christian writers supposed that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written in Hebrew by Paul and translated into Greek by Luke. Origen was of the opinion that the Epistle is a report of oral teachings of Paul by one of his disciples, possibly by Luke, and some have attributed its authorship to Luke. The late Dr. John A. Broadus inclined to the opinion that the Epistle was a sermon of Paul's reported freely in his own language by Luke.

Of Silvanus the last mention we have is in First Peter. Timothy, who was so intimately associated with Paul in his missionary labors, who joined with Paul in the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Philemon, and who was with him during part of his Roman imprisonment, seems to have labored for some time in Ephesus, and is represented by a somewhat late tradition as a bishop of that church. He is said to have suffered martyrdom under Domitian. The name of Titus is associated in tradition with the island of Crete.

IV. FROM THE NERONIAN PERSECUTION TO THE DEATH OF THE APOSTLE JOHN (A. D. 64–100).

1. *The Neronian Persecution.* Christianity had from the beginning everywhere suffered persecution, the Jews being usually the instigators. It has been noticed that in most cases Roman officials were slow to act upon Jewish accusations and gave a measure of protection to the Christians. In a few cases pagans raised an outcry against those whose teachings were perilous to their worldly interests. But there is no instance on record in which any high Roman official proceeded spontaneously against the Christians before A. D. 64. Claudius had issued an edict of banishment against the Jews of Rome

(probably in A. D. 49). No doubt such Jewish Christians as were in Rome suffered along with other Jews. The remark of Suetonius, that "Claudius expelled the Jews assiduously creating disturbance under the instigation of Chrestus," has led some to suspect that the Jewish riots were connected with the Christian propaganda. But Chrestus may have been a Jewish agitator of the time. Supposing Christ to be meant, it is by no means certain that the writer made the blunder of supposing that he was then actually present in Rome.

The early years of Nero's reign were not unfavorable to the spread of the gospel. Son of the ambitious and intriguing Agrippina and stepson of the imbecile Emperor Claudius, he succeeded to the imperial dignity while still a youth. Gifted in poetry and in music, genial, humane, the beginning of his reign awakened high expectations. Augustus had esteemed it a personal affliction to be obliged to punish, and he had inflicted the death penalty only in extreme cases. The youthful Nero, some time after his assumption of the purple, rejoiced that in his entire empire not a drop of blood had been shed. When it appeared necessary for him to sign death warrants he lamented that he could write. Under the tuition of such philosophers and statesmen as Seneca and Burrhus it was expected that the ingenuous youth would become a paragon of wisdom and of justice. Seneca thought him "incapable of learning cruelty," and expected that the emperor's gentleness of disposition would permeate the entire empire and so transform the world as to restore the innocent, golden age of mankind. Nero was emperor when Rom. 13 : 1–7 and 1 Peter 11 : 13–17 were penned. It was to Nero that Paul as a Roman citizen appealed when arraigned in Cæsarea. Christianity had its representatives, doubtless somewhat numerous and influential, in Nero's household.

It does not fall within the purpose of the present work to attempt to account for the transformation of the brilliant, ingenuous Nero of 54 into the cruel monster of 62–68. As early as A. D. 55 he had ordered the murder of his brother Britannicus, and in A. D. 60 his mother had been assassinated at his command. The divorce and the subsequent murder of his first wife Octavia and

the death of Poppœa, his second wife, from personal abuse represent stages in his downward career. He became insanely greedy of praise for his poetic and musical accomplishments, and to gain the popular applause often played the part of a public buffoon. Unbridled indulgence in vice of every description, the flattery of corrupt favorites, and the possession of unlimited power, no doubt dethroned his reason. Only a madman could have been guilty of the follies and the atrocities of his later years.

In the summer of 64 his fury was turned upon the Christians of Rome. The occasion was the burning of ten out of fourteen of the precincts of the city. For accounts of the conflagration and of the persecution that ensued we are indebted almost wholly to pagan writers of the next century. Contemporary Jewish writers like Josephus were discreetly silent regarding the conflagration and the persecution alike. Christians were terror-stricken by this terrible revelation of the "mystery of iniquity," and if they referred to the matter at all veiled their utterances in symbolical language. The abruptness with which the book of Acts terminates may have been due to the writer's unwillingness to subject his brethren to further persecution by publicly narrating the facts of the Neronian persecution. The Apocalypse no doubt owes some of its obscurity to the desire of its writer to express in a way intelligible to the Christians of his time, but unintelligible to their enemies, his divinely inspired views on the actual and future relations of Christianity and the great world-power.

Suetonius, Dion Cassius, and Pliny state categorically that Nero himself was the author of the conflagration. Tacitus informs us that Nero was suspected of the crime and that to avert from himself the suspicion he accused the Christians of committing it. Tacitus' account of the persecution is as follows:

> First were arraigned those who confessed, then on their information a vast multitude were convicted, not so much on the charge of arson as for their hatred of the human race. Their deaths were made more cruel by the mockery that accompanied them. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts and torn to pieces by dogs; others perished on the cross or in the flames; and others again were burnt after sunset as torches to light up the darkness.

Nero himself granted his gardens for the show, and gave an exhibition in the circus, and dressed as a charioteer, mixed with the people or drove his chariot himself. Thus, guilty and deserving the severest punishment as they were, they were yet pitied, as they seemed to be put to death, not for the benefit of the State, but to gratify the cruelty of an individual.[1]

The following remarks may be apposite:

(1) Nero's reputation for wanton destructiveness of property and life was such as to lead to the popular belief that he had caused the conflagration and had inflicted the most terrible suffering on a sect innocent of this particular crime, but on other accounts hated by the people. It is probable that Nero had expressed dissatisfaction with the architecture of the city and that this, together with the magnificence of the rebuilding, confirmed the suspicion.

(2) It is probable that his attention to the Christians as proper victims was suggested by the Jews, who enjoyed considerable favor under Nero through the influence still possessed by the beautiful Poppœa.

(3) We are not to infer from Nero's proceedings against the Christians that he proscribed Christianity as such; but rather that he proscribed the Christians of Rome as guilty of incendiarism and of disgraceful practices.

(4) Tacitus's statement that "first were arraigned those who confessed" may mean either that pretended Christians were found who testified that Christians were guilty of arson and other crimes, and who gave the names of many Christians, or that some real Christians were forced by torture to confess crimes that they had not committed and to give the names of their brethren, or that the accused ones first arraigned confessed that they were Christians. From Tacitus' own statement it would seem that the confession did not involve the admission of incendiarism, but rather of such views of life as seemed to the Romans to involve "hatred of the human race." Their repudiation of the State religion and their refusal to participate in the corrupt social life of the time sufficed to bring upon them this charge, and vile stories were commonly circulated against them, if not in the time of Nero, certainly by the time of Tacitus.

[1] "Annals," XV., 44.

(5) There is no reason to suppose that Nero attempted to exterminate Christianity throughout the empire by issuing a general edict against the Name. Yet it is probable that the harsh treatment of Christians in Rome encouraged their enemies in Asia Minor and elsewhere to rise up against them, and caused Roman officials in the provinces to be less indifferent than hitherto to charges brought against Christians.

(6) It is probable that throughout the remainder of his reign Nero continued to cause the persecution of Christians in Rome. It is not necessary to suppose that Paul and Peter were both, or either of them, executed in the summer of 64. If there were reasons for believing that either of them lived till 66 or 68 the fact that both suffered in Rome under Nero would not be contradicted.

2. *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (*c.* A. D. 67). The six years that intervened between the Neronian persecution and the destruction of Jerusalem must have been a time of gloom and grave apprehension to the Christian churches. They had come to realize that they could expect nothing but evil from the constituted authorities. Many Jewish Christians, who from the first had found it difficult to reconcile the doctrine and the fact of a suffering Saviour with their ideas of a Messianic kingdom and to whom the future seemed fraught with suffering, began to grow discouraged. The Epistle to the Hebrews was probably written at this time with a view to making clear the necessity and the dignity of a suffering Messiah. Christ's superiority to Jewish high priests consists in the fact that "having learned obedience by the things which he suffered; and having been made perfect, he became unto all them that obey him the author of eternal salvation" (5 : 8, 9). "It behooved him in all things to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest. . . For in that he hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succor them that are tempted." Reference is made in chap. 10 to "former days," in which the readers "endured a great conflict of sufferings," and "took joyfully the spoiling of their goods." The blessedness of faith, exercised under the most trying circumstances, and the glories of martyrdom are impressively set forth. The

readers are warned against "divers and strange teachings," and the words that follow indicate that it is Judaizing error (Ebionism) that the writer has in mind. They are exhorted to "obey them that have the rule over" them. A salutation from the brethren in Italy is conveyed and the release of Timothy from bondage is reported. If Paul's martyrdom did not occur in the summer of 64, but somewhat later, the Epistle may have been written under his direction and may be virtually his own. In any case it is thoroughly Pauline in spirit.

3. *The Jewish War and the Destruction of Jerusalem* (A. D. 70). The New Testament contains no direct reference to this great event which forms an epoch in Jewish history and exerted a profound influence on Christian progress. "One of the most awful eras in God's economy of grace, and the most awful revolution in all God's religious dispensations," is Warburton's characterization. "A greater catastrophe than the mortal combat of the Jewish people with the Roman world-power, and the destruction of the holy city, is unknown to the history of the world" (Orelli). Farrar characterizes this event as "the most awful in history."

For years Jewish discontent with Roman tyranny had been growing more and more acute. Caligula (*c.* 40) ordered his image to be erected in the Jewish temple, and committed the execution of the order to Petronius, the Syrian governor. The determined opposition of the Jews led to delay and a crisis was averted by the death of the emperor (41). Claudius sought to conciliate the Jews of Palestine and of Egypt by guaranteeing to them freedom and protection in the exercise of their religion, and the Herodian kingdom under Agrippa I. was restored so as to cover the territory governed by Herod the Great. After his death (44) Judea became a Roman province and the authority of the later Herodians was very slight.

The Roman procurators (44 onward) were for the most part corrupt and oppressive and were little concerned about conciliating the people. Felix (*c.* 52–58), an emancipated slave, was licentious and dishonest and gave the Jewish people over to be ruined by unscrupulous tax-gatherers. Festus (*c.* 58–61) bore a better reputation;

but Albinus, his successor (*c.* 61), shamefully plundered the land. "There was no sort of iniquity that he did not practise" (Josephus). He shared with robbers in their spoils and ranked among them as a captain (Josephus). His successor Florus (*c.* 65) was so shameless in his corruption that he is represented by Josephus as fomenting revolution in order to cover up his misdeeds.

In 66 a Jewish uprising occurred in Cæsarea. The plundering of the temple by Florus greatly increased the popular discontent. Jewish zealots here and there marshaled armies against Roman rule. The slaughter of twenty thousand Jews in Cæsarea was a signal for a general uprising. About thirteen thousand fell shortly afterward at Scythopolis and multitudes in other places. Vespasian, an experienced general, was sent by Nero in 67 to quell the rebellion. Jerusalem was strongly fortified and was able for a long time to resist the Roman assaults. The death of Nero led to a suspension of effort. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius successively donned the purple, but it remained for Vespasian to secure general recognition as emperor (69).

With Vespasian it was a matter of honor to complete the subjugation of the Jews. His son Titus, with an army of eighty thousand, besieged Jerusalem in A. D. 70. Josephus, the historian, took sides with the Romans against his own people and co-operated with Titus. His writings constitute the only detailed account we possess of this terrible struggle.

Besides the ordinary population of Jerusalem hundreds of thousands of Jews had flocked to the city from Judea, Syria, and even Mesopotamia. The besieged held out with fanatical obstinacy. The horrors of famine, pestilence, and cannibalism were added to the destructive fury of the Roman army. As one part of the city after another fell into the hands of the Romans the inhabitants were remorselessly executed. Over a million are said to have been slaughtered and over a hundred thousand to have been taken captive. Multitudes were sent into the most degrading slavery. Thousands of the choicest young men were selected for gladiatorial exhibitions. The temple was destroyed, although Titus is said to have wished to preserve it. A few of the Zealots es-

caped and proceeded to Alexandria, where they caused a Jewish insurrection. This was suppressed with great slaughter and the temple at Leontopolis was forever closed against the Jews. The Jewish nation as a theocracy was blotted out of existence.

There is reason to believe that the Christians of Jerusalem and Judea were strongly opposed to the Zealots in their uncompromising warfare against Rome. To remain in Jerusalem would subject them not only to the horrors of the siege and to the general massacre that they must have foreseen as inevitable, but to maltreatment at the hands of the Zealots, who could brook no opposition and to whom even indifference in respect to the patriotic cause was regarded as treason. Shortly before the city had been invested by Titus (probably late in 69) they withdrew to Pella, in Perea, where under the leadership of Symeon, a cousin of the Lord, they remained until it was safe for them to return to Jerusalem. Under the leadership of James the Jerusalem Christians had gloried in being Jews and in rigorously observing the Jewish ceremonial law. In fact they claimed that, having accepted the Messiah rejected by most of their fellow-countrymen, they were the only true Jews; and they no doubt lived in the hope that they would be able to lead the nation as such to accept the Messiah.

The destruction of Jerusalem was of momentous import to Christianity in the following ways:

(1) It marked in the most unmistakable way the end of the old dispensation and the complete emancipation of Christianity from the thraldom of Judaism. It was henceforth impossible for any one to observe the ceremonial law in its fullness. No doubt the Pauline type of Christianity would ultimately have become dominant apart from this fearful interposition of Divine Providence. Judaistic Christianity was to persist in the form of sects, but catholic Christianity could no longer be Judaizing.

(2) The destruction of the city was very commonly looked upon by Christians as a divine judgment on the Jewish people for their rejection and crucifixion of the Messiah. It may safely be said that if the Jews as a body, or a large proportion of them, had accepted Christ

as their Saviour and had become partakers of the Spirit of Christ, the Jewish Zealots, who brought ruin upon their people, would not have arisen or would not have secured popular support.

(3) The great catastrophe may be regarded as a direct fulfillment of our Lord's predictions as recorded in Matt. 21 : 43 and 23 : 37–39, and in Luke 21 : 20–28.

(4) This great event is regarded by many as a fulfillment of our Lord's prophecies regarding his speedy coming in his kingdom (Matt. 10 : 23 ; 16 : 28 ; 24 : 34), and of such passages in the apostolic Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles as represent the Lord's advent as imminent. It seems harsh to associate so glorious an event as the Lord's coming with a catastrophe so terrible ; yet there can be no question but that the destruction of the city and the theocracy gave a freedom and a universality to the gospel which mark an epoch in the history of Christianity and placed the gradually advancing kingdom of Christ on a firm basis.

(5) There is no reason to think that the Roman authorities at this time discriminated carefully between Christianity and Judaism in favor of the former ; but the time had past when the accusations of Jews against Christians would be heeded by the civil courts. Henceforth the Jews were without political influence and were treated with contempt by the Roman officials.

4. *The Gospels*. All the Gospels except that of Mark (65–70) were probably composed after the destruction of Jerusalem. Various collections of discourses and narratives of the life and works of Jesus had doubtless been in circulation for several decades. Matthew's Gospel was probably composed shortly after A. D. 70, Luke's Gospel and his Acts of the Apostles probably a few years later, while the Gospel according to John did not appear until near the close of the century.

5. *Persecution of Christians under Domitian* (A. D. 81–96). Vespasian (69–79) does not appear to have taken any steps against the Christians. He was one of the best of the emperors and devoted his attention largely to the proper work of administration and to the erection of useful public works. Having slaughtered a million rebellious Jews and destroyed their city and sanctuary, he

relented toward the subjugated remnant and on various occasions protected them from local tyranny. Jews and Christians alike were compelled to pay the old temple tax for the maintenance of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus that had been erected in Jerusalem. Christians were apparently little thought of except as a small Jewish sect hated by their countrymen and not at all dangerous to the commonwealth. The same is true of the short reign of Titus (79–81).

Domitian (81–96), son of Vespasian and Flavia Domitilla, was autocratic, arrogant, suspicious, cruel, and ferocious. Vespasian had refused to be worshiped as God. Domitian insisted upon such worship as an imperial prerogative, and assumed the titles "God," "Lord and God," "Jupiter," etc. He was zealous for the maintenance of the State religion and regarded secret religious societies as hotbeds of treason which must be destroyed. He became suspicious of the Senate, which opposed his arbitrary measures, and many of its members were proscribed. He instituted a system of espionage and encouraged slaves to betray their masters. During the last two years of his reign his suspiciousness and cruelty became intensified. Christians, especially those in Rome, suffered severely at his hands. Christianity now had its representatives among the Roman aristocracy. Flavia Domitilla (the younger), wife (or niece) of Flavius Clemens, a consul and a cousin of the emperor, is said to have been "exiled with others to the island of Pontia in consequence of testimony borne to Christ."[1] Flavius Clemens himself was put to death, but whether as a Christian remains uncertain. Suetonius charges him with "most contemptible laziness" and Dion Cassius with "atheism." This latter was a common charge against Christians; but we cannot account for the silence of early Christian tradition if so eminent a man had suffered for the faith.

Domitian is said to have heard that relatives of Jesus still lived in Palestine and to have suspected them of kingly aspirations. When they had been brought before him and he had learned that they were poor rustics and

[1] Eusebius.

that the kingdom of Christ "was not a temporal nor an earthly," "but a heavenly and angelic one, which would appear at the end of the world," he "let them go, and by a decree put a stop to the persecution of the church."[1] Tertullian speaks of Domitian as "a portion of Nero as regards cruelty," and he seems to have been regarded by the author of the Apocalypse as a second Nero (17 : 11). The First Epistle of Clement of Rome, written about this time, speaks of "sudden and repeated calamities and adversities" as having recently befallen the Roman church. The banishment of the Apostle John to Patmos is commonly referred to this reign. It is not at all likely that Domitian attempted to institute a general persecution of Christians; but the persecution for local reasons of the Roman Christians and the emperor's known hostility to Christianity doubtless gave encouragement to persecuting acts in many communities.

6. *The Johannean Apocalypse.* According to Irenæus, whose acquaintance with Polycarp of Smyrna (d. 155), a disciple of the Apostle John, placed him in very close touch with the later apostolic age, the Apocalypse was written near the end of the reign of Domitian (*c.* 95). More than any other New Testament writing it breathes a spirit of intense hostility to the Roman Empire. Domitian seems to have been regarded as a repetition of Nero. His arrogance, his determination to be recognized and worshiped as a god, and his extreme intolerance led Christians to expect the worst things and made the outlook exceedingly gloomy. The Neronian persecution is probably referred to in 6 : 9 *seq.*, where "the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God" cry out for judgment and vengeance. In 17 : 11, "the beast that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven," is probably Domitian.[2] There was a widespread impression among pagans and Christians alike that Nero, whose cruelty was so appalling as to seem more than human, would return to renew his desolating work. It is not necessary to suppose that the author of the Apocalypse believed in the literal reappearance of Nero; but

[1] Eusebius, following Hegesippus.
[2] Domitian was the eighth emperor (omitting Galba, Otho, and Vitellius). Nero was the fifth and so was "of the seven."

his obscure language would seem to reflect the popular sentiment. Rome was no doubt meant by "Mystery, Babylon the Great, the mother of the harlots and of the abominations of the earth" (17 : 5). "The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss" (ver. 8) is doubtless Nero and Domitian. The book is addressed to the seven churches of Asia, and there are separate epistles to Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, in which the spiritual condition of each church is described. A general state of tribulation and harassment, by reason of persecutors and false teachers, may be inferred from these addresses. The apocalyptic form of literature had been fully developed in the pre-Christian time and the author was no doubt acquainted with some of the earlier apocalyptic writings.

7. *The Gospel and Epistles of John.* That the Apostle John spent the later years of his life at Ephesus and that he lived to the time of Trajan (98) is related by Irenæus (*c.* 175). Clement of Alexandria (end of second century) relates that he went forth to the "neighboring territories of the Gentiles, to appoint bishops in some places, in other places to set in order whole churches, elsewhere to choose to the ministry some of those that were pointed out by the Spirit."

The composition of the Gospel and the Epistles is commonly ascribed to the last years of the apostle's life. Irenæus represents John as having written the Gospel as a polemic against Cerinthus, a noted contemporary heretic. According to Clement of Alexandria John wrote a spiritual Gospel to supplement the other Gospels, in which the external facts had been sufficiently narrated. That the Gospel, especially in the prologue, should betray the writer's acquaintance with the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy, cannot with propriety be urged against its Johannean authorship. If, as is commonly admitted, the apostle continued in vigorous activity to the time of Trajan, there is no reason why he should not have become possessed of all the philosophical culture manifest in the Gospel. That he should have emphasized the spiritual aspects of Christ's teachings is what might have been expected of the disciple "whom Jesus

loved." It is not practicable to discuss here the Johannean question, which still constitutes one of the live issues of New Testament criticism.

The Epistles are commonly accepted as the works of the author of the Gospel. The First Epistle is particularly interesting as indicating to us the forms of error prevalent in Asia Minor during the last years of the apostolic age. The first verse is highly significant. The author's object is evidently to set aside the view that the Word became incarnate in appearance only (Docetism) by giving personal testimony as regards his own proving of the reality of the Word of life manifested to men by hearing, sight, and touch. In 4 : 2 stress is laid on the reality of Christ's humanity: "Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God." Again (2 : 18, 20, 23) we have indications of Ebionitic denial of the deity of Christ. Antichrists are said to be already in the world, who had gone out from the Christians because they were not of them. He is called a liar "that denieth that Jesus is the Christ. This is the antichrist, he that denieth the Father and the Son." Stress is laid on the unction of the Spirit as enabling believers infallibly to discern the truth, and love, in truly Johannean phrase, is made the "new commandment," which he writes to his "little children." He calls his own time "the last hour" and regards the hatred of the world as what was to be expected.

8. *The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians.* This letter addressed by the Roman church to the Corinthian church, said to have been written while Clement was pastor of the Roman church and commonly attributed to him, was probably contemporaneous with the Johannean literature and so falls nominally within the apostolic age; but as it is commonly classed with the "Apostolic Fathers," which belong as a body to the next period, it seems best to defer our discussion of its authorship, date, character, and contents.

It may be here remarked that while in the person of John direct apostolic influence persisted in the province of Asia until about the close of the first century, in most communities it ceased two or three decades earlier. The death of Paul and of Peter, about 64, deprived extensive

regions of the apostolic guidance on which they had especially relied. The generation following to the death of John was an age of transition, and ecclesiastical development was as free from apostolic guidance in many regions as in the second and following centuries. This was no doubt true of the churches of Rome and Corinth.

It will be interesting to note here the condition of these churches as set forth in the epistle addressed by the former church to the latter in response to an urgent request for advice. The reply has been delayed by "sudden and successive calamitous events" (no doubt the persecution under Domitian). The Corinthian church had fallen into discord, which the writer declares to be worse than that in Paul's time. The main trouble seems to have been that ambitious men of the younger generation had gained such ascendency in the church as to be able to supplant the elders that had been appointed by the apostles, or, as the writer says, "the worthless rose up against the honored, those of no reputation against such as were renowned, the foolish against the wise, the young against those advanced in years" (chap. 3). The opinion is expressed that those appointed by the apostles "or afterward by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole church, and who have served the flock of Christ, in a humble, peaceable, and disinterested spirit, and have for a long time possessed the good opinion of all, cannot be justly dismissed from the ministry" (chap. 44). Throughout the epistle the office of oversight is represented as committed to elders and not to a single chief official. There is no mention made of any individual headship either in Rome or in Corinth.

CHAPTER III

CONSTITUTION OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCHES

LITERATURE: In addition to the pertinent works referred to in the preceding chapter, Hatch, "The Organization of the Early Christian Churches," 1882 (also German translation with important annotations by Harnack); Cunningham, "The Growth of the Church in its Organization and Institutions," 1886; Hort, "The Christian Ecclesia," 1897; Lightfoot, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians" (excursus on "The Christian Ministry"); Harnack, "*Dogmengeschichte*," *Bd.* I. (also English translation); Lechler, "History of the Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times"; Allen, "Christian Institutions," 1898; Baur, "The Church of the First Three Centuries"; Jacob, "Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament"; Dargan, "Ecclesiology," 1897; Ritschl, "*D. Altkathol. Kirche*," 1857; and articles on the church and its various officers and institutions in Cremer, "Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek," and in the Bible dictionaries and encyclopedias.

I. THE CHURCH AND THE CHURCHES.

1. *Uses of the Term ἐκκλησία in the New Testament.* The word denotes literally "a calling out," or the result of a calling out of the people for public purposes, that is, an assembly. In this sense it is used in profane Greek, in the Septuagint, and in a few instances in the New Testament (Acts 19: 32, 39, 40, 41). When applied to Christians the word means in the New Testament: (1) The entire community of the redeemed, considered as an organism held together by belief in a common Lord and by participation in a common life and salvation, and in common aims and interests. In the Septuagint the word is used to designate the "congregation of the people of Israel, whether summoned or met for a definite purpose, or the community of Israel collectively regarded as a congregation."[1] The word in the New Testament, as in the Old, carries with it the idea of holiness. It was in this sense that our Lord used the word in Matt. 16: 18, and it is so used in Acts 9: 31 (critical text), 1 Tim. 3: 15, and in many other passages. (2) The word was so specialized

[1] Cremer.

as to be applied to definite bodies of believers assembling in particular places for the worship of God, for mutual edification, for the exercise of discipline, and for the carrying forward of Christian work. In this sense it occurs by far the most frequently. In Matt. 18 : 17, *seq.*, our Lord seems to contemplate a Christian local assembly capable of hearing the complaints of the injured brother and of proceeding against the offender. Examples of this usage are Acts 16 : 5 ; 1 Cor. 16 : 19 ; Philem. 2 ; Phil. 4 : 15. Whenever the plural occurs, or the church in a particular place is mentioned, this use of the word may be inferred. The following observations may here be made :

(1) If any distinction is to be made between the use of the term "church" in the general sense and that of the terms "kingdom of God" and "kingdom of heaven," it is that the latter, used almost exclusively by our Saviour, designates rather the sphere of divine dominion in human life, "the realization of the divine purpose of salvation,"[1] the divine order and mode of life that is as fully present in each individual as in the entire body of the redeemed; while the former, used more commonly in the apostolic writings, indicates the entire body of believers, conceived of as fundamentally holy but as still throughout the present life subject to human frailties. Each believer has the kingdom of God within him and himself exemplifies in a measure the principles of the kingdom, is indeed, so far as he is Christlike, a constituent part of the kingdom; but all the regenerate, as such, however far short of perfection they may fall, constitute the church. The local church is made up theoretically of the truly regenerate only; as a matter of practice no amount of precaution has ever succeeded in preventing the incoming of deceivers or deceived.

(2) By some[2] the word is thought to contain an allusion to the calling of believers, by God's grace, out of the darkness of sin and condemnation into the light and liberty of the gospel covenant. That this thought early entered into the use of the term scarcely admits of doubt. The constant use of the related terms "calling," "the called," etc., could hardly have failed to suggest this thought.

(3) When the term is used in the general sense, there is no implication of any organic outward connection of the individual parts. We speak, *e. g.*, of the press, or the bar, without implying any organic connection between the various individuals embraced by these terms. Oneness of life and of purpose, involving fellowship and mutual helpfulness as occasion may arise, is all that can be inferred from this use of the term.

2. *The Local Churches and Contemporary Organizations.* (1) The close relationship of the local churches of the

[1] Cremer. [2] Jacob, "Ecc. Pol.," p. 8; Hodge, "Ch. Pol.," p. 8, *seq., et. al.*

apostolic age to the Jewish synagogues is manifest to every reader of the New Testament. It is probable that among Jewish Christians the term synagogue was very commonly employed to designate their assemblies. An example of this usage is found in James 2 : 2. The apostles habitually made the Jewish synagogues the point of departure for their evangelistic efforts, and it would seem that they transferred their labors from the synagogues to other meeting-places only when determined opposition among the members made continuance therein impracticable. If the membership of any synagogue had been united in accepting Jesus as Lord, there is no reason to doubt but that it would thereby have been transformed into a Christian church with such modifications only as the newly received life might require. There is no intimation in the New Testament of the introduction of presbyters as church officers. As a feature of synagogal organization the eldership was too familiar an institution to be considered worthy of remark. When a group of believers, cast out of the synagogue, met together for worship and for the carrying forward of Christian work, it was perfectly natural that the older and more experienced brethren should by common consent be entrusted with the leadership and that these leaders should be denominated presbyters or elders. Judaism recognized the right of all parties of Jews to have their separate synagogal meetings. Alexandrian Jews had their synagogue in Jerusalem. In great cities Jews of different nationalities had their separate synagogues. In Jerusalem especially, Christians long continued to regard themselves as Jews, nay, as the only true Jews, and that they should meet separately from other Jewish parties in synagogues of their own was to be expected.

Each synagogue appears to have been normally self-governing and independent. The Sabbath meetings were presided over by the "ruler of the synagogue." In close connection with each synagogue was a court of elders (Sanhedrin, *συνέδριον*), probably elected by the membership of the synagogue from the older and more experienced men, which had its regular meetings in the house of worship and which constituted a court for the trial of all local breaches of the law. The Sanhedrin

consisted of at least three elders, of whom one was the president. The plurality of elders in the early Christian churches, a thing perfectly natural in itself, thus had its prototype in the synagogue. As the early missionaries to the Gentiles, apostles and others, were for the most part Jews or Jewish proselytes, the influence of the synagogue on the organization of Gentile churches must have been considerable.

(2) If any additional explanation of the organization of Christian life in Gentile communities be thought needful, it is furnished by the prevalence of the organizing disposition in the Græco-Roman world at that time. Guilds, clubs, and societies for every imaginable purpose existed everywhere. "There were trade guilds and dramatic guilds; there were athletic clubs and burial clubs and dining clubs; there were friendly societies and financial societies; if we omit those special products of our own time, natural science and social science, there was scarcely an object for which men combine now for which they did not combine then"[1] Nearly all such organizations had their religious features; but distinctively religious organizations were also common. Vast numbers conformed outwardly to the State religion, while in private associations they followed the dictates of their own consciences. Apart, therefore, from Jewish influence, it was the most natural thing in the world for those who by accepting Christianity had made a breach with their former religious and social customs to unite in societies for mutual edification and support and for the carrying forward of Christian work. Such secret associations were looked upon with distrust by the Roman government because of the danger of their becoming hotbeds of treason. Hence the persecution to which Christians were everywhere subjected. The general prevalence of deep poverty among the classes from which Christianity chiefly drew and the abounding charity that characterized early Christianity and helped to make it attractive to the depressed classes had much to do with some of the features of the church order of the early centuries.

[1] Hatch, "The Organization of the Early Christian Churches," p. 26., *seq.* Hatch gives copious references to epigraphical and other literature and cites many interesting cases.

While community of goods was not generally practised in the apostolic churches, the generous support of the poor everywhere prevailed. The collection and the distribution of charitable funds was one of the most important departments of Christian activity. The term "bishop" and terms of similar meaning—overseer (ἐπίσκοπος), curator (ἐπιμελητής)—were in very common use in contemporary pagan organizations. That those who had the oversight of the Christian societies and to whom the management of the common charities was entrusted should be designated by the same terms is what might have been expected. The process by which the presiding presbyter or bishop came to be a monarchical prelate will be shown in the next period.

3. *The New Testament Churches were, in the Intention of Jesus and of his Apostles, made up exclusively of Baptized Believers.* If unworthy persons found entrance into Christian churches, whether as self-deceived or as deceivers, they were not really of the churches and the duty of withdrawing fellowship from such is inculcated in the apostolic writings. There is no sufficient reason for believing that the patriarchal idea, in accordance with which the whole family, including infants, became as a matter of course participants in all the religious privileges of the paternal head, found place in primitive Christianity. There is no intimation in the New Testament that baptism was intended to take the place of circumcision and thus to be applicable to infants. The religion of the New Testament is individualistic and personal in the fullest sense of the terms. Christ insisted that the tenderest relationships should be unhesitatingly sundered for the sake of the gospel, and that fathers, mothers, children, wives, and possessions should be hated in comparison with fidelity to him.

4. *The Universal Priesthood of Believers is clearly a New Testament Doctrine.* This doctrine absolutely excludes the idea of a special sacerdotal class in the church or in the churches. It implies equality of rights and privileges for the entire believing membership, but not identity of function. "To each one," says the Apostle Paul, "is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal" (1 Cor. 12 : 7). "There are diversities of gifts, but the

same Spirit" (ver. 4). The apostle represents the church as a body made up of many members, some strong and comely, others weak and uncomely, some whose functions are from the human point of view honorable, others whose functions are without honorable associations; yet all alike necessary, each to the whole organism and each to the other. According to this view of equality of right and diversity of gifts, the apostle makes the following specifications: "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments (or wise counsels), kinds of tongues." The "church" may mean, in this passage, either the entire Christian fellowship or the local body of believers in Corinth. As the writer's aim was to inculcate brotherly unity and co-operation in the church addressed, the local application cannot be excluded. Spiritually gifted brethren, set apart in an orderly manner because of their gifts for the service of the body, were regarded as servants and not masters. The edification of the body was the matter of supreme moment. No one had a right to refuse service to which he was called by the vote of his brethren acting under the guidance of the Spirit, and no one had a right to oppose himself to a brother performing special functions so long as he appeared to be guided by the Spirit.[1]

5. *The Apostolic Churches were Independent, yet Interdependent.* Churches exercised over each other such moral influence as their character for spiritual and practical wisdom warranted, and it was free to any church to give or withhold fellowship with other churches or their members according as they approved themselves worthy of fellowship or the reverse. The church at Jerusalem, as the mother-church and as the church-home for a number of years of most of the original apostles, naturally exerted for a time an influence beyond that of other churches. This is manifest in the anxiety of Paul to secure its approval of his work among the Gentiles. But it is probable that he was almost as much concerned to free his Jerusalem brethren from a narrowness that

[1] Harnack speaks of the "Independence and equality of each individual Christian" ("*Dogmengeschichte*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 155).

he regarded as contrary to the spirit of the gospel and to secure their moral support in the great work of world-evangelization which he believed had been laid upon him, as to gain their endorsement for his mission. There is no reason to think that after the death of James the Just the Jerusalem church enjoyed any special consideration. Apart from this instance there is no semblance of a difference of rank among the apostolic churches.

Harnack speaks of "the independence and sovereignty of the local churches" (*Gemeinden*), as, in the opinion of Christians of the later apostolic and the early post-apostolic times, "resting upon the fact that they (the churches) had the Spirit in their midst." If apostolic authority was recognized, it was because the apostles were regarded as divinely inspired.[1] Hatch remarks: "The theory upon which the public worship of the primitive churches proceeded was that each community was complete in itself."[2] He explains how (from the third century onward) "the Christian churches passed from their original state of independence into a great confederation." Referring to Christian representative assemblies during the third century and the letters sometimes addressed by them to other churches, he remarks: "But so far from such letters having any binding force on other churches, not even the resolutions of the conference were binding on a dissentient minority of its members."[3]

Cunningham remarks: "The first form of the church was congregational, for every member took a part in its management and every congregation was independent of every other and was a complete church in itself."[4]

II. OFFICERS OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCHES.

In the earliest apostolic times the organization of the churches seems to have been very slight, and the terms applied to the various functionaries were not used with technical exactness. Apart from the appointment of the "seven men of good report, full of the Spirit and of wisdom" (Acts 6) to look after the distribution of the charities, the only officials that we meet for some time are the elders. It is probable that at first these were not formally appointed to this position; but that those who by reason of age and experience were naturally looked up to as leaders received this designation after the example of the synagogues. Spiritual gifts, such as are described in 1 Corinthians 12, were no doubt freely

[1] "*Dogmengeschichte*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 157.
[2] "Organization of the Early Christian Churches," p. 79. [3] *Ibid.*, 171.
[4] "The Growth of the Church," p. 23.

exercised without regard to formal invitation by the churches or to official position.

1. *Apostles.* This term (equivalent to *missionary*) is used in the New Testament in a narrower and a broader sense. In the broader sense it included such missionaries as Barnabas, Apollos, Timothy, Silvanus, Andronicus, Junias, etc., and continued to be applied to a class of itinerant evangelists until long after the apostolic age. The presupposition in each case was that the person so designated had been called and qualified by God for his mission. In the narrower sense it is used of the Twelve, who were specially chosen by Jesus and trained by him. The place of Judas Iscariot was filled by the appointment of Matthias, of whose career little is known. Paul claimed equality with the Twelve because of his miraculous conversion and the special manifestation to him of the risen Christ. The apostles were missionaries at large and seem not to have held official positions in any local church. Even while the Twelve tarried in Jerusalem their relation to the church does not seem to have been official. "They served the church universal, devoting themselves to the conversion of the world and thus to the extension of the kingdom."[1] Their relations to churches formed under their ministry were paternal. They could advise and recommend, and even remonstrate, but their authority was purely moral and their right to obedience rested on the fact that their utterances were divinely inspired. The special divine inspiration of the apostles fitted them to be the vehicle of divine revelation. Through them the churches have received in authoritative form the revelations of the New Covenant.

2. *Prophets.* To what extent prophets constituted a distinct class in the apostolic churches is not clear. Prophecy is recognized as a gift of the Spirit, and prophets are placed next to apostles in 1 Corinthians 12. A prophet is one who speaks forth under divine impulse what has been divinely revealed to him. Prophecy in the New Testament time commonly assumed the form of inspired exposition of Old Testament Scripture. In Acts 13 : 1 Barnabas and Saul are mentioned, along with others,

[1] McGiffert, p. 650, *seq.*

as "prophets and teachers" at Antioch. According to Acts 11 : 27, "there came down prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch. And there stood up one of them named Agabus and signified by the Spirit that there should be a great famine." Judas and Silas, of the Jerusalem church, are spoken of as prophets (Acts 15 : 32). Paul magnified the gift of prophecy and desired that all the Corinthian Christians might prophesy (1 Cor. 14). It is probable that all of the apostles and all of the leading evangelists of the apostolic age possessed this gift; but doubtless there were many whose chief endowment was prophecy and who were known as prophets. Their authority, like that of the apostles, was based upon the fact that they were supposed to speak under divine prompting. As pretended prophets were not wanting, it became necessary to try the spirits. Paul exhorts the Thessalonians not to despise prophesyings, but to "prove all things." The "discerning of spirits" is specified by Paul (1 Cor. 12 : 10) among the gifts of the Spirit.

3. *Teachers.* Teaching is also regarded by Paul as a gift of the Spirit. Apostles and prophets and most of the prominent Christian workers were doubtless teachers; but it would seem that there were some in whom the gift of teaching was especially prominent and who received this designation. This divinely imparted gift fitted them to instruct and edify the churches and entitled them to a respectful hearing.

4. *Evangelists.* In Eph. 4 : 11 evangelists are mentioned, after apostles and prophets, as Christ-given workers in the Christian cause. The term is of course applicable to all divinely called proclaimers of the gospel. These four classes of Christian workers were not church officers in the restricted sense of the term. Those that follow are church officers proper.

5. *Presbyters or Bishops.* The unofficial presbyters of the earliest apostolic age were followed after a few years by presbyters appointed by their brethren under the advice often of apostolic men, and solemnly set apart by the latter. Their functions were the administration of discipline, the settlement of disputes among Christians, the conducting of the public services, the administration of the ordinances, the supervision of the charities, and gen-

eral oversight of the church community. Public teaching and prophecy were not necessary functions of the presbyterate; but such gifts were not disregarded. It is probable that in most communities the appointed presbyters were also teachers or prophets. It was not uncommon that among the presbyters of a church some one was so eminent for gifts and for elevation of character as to acquire the practical leadership of the body. The permanent chairman of the Board of presbyters became the president or bishop of the second century, and his position was analogous to that of a modern congregational pastor. In Eph. 4 : 11, 12 "pastors" are mentioned among those given by Christ "for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ."

In Gentile churches the appointed and ordained elders were commonly designated "bishops" or "overseers." The identity of appointed elders and bishops in the apostolic age is now commonly admitted by Roman Catholic and Anglican writers, and is insisted upon by scholars in general. Both terms, when applied to church officers in the New Testament usually occur in the plural. Some interpreters suppose that the "angel" of each of the seven churches of Rev. 2 and 3 was the chief pastor or head-presbyter. If so we have a New Testament parallel to the bishop of the second century.

For full proof that in the New Testament a two-fold ministry (bishops or presbyters, and deacons) and not a three-fold ministry (bishops, presbyters, and deacons) is recognized, see Lightfoot, "Commentary on Philippians," p. 93, *seq.*, and the works of Hatch, Cunningham, McGiffert, Harnack, Weizsäcker, Jacob, Conybeare and Howson, and Schaff, referred to in the "Literature." See also article by the writer in Jenkens' "Baptist Doctrines."

6. *Deacons.* It has commonly been assumed that "the seven" appointed to "serve tables" (Acts 6) were deacons. The term means "minister" or "servant," and the corresponding verb and abstract noun, are used with reference to any kind of ministry. All Christians are or should be deacons in this broad sense. The seven were appointed for a particular kind of ministry, namely, the distribution of the charities of the church. But there is no evidence that this arrangement was long

continued in the Jerusalem church or that it was adopted by other churches in the earliest apostolic times. Many modern writers see in the seven the germ of the Board of appointed elders or bishops of the later time. It is remarkable that, according to Acts 11 : 30, the relief sent "unto the brethren that dwelt in Judæa . . . by the hand of Barnabas and Saul" was delivered "to the elders," who no doubt distributed it to the needy. The presence for some years of the apostles in Jerusalem may have limited the functions of the elders there so that they corresponded closely to those of the deacons of churches otherwise conditioned, while the apostles performed the work of spiritual guidance and instruction elsewhere and later committed to the appointed elders or bishops. The mention of deacons in the New Testament in the official sense is strikingly infrequent. In Phil. 1 : 1 they are saluted along with the bishops of the church, and in 1 Tim. 3 : 8, *seq.*, their qualifications are given after those of bishops. Equal elevation of character is required for the two offices, but aptness to teach is not specified in the case of deacons. The "women" mentioned in ver. 11, just after the qualifications of deacons have been enumerated, may have been the wives of deacons, but it is more probable that deaconesses are meant, the word being naturally supplied from the context. Phœbe is designated in Rom. 16 : 1 as a deaconess of the church of Cenchreæ. The term may be here employed in its non-official sense.

In the completely organized churches of the later apostolic age there was a Board of deacons side by side with a Board of appointed elders or bishops, the former assisting the latter in the gathering and the distribution of the charities, in the exercise of discipline, and to some extent in the more spiritual work.

On the diaconate see Uhlhorn's excellent discussion in his "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church," p. 74, *seq.*, and the pertinent passages in the works of Hatch, Cunningham, Weizsäcker, Ritschl, Harnack, and McGiffert, referred to in the "Literature."

III. ORDINANCES OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCHES.

The religion of Christ is essentially free from mere ceremonialism. The two ordinances established by

Christ himself are of deep spiritual significance, but having their ceremonial side were peculiarly liable to perversion and were early degraded almost to a level with heathen rites.

1. *Baptism.* Christian baptism is the immersion of a believer in water as a symbol of death to sin and resurrection to newness of life. Jesus himself required baptism at the hands of John the Baptist, meeting his remonstrance with the remark that "thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness," and it was on this occasion that his Divine Sonship was proclaimed from heaven and that the Spirit rested upon him.

The meaning of the word, the description of the act in individual cases, and the symbolism (burial and resurrection) all seem to fix the outward form of the ordinance as immersion.

Our Lord's own direction regarding baptism makes it follow faith, and the very nature of the ordinance renders it applicable exclusively to those capable of repentance and faith.

Referring to the practice of the churches about the middle of the second century, Harnack remarks: "Descending and ascending in baptism and immersion were regarded as highly important, but not as indispensable symbols." This last statement he bases on the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which he supposes to have been written as early as 160. Regarding infant baptism at the same date, he remarks: "A sure trace of infant baptism is not found in this epoch; personal faith is a necessary condition." Again: "Origen [third century] held it easy to justify infant baptism, since he recognized something sinful in bodily birth itself, and since he knew of sins that were committed in an earlier life. The oldest attempt to justify infant baptism, accordingly, goes back to a philosophical doctrine." [1]

Hauck, referring to New Testament baptism, remarks: "Baptism probably always took place through immersion in flowing water." As regards the subjects of baptism he has the following: "That in the New Testament is found no direct trace of infant baptism must be regarded as firmly established; attempts to prove its necessity from the manner of its institution, its practice from such passages as Acts 2 : 39; 1 Cor. 1 : 16, suffer from the defect that the thing to be proved is presupposed." [2] In relation to the introduction of infant baptism Loofs remarks: "Infant baptism first provable in Irenæus, still combated by Tertullian, was to Origen an apostolic usage." [3]

[1] "*Dogmengeschichte*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 150, 358.
[2] Art. "*Taufe*," in the "*Real-Encyklopädie*," second ed., *Bd.* XV., *Seit.* 219, 220.
[3] "*Dogmengeschichte*," *Seit.* 137.

Such citations from the foremost German and Anglican authorities might be multiplied. A remark by Zenos, a learned American Presbyterian, is so out of harmony with the results of German and English scholarship as regards the form of apostolic baptism that it may be quoted as a curiosity: "Not only adults, but households were its subjects. As it was a mere symbol of cleansing, sometimes sprinkling, sometimes affusion of water, and sometimes, perhaps, immersion in water were employed, each mode being regarded as sufficient and valid."[1] He gives no authorities for this almost unique view.

2. *The Lord's Supper and the Agapai* (ἀγάπαι). The Lord's Supper as an ordinance was based upon the paschal supper which Jesus ate with his disciples just before his crucifixion. Luke alone of the evangelists records our Lord's injunction, "This do in remembrance of me." John's account of the paschal supper is occupied almost wholly with Judas' treachery, and makes no mention of the distribution of the bread and the wine to the disciples as his body and his blood. John is unique in recording the washing of the disciples' feet. The institution of the Supper was in connection with the paschal meal; but the giving of thanks and the distribution of the bread and the wine with appropriate remarks were distinct from and followed the paschal meal proper. This feature is wholly omitted in John's narrative. It is difficult to decide whether anything like a ceremonial observance of the Supper is referred to in Acts 2 : 46: "And day by day, continuing stedfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart." If so, it was simply the ordinary meals of the Christians sanctified and spiritualized by their intense religious fervor. The "breaking of bread," in Acts 20 : 7, 11, following a prolonged discourse of Paul at a gathering of believers, was almost certainly a memorial feast; but it is probable that it was a "love-feast" as well. There is no conclusive evidence that during the apostolic age the Supper and the "love-feast" (*agapai*—ἀγάπαι)

[1] "Comp. of Church History," p. 28.

existed as separate institutions. The term "love-feasts" occurs in the New Testament, possibly designating a Christian collation, only in 2 Peter 2 : 13 : "Revelling in their love-feasts while they feast with you," where many ancient authorities (preferred by Westcott and Hort) read "in their deceivings" (*apatais*—ἀπάταις), and in Jude 12, a closely related passage, where of certain vile heretics it is said : "These are they who are hidden rocks (or spots) in your love-feasts, when they feast with you." Many ancient authorities here also read "in their deceivings." These passages furnish at best a very slender basis for any theory regarding the manner of celebrating the Supper at this time.

The fullest and most instructive account of the ordinance in the apostolic age is that of Paul in 1 Cor. 10 and 11. In 10 : 16–22, the apostle, warning the Corinthian Christians against idolatrous practices, writes : "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of (or participation in) the blood of Christ? The bread (loaf) which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ? seeing that we, who are many, are one bread (loaf), one body." Those who rightly partake of the Christian feast cannot, without the gravest inconsistency, partake of things sacrificed to idols. "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of demons : ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and the table of demons." Again (chap. 11), referring to divisions in the church that make it impossible for them when they assemble "to eat the Lord's Supper," Paul administers a severe rebuke to their selfish and unchristian behavior as follows : "For in your eating each one taketh before other his own supper ; and one is hungry, and another is drunken." What the apostle condemns is not the fraternal meal in which a sufficiency of food is provided for all, and in which rich and poor participate freely on a footing of equality, thus remembering their common Saviour and manifesting Christian love for each other ; but the selfish gratification of appetite on the part of some in disregard of others, to the destruction of brotherly love. Such a meal could not properly be called "the Lord's Supper" ; for the spirit of it was diametrically opposed to the spirit of the gospel. Those who

manifested such greed and such lack of brotherly love could not possibly discern the Lord's body in the feast, and the pretence of eating the "Lord's Supper" involved the unworthy participants in the divine judgment that rests upon hypocrisy and sacrilege.

Paul connects the Supper thus grossly perverted by the Corinthian Christians, with our Lord's Supper with his disciples "in the night in which he was betrayed." He gives substantially the same account of Jesus' words on this occasion as we find in Luke's Gospel. More even than Luke he emphasizes the Lord's injunction, "This do in remembrance of me," specifying the memorial character of the Supper in connection with the distribution of both the bread and the wine, and adding the words, "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come."

It is not a little remarkable the New Testament contains so few notices of the celebration of this ordinance. Outside of the doubtful passages referred to in Acts 2 and in 2 Peter and Jude, the notices are confined to Paul's Epistles and to the portions of the Acts that relate to his work. And even in these portions of Scripture they are few, and except in 1 Corinthians, without detail. But the universal celebration of the ordinance in the early post-apostolic time makes it certain that the apostolic churches generally remembered the Lord in this way.

The following remarks are suggested by the facts that have been considered:

(1) The Lord's Supper was in its intention and in the practice of the apostolic churches a means of manifesting brotherly love, and of commemorating the Lord's atoning work on the part of baptized believers, that is, of those who had been received into the Christian fellowship through profession of saving faith in Christ followed by baptism.

(2) It seems certain that the bread and the wine were not partaken of in minute quantities as at present. The abuses that grew out of the more abundant partaking of food and drink, condemned so vigorously by Paul, and the vast growth in the membership of churches rendering it inconvenient for them to come together frequently

for the fraternal meal, led to the celebration of the Supper in a more ceremonial manner with the use of small quantities of bread and wine and the separate and perhaps less general use of the social meal (*ἀγάπαι*).

Feet-washing has by some been regarded as a Christian ordinance, on the basis of our Lord's example, who at the last paschal supper washed his disciples' feet, and of his words (John 13 : 14, 15): "If I then, the Lord and the Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done unto you." The only other New Testament reference to the washing of feet is that in 1 Tim. 5 : 10, where the fact of having "washed the saints' feet" is given among the qualifications of widows as officially recognized beneficiaries and workers in the churches. There is no indication in the New Testament, or in the Christian literature of the first three centuries, that our Lord was understood to have instituted an ordinance by the acts and words under consideration. Feet-washing was a common and needed act of hospitality in Palestine at the time, and the teaching that Christ intended to convey was the manifestation of the spirit of brotherly love in acts of humble service.

The earliest reference to the ceremonial use of feet-washing is in the canon of the synod of Elvira (306) where it is condemned. Augustine (end of the fourth century), who mentions it among the observances of Maundy Thursday (the day of the Last Supper), states that lest it should appear to be in any way essential to the sacrament (Supper) many churches had never admitted the custom at all.[1] Ambrose mentions it at about the same time as in use at Milan. The synod of Toledo (694) excluded from communion such as should refuse on Maundy Thursday to participate in this ceremony.[2] Bernard (twelfth century) wrote of feet-washing as "a sacrament of the remission of daily sins." The practice prevailed to some extent in the Greek Church. In modern times the pope, the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Spain, Portugal, and Bavaria, and bishops and abbots of the Roman Catholic Church, have each twelve poor men brought in on Maundy Thursday, and wash their feet. Many Anabaptists (including Mennonites), some Baptist parties, the Moravian Brethren, and the Sandemanians, have practised ceremonial feet-washing.

It is probable that our Lord did not intend to enjoin its ceremonial observance, but that at the last Supper he simply aimed to emphasize the duty of humble service. The great mass of evangelical Christians have thus understood the matter and have regarded with disfavor the literal imitation of Jesus' act.

IV. WORSHIP—ELEMENTS, TIMES, AND PLACES.

1. *Elements of Worship.* The worship of the early Christians was very free and informal. It consisted of

[1] "*Epp.*," CXVIII. and CXIX.
[2] Binterim, "*Denkwürdigkeiten*," *Bd.* V., *Seit.* 204.

prayer, the singing of psalms, and the reading and exposition of the Old Testament Scriptures (prophesying). The participation in worship was not confined to the official members, but to every male member it was permitted to utter his apprehension of truth. The ordinary services of the early churches were very similar to those of a good prayer meeting at the present time.

2. *Times of Worship.* The Jewish Christians continued for a long time to observe the Jewish Sabbath, assembling also on the Lord's Day. The Jewish Sabbath seems never to have been enjoined upon the Gentile churches; and we find early in the second century the first day of the week observed as a matter of course.

(1) The process of the change was probably as follows: At first the Jewish Sabbath *and* the Lord's Day were celebrated by most Christian communities. Two circumstances led to the abandonment of the former. First: The inconvenience of celebrating two days in immediate proximity. Secondly: The spirit of opposition to the extreme Judaizers. Christians saw that a large and influential party was trying to make Christianity a mere Jewish sect. They were disposed, therefore, to reject as much as possible of the Jewish ceremonial.

(2) With regard to the propriety of the change, two views have obtained currency among those who defend it: First: That the Sabbath is of perpetual obligation, but that the essential idea is that of rest and worship on one day in seven. As the resurrection of the Son of God is to Christians of fundamental importance, it was fitting that the one day in seven should be made to coincide with the day of this great event. Second: Christianity in its ideal form is entirely without ceremonial and holy days. All days alike are holy, and are to be spent in the service of God. But as actual Christianity is not ideally perfect, and as Christians are obliged to engage in secular callings, etc., it is necessary that there should be some fixed time for special religious services. Christianity had a right to adopt any day for this purpose. As a matter of fact it very appropriately adopted the day on which the Saviour rose from the dead.

3. *Places of Worship.* The Jerusalem Christians met for a time partly in the temple and partly in an upper

room. The apostles, in their missionary work, went first to the Jewish synagogues. When driven from the synagogues they commonly held their meetings in private houses. It is probable that during the later apostolic age the Christians of Rome made considerable use of the catacombs (underground burial places) for religious purposes. Domitilla, banished under Domitian, is said to have given land for Christian catacombs. Not until the first half of the third century did the Christians build houses of worship.

V. METHODS OF CHRISTIAN PROPAGANDISM.

The primitive Christians were essentially missionary. Each believer regarded it as incumbent on himself personally to propagate the faith that had saved him. Christians worked:

1. Privately, among friends and relations, by whom, however, they were often cast off as a result of their becoming Christians.

2. In the Oriental cities and villages the custom of talking at the corners of the streets prevailed to a great extent. An earnest Christian would thus frequently find opportunity to draw together a knot of hearers and to tell them of Christ.

3. Artisans of various sorts often found opportunity to spread the gospel among their fellow-workmen.

4. After the time of the Apostle Paul, most of the spread of the gospel was effected, not by direct missionary efforts, but by the moving hither and thither throughout the empire of artisans and tradesmen, who planted Christianity wherever they went. So also Christianity was frequently spread by persecution, each fugitive forming a new center of Christian influence.

5. The burning enthusiasm of the early Christians was contagious. The minds of many were troubled. They could no longer believe in the decaying paganism which the philosophers had taught men to despise. Christianity, as represented by its enthusiastic devotees, met the felt needs of men. Its doctrine of the equality of all men before God, and of the worth of all human souls, its promises of future happiness, such as would make present sufferings of small consideration, tending

to elevate them and to deliver them from despair. The abounding charity of the early Christians, at a time when poverty and distress abounded, drew to their fellowship multitudes of the depressed classes.

6. The Christians were obliged to labor for the most part secretly. They could not hold public services to which the unconverted could be invited. Their assemblies for worship were almost exclusively of church-members. Only after one had been led to accept Christ did he gain access to the conventicles of the Christians. But the degree of secrecy necessary varied greatly at different times and at different places. While the Christians were on amicable terms with the Jews, whose religion was tolerated, they had more freedom. When they became objects of hatred to the Jews their freedom was less.

PERIOD II

FROM THE END OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE (100–312)

CHAPTER I

RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE FROM THE TIME OF THE APOSTLES TILL THE ADOPTION OF CHRISTIANITY AS THE RELIGION OF THE EMPIRE

LITERATURE: Pliny, Epistles, Bk. X., Chap. 96, 97; Marcus Aurelius, "Meditations," Bk. XI., Chap. 3; Eusebius, "*Hist. Ecc.*," Bk. VI., VII., VIII., IX., etc.; Routh, "*Reliquiæ Sacræ*," Vol. I., p. 295, *seq.*; Lactantius, "*De Mort. Persec.*"; Justin Martyr, "*Apol.*," I., 68; Tertullian, "*Apol.*"; Cyprian, "*De Lapsis*" and "*Epp.*"; Pontius, *Cyprianus*; "Martyrologies," in Migne's "*Patrol. Lat.*," Vol. XI., p. 434, *seq.*; Neander, Vol. I., p. 86, *seq.*; Schaff, Vol. II., p. 31, *seq.*; Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire"; Hardy, "*C. Plinii Secundi Epistolæ*," especially the Introduction; Pfleiderer, "*Das Urchristenthum*"; Bruno Bauer, "*Christus u. d. Cæsaren*,"; Arnold, "*Studien zur Gesch. d. plinianishen Christenverfolgung*"; Neumann, "*Der röm. Staat u. d. allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diokletian*"; Mommsen, "History of Rome: the Provinces"; Allard, "*Hist. des Persecutions*"; Addis, "Christianity and the Roman Empire"; Uhlhorn, "Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism"; Mœller, "History of the Christian Church," Vol. I., p. 74, *seq.*, 87, *seq.*, 159, *seq.*, 190, *seq.*; Aubé, "*Hist. des Pers. de l'Eglise*"; Renan, "*Marc-Aurèle*"; Keim, "*Rom u. d. Christenthum*"; Mason, "The Persecution of Diocletian"; Merivale, "History of Rome Under the Emperors"; Overbeck, "*Studien zur Gesch. d. alt. Kirche*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 93, *seq.*; Pressensé, "Martyrs and Apologists," p. 67, *seq.*; Gibbon, Chap. XVI.; Gieseler, "Church History," Vol. I., p. 119, *seq.*; Niebuhr, "History of Rome," Vol. III., *passim*; Mossman, "Early Christian Church," p. 144, *seq.*; Alzog, "Universal Church History," Vol. I., p. 169, *seq.*; Wieseler, "*Die Christenverfolgungen der Cæsaren*"; Lightfoot, "Ignatius," Vol. I., pp. 1–69; Hardy, "Christianity and the Roman Government," 1894; Schiller, "*Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*," 1883–87; Seek, "*Gesch. d. Untergangs d. antiken Welt*," Vol. I., 1895; Gregg, "The Decian Persecution" (Hulsean Prize Essay for 1896); Overbeck, "*Studien zur Gesch. d. alt. Kirche*"; works on the Catacombs, by De Rossi, Northcote and Brownlow, Parker, etc. Articles on the various emperors in Smith and Wace, "Dictionary of Christian Biography," and in the general and religious encyclopedias. The articles in the new edition of the Herzog-Hauck "*Real-Encyklopädie*" are particularly valuable.

I. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

1. THE apostles had labored and died in spreading the gospel. Throughout Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and pos-

sibly even farther west, the gospel had been preached and Christian churches established. Christianity had now to make its way without apostolic aid, in the face of obstacles that to human apprehension must have seemed well-nigh insuperable.

2. We shall see that Christians were everywhere persecuted, but that persecution, for the most part, tended to spread rather than suppress the truth.

3. We shall see that Christianity entered upon its career almost void of literary and philosophical culture and social standing, and that at the close of this period it had drawn to itself the culture of the age and had gained the homage of kings.

4. We shall see that this accession of culture had its disadvantages as well as its advantages; for along with culture came philosophical error and imitations of pagan ceremonial observances.

5. We shall see that as soon as Christianity came to be forwarded by any other than legitimate means, as soon as increase of power and respectability was set up as an object of endeavor, a door was thrown open for the entrance of all sorts of abuses.

6. In general, we may characterize the present period as the period of the gradual growth and the gradual corruption of Christianity until it became strong enough on the one hand to make its adoption by the empire a matter of policy, and corrupt enough on the other to rejoice in such adoption.

II. CAUSES OF PERSECUTION.

Christianity was a *religio illicita*. It was the policy of the Roman Empire to tolerate the religions of conquered peoples, so long as they would not attempt to proselyte. Judaism was a *religio licita*. Christianity, so far as it was distinguished from Judaism, was reckoned among secret societies or collegia which were contrary to law. Cicero[1] says: "Separately let no one have gods, nor may they worship privately new or foreign gods unless they have been publicly recognized." Gaius,[2] speaking of forbidden associations, says: "Neither a society

[1] "De Legibus," Bk. II., Chap. 8. [2] Bk. III., Chap. 4, ¶ 1.

nor college, nor body of this kind, is conceded to all promiscuously; for this thing is coerced (regulated) by laws or codes of the Senate and imperial (or princely) constitutions." The essentially proselyting spirit of Christianity was an additional cause of its unlawfulness.

2. Christianity was a religion which aspired to universality. Christ's kingdom was to be set up throughout the whole earth. With the Romans the State was the chief thing. Religion was to be promoted only in so far as it served the interests of the State. The Christians had no sympathy with this idea, and their enemies lost no opportunity to represent Christianity as dangerous to the State. This brought upon them the enmity of rulers.

3. Christianity was a religion hated by the influential classes. The withdrawal of Christians from social intercourse with the pagans, rendered necessary by the idolatrous practices connected with every department of life, caused the Christians to be looked upon as enemies of the human race. Their refusal to participate in idolatrous rites and to frequent the temples, and the exclusion from their homes and, of necessity, their persons of all symbols of idolatry, led them to be looked upon as atheists—enemies of the gods. As enemies of mankind and of the gods, they were regarded with the profoundest abhorrence by the people in general. Nothing was too bad to be believed of such people. The Christians were known to assemble at night secretly; they were observed to be very fond of each other. What but the gratification of lust could be the motive of such assemblies? As they assembled in considerable numbers, the gratification of lust must be promiscuous. What could be more natural than to ascribe to this mysterious, ungodly people the additional crime of eating the bodies and drinking the blood of the offspring of their orgies? The standing charges against Christianity, therefore, for several generations were atheism, promiscuous licentiousness, and cannibalism. See the "Apologies" of Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian, and Origen, in which these accusations are stated and refuted. Most of the persecution which the Christians suffered was the result of this popular hatred.

4. The fact that Christianity was recruited chiefly from the poor and the outcast caused Christianity to be looked down upon by the respectable and by those who would be regarded as respectable.

5. Christians shared with Jews the contempt which the Romans always had for this people—only they were regarded as far worse and were without the protection which the Jews enjoyed even after the destruction of Jerusalem. After the Jewish rebellion of A. D. 135 their advantages over Christians probably ceased or were greatly diminished.

6. Christianity, by its enthusiasm, shocked the sensibilities of many of the purest and best philosophers. These might have been expected to favor Christianity; but they regarded it rather as a wild fanaticism which could only do harm to its adherents.

7. Christianity came into conflict with the temporal interests of certain classes, as priests, venders of sacrificial animals, makers and venders of idols. Many persecutions were aroused by such persons, as in the New Testament times, so later.

8. The occurrence of famines, earthquakes, military reverses, conflagrations, etc., frequently furnished occasion for the persecution of the Christians, who, as enemies of the gods, were supposed to be the cause of the evils.

III. TREATMENT OF CHRISTIANS BY DIFFERENT EMPERORS.

Many of the emperors during the second and third centuries were men of great moderation, and might have been expected to abolish persecution. But we shall see that in some instances the most violent persecutions occurred under the wisest and most upright rulers. This is to be accounted for in part by the fact that such men were more likely than others to adhere rigidly to the laws against unauthorized religions; were more anxious than others to maintain the splendor of the old religion; were more repelled by the, to them, fanatical proceedings of the Christians; were more under the influence of philosophers, who showed great enmity toward Christianity and wrote against it (*e. g.* Marcus Aurelius was greatly influenced by Stoic and Cynic philosophers).

1. *From Trajan to Marcus Aurelius* (98–161). (1) *Trajan* (98–117), one of the best of Roman emperors, is the first with regard to whom we know certainly that he formally proscribed secret societies, among which Christian churches were included. He had no true conception of Christianity, agreeing with his friends Tacitus and Pliny in regarding it as a "bad and immoderate superstition." Our most trustworthy knowledge of his attitude toward Christianity is derived from the letter of Pliny, the younger, governor of Bithynia, asking for information with regard to the right method of dealing with Christians, and the rescript of Trajan (*c.* A. D. 112). Pliny states that he has never had anything to do with the trial of Christians and therefore is ignorant what and how great punishment ought to be inflicted; whether there ought to be any discrimination in respect of age; whether favor should be shown to the penitent; whether they should be punished for the shameful reputation attached to the name, if nothing shameful be proved in individual cases. His method of procedure, meanwhile, is declared to be: to question those who are brought before him as to whether they are Christians, threatening punishment if they persist, and sending to prison those that refuse to curse Christ and offer sacrifice to the gods and to the image of the emperor; others, who were Roman citizens, he had noted down to be sent to Rome; those who denied being Christians he had liberated. He thinks it important that some definite method of procedure should be agreed upon, because so great a number are involved. Those who confess to having been Christians, but now reject Christianity, inform him that the sum of their error was that they were accustomed to assemble before light; to sing a hymn to Christ; to promise that they would commit no crime—theft, robbery, adultery, embezzlement of entrusted funds; and later in the day to partake of a meal in common. In order to arrive at the truth more assuredly, Pliny had tortured two female slaves, who were called *ministræ* (possibly deaconesses), but had learned nothing beyond the fact that Christianity was a bad and immoderate superstition. By his proceedings he had brought it about that the temples, before almost deso-

lated, had begun to be frequented; sacrifices, long since suspended, had been resumed; the feeding of victims had been taken up, etc. He refers to an imperial mandate forbidding secret societies (*hetæriæ*) which he is attempting to enforce. He intimates that the Christians, in consideration of his prohibition of secret societies, had given up their social gatherings, and there is no intimation that their punishment was for violation of this law.[1] Trajan replies that Pliny has acted properly in the cases mentioned; and that no universal rule can be laid down. Christians are not to be sought out for persecution, but when legally arraigned are to suffer for their violation of the laws.

The precise attitude of Trajan toward Christianity is still a matter of controversy. Christian writers of the succeeding time took a highly favorable view of his tolerance. Melito of Sardis (*c.* 170) seems to have regarded him as a protector of Christians.[2] Lactantius ignores his persecutions, while Eusebius seeks to free Trajan himself from responsibility for such persecutions as occurred during his reign, and gives him credit for mitigating the violence of persecution. Mediæval legend represented him as having been released from infernal torments through the intercession of Pope Gregory I. Most modern critics have gone as far in the opposite direction, maintaining that Trajan's rescript introduces a new era in the relation of the empire to Christianity distinctly more unfavorable to the latter. This view is taken by Gieseler, Overbeck, Aubé, Uhlhorn, Keim, Renan, *et al.* Lightfoot, who thinks it probable that Nero issued a distinct prohibition of Christianity, maintains that Trajan introduced no new policy, but simply gave his sanction to the carrying out of a policy that had prevailed from the time of Nero. Hardy is inclined to regard Trajan's rescript "as favorable, and as rather discouraging persecution than legalizing it."[3] It is probable that up to this time "there was no express law or formal edict against the Christians in particular. . . They had before this been classed generally as outlaws (*hostes publici*) and enemies to the fundamental principles of society and government, of law and order, and the admission of the name Christian in itself entailed condemnation. . . While Trajan felt bound to carry out the established principle, his personal view was opposed to it, at least to such an extent that he ordered Pliny to shut his eyes to the Christian offense, until his attention was expressly directed to an individual case by a formal accuser."[4] The fact seems to be that Trajan was not a wanton persecutor, and that he meant to discourage malicious informers, but that as emperor he felt the necessity of upholding the laws and maintaining the State religion. So far as our information goes, the

[1] Pliny, Bk. X., Ep. 96, 97. [2] Eusebius, "*Hist. Ecc.*," Bk. IV., Chap. 26.
[3] "*C. Plinii Secundi Epp.*," p. 62, *seq.*
[4] Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire," Chap. X., especially p. 223.

only persecutions with which Trajan had anything to do were the Bithynian, under Pliny, that at Jerusalem, in which Symeon suffered, and that at Antioch, in which Ignatius was the chief victim.

(2) *Hadrian* (117–138) had little faith in the popular religion and took considerable interest in foreign cults; but he regarded the maintenance of the religious establishment as a political necessity. He was strongly opposed to the violent outbursts of popular hatred against Christians, very common at this time. He declared that no accusations against Christians were to be received, except such as were in legal form. Justin Martyr appeals in his "First Apology," addressed to Antoninus Pius (*c.* 152), to a rescript of Hadrian, of which he gives the text. The rescript (addressed to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia about 124) forbids riotous proceedings and information where gain seems to be the motive. "If any one, therefore, accuses them and shows that they are doing anything contrary to the laws, do you pass judgment according to the heinousness of the crime. But, by Hercules! if any one bring an accusation through mere calumny, decide in regard to his criminality and see to it that you inflict punishment." The authenticity of this document has been called in question by Baur, Keim, Lipsius, Overbeck, Aubé, McGiffert, *et al.* Its genuineness is defended by Ramsay, Lightfoot, Mommsen, Funk, Uhlhorn, Ranke, Mœller, *et al.*, who, however, do not understand Hadrian as aiming to shield Christians so much as to discourage tumultuary procedures. The fact that it appears in an almost contemporaneous writing (Justin's "Apology") is highly favorable to its authenticity. That a forgery should have become current during the lifetime of its alleged author, and especially that a forged imperial edict should have been incorporated in an apology addressed to the succeeding emperor, is scarcely credible.

Mommsen remarks: "The groundless suspicions cast on the genuineness of this document are the best proof how little capable recent writers are of understanding the attitude in which the Roman government stood to the Christians."[1] Lightfoot: "Not only is this rescript no stumbling-block when confronted with the history of the

[1] Quoted by Ramsay, p. 322.

times; some exact action on the part of the emperor is required to explain the history."[1] Ramsay exposes in a telling manner the absurdity of the objections raised by Keim and others to the genuineness of this document.

The Jewish insurrection against the empire, under Barcochab, occurred during this reign (135). Large numbers of Christians in Palestine were slain by the infuriated Jews. The suppression of the insurrection was followed by a loss of privileges on the part of the Jews. Hadrian now built on the site of Jerusalem Aelia Capitolina and erected a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the temple area. Jews were forbidden to enter the city or even to see from a distance the land of their fathers.[2] Whereas before the Jews had held a more favorable position than the Christians, the Christians were now regarded with far more favor than the Jews. This was an important gain for Christianity, and led, doubtless, to the overthrow of Judaistic tendencies in the Christian church. Yet Christianity was still a *religio illicita*. The pastor of the Roman church, Telesphorus, and many others, suffered martyrdom at this time.

It is not even stated that the name Christian is no longer criminal. The rescript left it open for provincial governors either to inflict severe penalties on the Christians or to discourage their arraignment to such an extent as to involve virtual toleration. The "Apology of Quadratus," unfortunately lost, was addressed to Hadrian. The progress of Christianity during this reign in numbers, learning, wealth, and social influence must have been very marked; yet persecution was not wanting.

(3) *Antoninus Pius* (138–161) was one of the wisest and most upright of emperors. His biographer, Capitolinus, claims that, so far as he is personally concerned, he enjoys the almost unique distinction of being free from civil and hostile bloodshed.[3] During his reign various public calamities occurred—famine, the inundation of the Tiber, earthquakes, conflagrations at Rome, Antioch, and Carthage. These aroused the people against the Christians, who were supposed, by forsaking the gods, to have brought on these calamities. The emperor attempted to shield the Chris-

[1] "Ignatius," Vol. I., p. 478, second ed. [2] Eusebius, Bk. VI. [3] Chap. XIII.

tians from popular rage, but not with complete success. In an edict (found in Eusebius, "Hist. Ecc.," Bk. V., Chap. 13, the spuriousness of which is now generally admitted), Antoninus rebukes the pagans for their violence, telling them that if the Christians have offended the gods, the gods ought to be left to take vengeance for themselves and that they (pagans) confirm the Christians in their minds by accusing them of impiety. He contrasts the cheerfulness of Christians in calamities with the terror of the pagans. He commands that if any persist in raising tumults against the Christians they shall be punished.

Although this document in the form in which we have it is unquestionably a forgery, there is no sufficient reason to doubt but that Antoninus did issue an edict, with the design of protecting Christians against mob violence.

The early Christian tradition that he favored the Christians (Melito, *c.* A. D. 170, Tertullian, early in the third century) must have rested on a basis of fact. Melito, in his "Apology" addressed to Marcus Aurelius, says: "And thy father, when thou also wast ruling with him, wrote to the cities, forbidding them to take any new measures against us; among the rest to the Larissæans, to the Thessalonians, to the Athenians, and to all the Greeks."[1] Harnack regards the edict as essentially genuine, but supposes that it suffered repeated interpolations.[2]

It is remarkable that while Eusebius ascribes the document to Antoninus, the inscription, as quoted by himself, assigns it to Marcus Aurelius.

Christianity showed remarkable energy and underwent remarkable changes about this time. Gnosticism was at its height. The "Apology of Aristides," recently brought to light, was a product of this reign. Justin Martyr wrote many of his works, including his "Apology," under this emperor, and it was in the latter part of his reign that Polycarp of Smyrna died a martyr's death. Harnack attributes the rise of the monarchical episcopate to this time, and he finds here the beginning of the process of consolidation in opposition to Gnosticism that was to result in the formation of the Roman Catholic church.[3] Montanism had its rise at this time. Christian literature was greatly enriched.

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[1] Quoted by Eusebius, Bk. IV., Chap. 26.
[2] "*Chronologie*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 702, and "*Texte und Untersuchungen*," *Bd.* XIII., *Heft* 4.
[3] Art. "Antoninus Pius," in "*Real-Encyklopädie*," third ed.

2. *From Marcus Aurelius to Decius* (161–249). By the time of Marcus Aurelius Christianity had become an important element in society. Conscious of its strength, it had become bold and aggressive. Many cultivated men had came into the church and were devoting their powers to its defense. Most of the persecutions during this time had for their object the restoration of the declining paganism to its original splendor and power.

(1) *Marcus Aurelius* (161–180) was educated as a philosopher and was imbued with the ethical principles of eclectic Stoicism. He was simple and temperate in life and sought to rule justly. Yet Christians suffered under him more severely than under any emperor since Nero, whose cruelty he abhorred and whom he pronounced "not a man." The enthusiasm of Christians seemed to him mere fanaticism, and their steadfastness under persecution he looked upon not as fidelity to a high principle, but rather as obstinacy in disobedience to constituted authority. His teacher, Fronto, had given him an early and decided bias against Christianity, and the Cynic philosopher, Crescens, the bitter opponent of Justin Martyr, had confirmed him in his aversion. While he had little faith in the State religion, like Hadrian he regarded its maintenance as a political necessity; and he not only withheld from Christians the protection from popular violence that had been accorded to them by Trajan and his successors, but he encouraged and promoted persecution.

This reign, like the preceding, was remarkable for calamities. Earthquakes more terrible than those under Antoninus, destructive inundations followed by famine and pestilence, insurrections and invasions on the frontiers involving the empire in almost continuous and often disastrous war, aroused the fury of the populace against the Christians whose impiety and rapid increase was thought to have angered the gods. Christians, on the other hand, saw in these disasters the divine judgment on the iniquity of the government and of the people, and no doubt in some cases openly rejoiced in them as presages of the final judgment and the end of the age. Such an attitude would tend still further to irritate their pagan enemies.

The following particulars are worthy of attention:

a. There is no evidence that anything like a general persecution was undertaken at this time. The ferocious uprising against the Christians of Lyons and Vienne, in the south of Gaul, in which a large number of Christians were brought before the authorities charged with incestuous orgies, cannibalism, etc., subjected to the most horrible tortures to compel confession of these crimes, and at last thrown to the wild beasts or otherwise cruelly slain, seems to have been quite exceptional. The details of this persecution are given in a beautiful letter addressed by "the servants of God residing at Vienne and Lyons, in Gaul, to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia," preserved by Eusebius.[1] The "tribulation" is ascribed to "the fury of the heathen against the saints." The "adversary" is said to have "endeavored in every manner to practise and exercise his servants against the servants of God, not only shutting us out from houses and baths and markets, but forbidding any of us to be seen in any place whatever." A large proportion of those arrested persisted under repeated and most excruciating tortures in denying the charges of criminality and in confession of Christ. Many died in prison from the effects of the tortures and lack of proper food and nursing. Some were weak enough to deny their faith and to make the required confession; but not even so did they escape further sufferings. Some who yielded at first afterward received strength to confess Christ and to suffer martyrdom. These proceedings were conducted by the Roman governor with the full approval of the emperor.

b. The martyrdom of Justin, the philosopher, who was the most important literary defender of the faith that the age produced, is commonly ascribed to the machinations of Crescens, a disreputable philosopher. This occurred in Rome about 165. According to an early narrative six companions suffered with him.

c. An apparently authentic account of the execution of several Christians in Pergamus, Asia Minor, has been preserved.[2] A number of other martyrdoms are sup-

[1] Bk. I. [2] Harnack, "*Texte u. Untersuchungen*," *Bd.* III., *Heft* 4.

posed to have occurred in Asia during this reign, as that of Thraseas, pastor of the church at Eumenea, and that of Sagaris, pastor at Laodicea.

d. The peculiarities of the persecution under this emperor are:

First, that the emperor *issued a decree against the Christians* which, in the opinion of Melito of Sardis, was "not fit to be executed even against barbarian enemies." This decree encouraged informers by allowing them to take the property of the accused and made it possible for the governors to enrich themselves by confiscations.

Secondly, the emperor *encouraged inquisitorial proceedings* for the discovery and arraignment of Christians.

Thirdly, *torture* was employed as a means of compelling Christians to renounce their faith and to commit acts of idolatry.

e. That Christianity was becoming more and more vigorous and aggressive is evident from the abundant apologetical and polemical literature of the time. Christianity was rapidly drawing to itself of the culture of the age and Christian philosophers were more than a match for their pagan and Gnostic antagonists.

f. During this reign Montanism, which may have arisen in the preceding reign, came into prominence. The Alogoi, as opponents of the Montanistic prophecy, now appeared. The controversy regarding the time of celebrating Easter dates from this reign. New Gnostic parties arose and older parties flourished.

g. The consolidation of the Catholic church, with its monarchical episcopate, its emphasizing of apostolic authority and apostolic succession, and its New Testament canon, in opposition to Gnostic and Montanistic heresy, made marked progress during this reign.

h. The persecution under Marcus Aurelius was not of so long duration nor so exterminating as not to be favorable, on the whole, to the spread of Christianity. It advertised Christianity, and that in a very favorable way. Christianity now had standing enough to draw toward it the sympathies of large numbers of people. The fortitude with which Christians endured persecution seems to have now revealed to many the power of

this religion over the human heart, and a very rapid growth of Christianity throughout the empire followed. Christians soon swarmed in all the cities and were numerous in many rural districts. With rapid growth came in much worldliness and insincerity, immunity from persecution for a number of years making it easy for all who felt any interest in Christianity to enter the churches.

i. Now for the first time pagan scholars thought it worth their while to read the literature of the Christians and to attempt to overthrow Christianity by polemical writings. Foremost among efforts of this kind was the work of Celsus, the Platonist, whose "True Discourse" Origen was to answer at length about fifty years later. Celsus supposed that the persecuting measures of the emperor would result in the extermination of Christianity. In their sufferings was fulfilled the saying of Apollo's priest: "The mills of the gods grind slowly," etc. Referring to Christ he wrote:

> The demon is not only reviled, but banished from every land and sea, and those who, like images, are consecrated to him, are bound and led to punishment and impaled, whilst the demon—or as you call him, the Son of God—takes no vengeance on the evil-doer. The Jews, instead of being masters of the whole world, are left with not so much as a patch of ground or a hearth; and of you [Christians] one or two may be wandering in secret, but they are being sought out to be punished with death.

So little appreciation did this brilliant philosopher have of the vitality and all-conquering power of the gospel.

(2) *Commodus* (180–193) was dissolute, timid, suspicious, and at last cruel and vindictive; yet his attitude toward Christianity was more favorable than that of any of his predecessors. This was due, no doubt, in part at least, to the influence of his favorite concubine Marcia, who took the Christians under her protection, secured the deliverance of many from the Sardinian mines, where they were suffering fearful hardships, and sought in many ways to further their interests. Whether Marcia was herself a member of the Roman church is uncertain; but the corruptions of the church as described by Hippolytus at about this time were such as to make her membership a possibility. The patronage of such a personage no doubt contributed toward the lowering of the moral

standard of the churches under the influence of the Roman and rendered effective discipline exceedingly difficult.

Referring to this reign Eusebius says: "About this time . . . our condition became more favorable, and through the grace of God the churches throughout the entire world enjoyed peace, and the word of salvation was leading every soul from every race of mankind to the devout worship of the God of the universe. So that now at Rome many who were highly distinguished for wealth and family turned with all their household and relatives unto their salvation."[1] Yet he refers immediately afterward to the martyrdom of Apollonius, a man of renown among the faithful for learning and philosophy, who was condemned to death on the accusation of a slave by a decree of the Senate. Whether Apollonius was condemned simply on the ground of his Christian profession or on the ground of some specific charge of violation of the laws does not appear. To save herself from falling a victim to his almost insane cruelty Marcia joined with others in compassing the assassination of the emperor.

(3) *Septimius Severus* (193–211) was not intensely hostile toward Christianity. In fact, it has been commonly supposed that up to 202 he was somewhat favorably disposed. It is related by Spartianus that on his return from a victorious campaign against the Armenians and the Parthians (202), while sojourning in Palestine, he enacted a law forbidding conversions to Judaism or Christianity. It does not appear to have been his purpose to attempt the extermination of Christianity, but simply to put a check upon proselytizing. But the enforcement of the Trajanic law against Christianity as an unauthorized religion involved many Christians in severe suffering. It does not appear that the emperor issued an edict of persecution; but he no doubt encouraged the local officials diligently to enforce the old laws.

Clement of Alexandria, who was at the head of the catechetical school, wrote some time before the close of the second century: "Many martyrs are daily burned, crucified, and beheaded before our eyes." About 202 or 203 he was obliged to abandon his work and retire from the city. The father of Origen suffered martyrdom at this time. Origen himself, then a zealous and brilliant youth, was saved from a like fate by the tact of his mother, who hid his clothes and thus prevented him from publicly proclaiming himself a Christian and gaining the martyr's crown. About 200 a number of Christians, including three women, suffered joyfully at Scillite, in

[1] "Church History," Bk. XXI.

Numidia, falling on their knees and praising God. At Carthage two young women, Perpetua and Felicitas, won the highest admiration of their contemporaries and of posterity by resolutely refusing to yield to the entreaties of parents and friends or to the promptings of maternal affection, to save their lives by denying the faith, and by cheerfully confronting the maddened beasts. These last and their companions in suffering are supposed to have been Montanists. Tertullian refers to persecutions in Numidia and Mauritania about 211.

(4) *Caracalla* and *Heliogabalus* were among the most contemptible of rulers; but both tolerated Christianity. *Caracalla* (211–217) recalled all who were in banishment, but had his brother and co-heir Geta murdered with twenty thousand of his supposed supporters. His mother Julia Domna, a Syrian woman, with her sister Julia Moesa and the daughters of the latter, Soœmias, the mother of the Emperor Heliogabalus, and Julia Mammæa, the mother of the Emperor Alexander Severus, was devoted to Oriental mysticism. These women were indifferent or hostile to the State religion, and surrounding themselves with a coterie of philosophers and scholars, devoted much attention to the free handling of religious questions and exerted a marked influence on the religious policy of the empire. The extension of citizenship to provincials broke down the old aristocracy and greatly facilitated the progress of Christianity by destroying artificial social distinctions. Caracalla was assassinated by the Pretorian Prefect Macrinus, who assumed the imperial crown and ruled fourteen months (217-18). His career as a political reformer was cut short by the intrigues of Julia Moesa, who induced the army to repudiate Macrinus and to elevate to the throne her grandson Avitus, who was at that time priest of the Syrian sun-god at Emesa, and who is commonly known by the name of his favorite deity, *Heliogabalus*. It was the aim of Heliogabalus and his female relatives to merge Judaism, Samaritanism, Christianity, and the State religion into a single eclectic system, in which sun-worship should predominate. He reveled in the extravagances and the obscenities of his favorite cult. Under the patronage of the imperial court Philostratus produced his life of Apollonius of Tyana, whom he sought to represent as a heathen Christ. Heliogabalus brought to Rome

the celebrated Black Stone of Edessa as a means of making his religion more attractive to the masses. It was his intention to erect a great temple in Rome in which, side by side with sun-worship, Jewish and Christian worship should be encouraged. It was no credit to Christianity to be tolerated and favored by so despicable a ruler; but freed from persecution, it doubtless enjoyed a very rapid growth and absorbed far more of pagan life than it could properly assimilate. Disgusted with the shameful license and the effeminacy of Heliogobalus, the army put an end to his rule and placed on the throne an emperor worthy of the name (222).

(5) *Alexander Severus* (222–235), a cousin of Heliogabalus, was noble-minded and devout, but was lacking in energy and in statesmanship. Though not a Christian, he gave to Christianity a place in his eclectic system and had a bust of Christ among those of other religious heroes (Apollonius of Tyana, Orpheus, and Abraham) in his private chapel.[1] His mother, Julia Mammæa, was the ruling spirit in the government, and to her favorable attitude the Christians were no doubt deeply indebted. She is said to have sent for Origen, the great Christian theologian, that she might receive from him instruction in the principles of Christianity, and to have treated him with much respect. When a dispute arose between the Christians and some cooks as to the possession of a building, Alexander decided in favor of the Christians, remarking that it was better that God should be worshiped there in any way whatever than that the place should be given over to cooks.[2] In recommending a new mode of apportioning the offices of the State he is said to have referred to the Christian church organization as a model. According to Lampridius he contemplated erecting in Rome a temple to Christ.[3] He is said to have frequently given utterance to the Golden Rule in its negative form and to have had it inscribed on public buildings. During this reign Christian houses of worship seem to have been first erected. The catechetical school of Alexandria flourished and Christian education made progress in Rome. Yet Christianity was not

[1] Lampridius, Chap. 29. [2] Chap. 49. [3] Chap. 43.

declared a lawful religion by imperial decree. In fact it was during this reign that Ulpian, the famous jurist, collected for public use the imperial rescripts against the Christians. It is probable that the sentiment of the Senate and of the Roman aristocracy in general was strongly adverse to Christianity and that Alexander and Julia Mammæa did not deem it prudent to produce radical changes in legislation in defiance of this class.

(6) *Maximinus the Thracian* (235–238), a military leader who had incited the troops to slay Alexander, succeeded to the throne by the favor of the army. He was one of the coarsest and most brutal of barbarians and was utterly incapable of appreciating anything noble. His bitter hatred of Alexander led him to persecute the Christians, many of whom held positions in the imperial household. According to Eusebius,[1] he commanded "that only the rulers of the churches should be put to death as responsible for the gospel teaching." Several prominent leaders of the church of Cæsarea (Palestine), including Origen's wealthy patron Ambrosius, who was robbed of his property, suffered severely at this time. Origen, now laboring at Cæsarea, escaped by concealing himself and addressed to his suffering friends his beautiful work on "Martyrdom." Pontianus and Hippolytus, officials of the Roman church, were banished to Sardinia.

(7) *Philip the Arabian* (244–248), son of a Bedouin sheik, is represented by Christian writers of a later date as a Christian. Eusebius relates that on one occasion he was so desirous of sharing with the multitude in the prayers of the church that he put himself in the place of a humble penitent, as he was required to do by the presiding official. It may be that he was only superstitious and was anxious to enjoy the favor of the God of the Christians without having any true conception of Christianity.

Dionysius of Alexandria (*c.* 255) writes of emperors who were openly said to have become Christians." He must have had in mind Alexander Severus and Philip. Origen is said to have written letters to Philip and to Severa, his wife. Origen at this time looked

[1] "Church History," Bk. VI., Chap. 26.

forward with great hopefulness to the triumph of Christianity. All other religions, he thought, would pass away, but Christianity would go prosperously forward.[1]

3. *From Decius Trajan to Diocletian* (249–284). The first half of the third century was a time of great peril to civil order in the empire. The provinces were ruined by excessive taxation wastefully and corruptly gathered and by barbarian invasions in the east and the west. Rome had become inconceivably corrupt and had lost the power to rule. Provincials who had gained prestige as military leaders were one after the other raised to the throne by the army, but few of these soldier emperors showed any capacity for government. The State religion was rapidly decaying. Christianity had gained vast numbers of converts in all parts of the empire and was by far the most aggressive of the religious forces of the age. With correct instinct those who were zealous for the maintenance of Roman imperialism looked upon the growing strength of Christianity with disfavor and distrust. The ideals of the Christians and the ideals of Roman imperialists were mutually antagonistic. The Roman State religion had from of old been regarded as one of the chief bulwarks of the empire. Its life-blood was rapidly being drawn out by aggressive Christianity. The time was approaching when this religion must be either exterminated or adopted as the religion of the State.

(1) *Decius Trajan* (249–251), an Italian soldier, was raised to the throne by the Danubian army after the battle with the Goths at Verona, in which Philip lost his life. He seems to have had an earnest desire to restore the empire to its pristine order and vigor. The millennium of the city was being celebrated with great splendor when Decius returned from the Gothic war. Special occasion was doubtless afforded thereby for remarking the decay of the State religion. The fact that Christians had been especially favored by his predecessor probably led Decius to suspect them of disloyalty to himself. It may be assumed from what we know of this ruler that his exterminating measures against Chris-

[1] "*Contra Celsum*," Bk. III.

tianity did not proceed from sheer wantonness, but were from his point of view a political necessity. Only by the extermination of Christianity and the rehabilitation of the State religion could the unity and the stability of the empire be secured. In 250 was issued the first imperial edict aiming at the universal suppression of Christianity. Christians everywhere were required to conform to the State religion by participating in its ceremonies, and officials were commanded, under heavy penalties, rigorously to enforce the requirement. In each official district all Christians were required within a definite time to appear before the magistrates and to offer sacrifices to the gods. The flight of Christians before the expiration of the time allowed was not hindered, but the property of fugitives was confiscated and death was the penalty of returning. Those who were not in a position to prove that they had fulfilled the requirement were brought before a commission composed of officials and citizens. First they were threatened with the direst punishments in case of obstinacy. Threats were followed by torture. This failing, imprisonment and repeated tortures, including hunger and thirst, were resorted to as a means of breaking down the wills of the victims. All the influence and the machinery of the imperial government were employed to prevent laxity on the part of officials. The magistrates were enjoined to use special severity toward bishops and other influential leaders.

Immunity from persecution had brought into the churches multitudes of people who had no proper idea of the obligations of the Christian life and many who cannot be regarded as possessing a saving knowledge of the truth. Lamentable worldliness characterized many of the clergy, who were spending their energies in secular pursuits rather than in the ministry of the word. The imperial edict struck terror to the hearts of all whose faith was weak. "Before the battle," writes Cyprian, "many were conquered, and without having met the enemy, were cut down; they did not even seek to gain the reputation of having sacrificed against their will. They indeed did not wait to be apprehended ere they ascended, or to be interrogated ere they denied. Many were conquered before the battle, prostrated before the attack. Nor did they even leave it to be said for them that they seemed to sacrifice to idols unwillingly. They ran to the market place of their own accord."[1] Many were

[1] "De Lapsis," Bk. III., Chap. 8.

so impatient to deny their faith that they could hardly wait their turn. Cyprian himself retired before the fury of the persecution and thereby greatly injured his reputation among the stricter sort. Many who would neither flee nor sacrifice suffered the most terrible tortures and died in prison or were at last cruelly executed. Some by bribing the officials procured certificates of having sacrificed without committing the overt act. Some allowed others to say that they had sacrificed or to procure certificates for them. Holders of these fraudulent certificates were called *libellatici* and were regarded as scarcely less culpable than the Lapsi or those who actually denied their faith. Decius was after a few months called away by a fresh Gothic invasion and was slain in 251, but not until he had spread desolation throughout the churches. There was a slight lull in the storm of persecution under Gallus, but a year of public disasters (plague, drought, famine, barbarian invasions) drew the attention of the populace afresh to the Christians, whose hostility to the gods was supposed to be responsible for the calamities. Many were sent to the mines, which involved the direst hardship and often death.

(2) *Valerian* (253–260), who had been closely associated with Decius, is said by Dionysius of Rome[1] to have "been mild and friendly toward the men of God" and to have treated them more kindly and favorably than any of his predecessors. "Not even those [emperors] that were said openly to be Christians received them with such manifest hospitality as he did at the beginning of his reign. For his entire house was filled with pious persons and was a church of God." But public calamities continued and when recourse had been had to every known expedient, including human sacrifices, he was persuaded, it is said, by one of his generals (Macrianus), an adept in Egyptian magic, to renew the persecution of Christians. At first he sought to suppress Christianity without bloodshed. In 257 he issued an edict commanding all Christians to conform to the State religion on pain of banishment. He directed that pastors be separated from their churches, and prohibited Christian assemblies of every kind. These measures proving futile, he issued in 258 an edict more sanguinary by far than that of Decius. Cyprian, bishop of the Carthaginian church, who had again gone into banishment by reason of the earlier edict and was soon after to fall a victim to the severer measure, gives the substance of the latter as follows:

[1] Quoted by Eusebius, "Church History," Bk. VII., Chap. 9.

That bishops and presbyters and deacons should immediately be punished (*i. e.*, put to death); but that senators and men of importance, and Roman knights, should lose their dignity and moreover be deprived of their property; and if, when their means were taken away, they should still persist in being Christians, then they should also lose their heads; but that matrons should be deprived of their property and sent into banishment. Moreover, people of Cæsar's household, whoever of them had either confessed before or should now confess, should have their property confiscated and should be sent in chains by assignment to Cæsar's estates.[1]

The list of martyrs is too long for insertion. Besides Cyprian, many prominent bishops won the martyr's crown. Bishop Sixtus of Rome was seized in the Catacombs, where he was administering the Lord's Supper. After his trial and condemnation he was taken back and executed on the same spot.

The following remarks may be made on this series of persecutions:

a. The aim of the emperors was the utter destruction of Christianity, and the means most relied upon was the execution of the Christian leaders and the demolition of the Christian houses of worship.

b. The faith of Christians everywhere was put to a severe test and multitudes were found wanting.

c. This time of persecution gave rise to many controversies regarding the treatment of the lapsed, the authority of confessors, the prerogatives of bishops, etc., and a widespread schism (the Novatian) resulted.

d. The ability of Christianity, even in a somewhat corrupted form, to withstand the most determined assaults of the greatest world-power known to antiquity, was fully demonstrated and gave to Christians the fullest assurance of ultimate triumph.

(3) *Gallienus* (260–268), the successor of Valerian, favored the Christians, recalled the exiles, restored their church property, and forbade further molestation of them. From this time till the time of Diocletian the Christians suffered almost no persecution. They grew in numbers, wealth, church organization, and in worldliness. Pagans flowed into the churches, taking with them many of their pagan habits of life and thought, so that by the time of Diocletian the church was corrupt and worldly as never before, and was in no condition to meet a relentless persecution.[2] Christians had again

[1] Ep. LXXXI. [2] Eusebius, "Church History," Bk. VIII., Chap. 1.

become so bold and aggressive as to arouse the jealousy of the pagans.

4. *Diocletian and Constantine* (284–323). *Diocletian* (284–316) was a Dalmatian soldier, perhaps originally a slave, who had made his way to the imperial throne by military prowess. The Christians had fully recovered from the persecutions of Decius and Valerian and were no doubt far more numerous and influential than ever before. Diocletian's wife, Prisca, and his daughter, Valeria, are said to have been Christians.[1] The imperial chamberlain Dorotheus and his associate, Gorgonios, were cruelly executed as Christians. That Diocletian was unfriendly to Christianity almost from the beginning is evident from a decree against the Manichæans issued from Egypt about 287. This document declares it to be wrong to oppose or resist the gods or to change from an old religion to a new, and in the highest degree criminal to abandon established usages that have come down from antiquity. This decree involves a condemnation of Christianity. It is not probable, however, that Diocletian would have entered upon so difficult an undertaking as the extermination of so widespread and aggressive a religion, had it not been for the fanatical zeal of his son-in-law Galerius, who, along with others, had been associated with him in the imperial office. Galerius resolved on the expulsion of Christians from the army. About 295 all the soldiers were ordered to sacrifice. Those that refused were expelled, and those that manifested zeal for Christianity were executed. Fire broke out in the imperial palace at Nicomedia on two different occasions (303). It was a convenient thing to charge the persecuted Christians with arson.

According to Eusebius,[2] "royal edicts were published everywhere, commanding that the churches be leveled to the ground and the Scriptures destroyed by fire, and ordering that those who held places of honor be degraded, and that the household servants, if they persisted in the profession of Christianity, be deprived of freedom." This first edict, issued in February, 303, was

[1] Eusebius, "Church History," Bk. VIII., Chap. i., and Lactantius, "Conc. the Death of Persecutors," XV.
[2] "Church History," Bk. VIII., Chap. 2.

followed, according to Eusebius, by other decrees, "commanding that all the rulers of the churches in every place be first thrown into prison, and afterward by every artifice be compelled to sacrifice." It is noticeable that the great importance of the Scriptures is recognized and that the destruction of all copies is attempted. As in the Decian persecution, the severe measures were directed against the leaders of the churches, loss of civil and social standing being the only penalties now inflicted on laymen.

On the day preceding the publication of the edict, the great church building of Nicomedia was burned to the ground. Immediately after the posting of the edict in Nicomedia, a Christian, "highly honored with distinguished temporal dignities, seized the edict as it was posted openly and publicly, and tore it to pieces as a profane and impious thing."[1] This rash act of defiance was summarily punished and no doubt greatly increased the fury of the persecution. In all parts of the empire the edict was executed with greater or less severity. Multitudes, as in the Decian persecution, hastened to deny the faith and to surrender their copies of the Scriptures; many bore the most horrible tortures and refused with their latest breath to surrender the Scriptures or in any way to compromise themselves. Some employed fraudulent methods of evading the requirements of the law.

Those who surrendered the Scriptures were stigmatized by their more courageous brethren as *Traditors*, and traditorism became the occasion of the great Donatist schism.

At this time there were four emperors: Diocletian in the East, Maximian at Rome, Constantius in Britain, Gaul, and Spain, and Galerius in Illyria. The two former were *Augusti* or emperors in the highest sense, the two latter were *Cæsars*. Constantius (who ruled in Britain and Gaul) was favorably disposed toward Christianity, and protected Christians as far as practicable. Diocletian and Maximian resigned the imperial dignity in 305. Galerius and Constantius succeeded them as *Augusti*,

[1] Eusebius, "Church History," Bk. VIII., Chap. 5.

while Maximinus and Severus became *Cæsars*. In 306, after the death of his father, Constantius, Constantine was proclaimed *Augustus* by his army, Maxentius by the Prætorian Guards, and Severus by Galerius, while Maximian resumed the imperial dignity. In 307 Licinius was made *Augustus* by Galerius, and Maximinus by his army. Galerius had not yet recognized Constantine and Maximinus as *Augusti*. Severus was sent against Maxentius in 307. He was deserted and slain by his army. This left six claimants of imperial dignity. Maximian died in 310, Galerius in 311. This reduced the emperors to four.

Constantine shared his father's favorable disposition toward Christianity. Galerius was stricken with disease and may have been thereby induced to relent. In 311, together with Constantine and Licinius, he issued an edict granting a limited toleration to Christians.[1]

Persecution was renewed in the East with terrible severity by Maximinus. Forged "Acts of Pilate" full of blasphemies against Christ were sent forth, with the emperor's approval, throughout his whole domain, with commands that they be publicly posted in every place and that schoolmasters teach them to their scholars. Some vile women of Damascus were induced to declare that they had been Christians and to accuse the Christians of the most impious and licentious conduct. Everything possible seems to have been done to arouse the fury of the people against Christians. The way having been thus prepared, he issued an edict to be engraved on brazen pillars in the cities, declaring Christianity to be an "execrable vanity," attributing to the toleration of Christians all the calamities that had come upon the land, and commanding that Christians be driven far from each community. This edict was issued in response to numerous petitions for the extermination of Christianity,

[1] While they prefer that all should conform to the "religion of their ancestors," recognition is made of the fact that some Christians have been driven by persecution to abandon the proper worship of their own God, and yet do not "offer to the heavenly gods the worship which is due." The result is that the empire suffers loss from their failure to worship any god aright. Permission is given Christians to "rebuild the conventicles in which they were accustomed to assemble," and the opinion is expressed that in consideration of this indulgence "they ought to supplicate their God for our (the emperors') safety, and that of the people, and their own, that the public welfare may be preserved in every place, and that they may live securely in their several homes" (Eusebius, "Church History," Bk. VIII., Chap. 17).

which Maximinus himself was thought to have inspired. After the victory of Constantine he was constrained to grant complete toleration to Christians, with the restoration of confiscated property.

After the battle of the Milvian Bridge, between Constantine and Maxentius, in which Constantine, being now sole emperor in the West, attributed his victory to the succor of the God of the Christians, Constantine granted full toleration to the Christians, making it lawful for any one that wished to embrace Christianity (313). In this he secured the co-operation of Licinius, who soon afterward defeated Maximinus and became sole emperor in the East. This edict is known as the "Edict of Milan," and is one of the most important documents of the age. The more significant clauses are as follows:

> Perceiving long ago that religious liberty ought not to be denied, but that it ought to be granted to the judgment and desire of each individual to perform his religious duties according to his own choice, we had given orders that every man, Christians as well as others, should preserve the faith of his own sect and religion. [There follows an explanation of the change of policy, and the new policy is then described.] We resolved . . . to grant both to the Christians and to all men freedom to follow the religion which they choose, that whatever heavenly divinity exists may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government. We have, therefore, determined, with sound and upright purpose, that liberty is to be denied to no one to choose and follow the religious observances of the Christians, but that to each one freedom is to be given to devote his mind to that religion which he may think adapted to himself, in order that the Deity may exhibit to us in all things his accustomed care and favor. . . And we decree still further in regard to the Christians, that their places, in which they were formerly accustomed to assemble . . . shall be restored to the said Christians, without demanding money or any other equivalent, with no delay or hesitation. . . For by this means . . . the divine favor toward us which we have already experienced in many matters will continue sure through all time.[1]

In regard to this edict it may be said: (*a*) That it is the earliest known proclamation by a civil government of absolute religious liberty.

(*b*) It involves no repudiation of paganism, but seems to proceed on the supposition that by dealing generously with the worshipers of all gods and thus promoting their religious devotion, the favor of all gods for the emperors

[1] See Eusebius, "Church History," Bk. X., Chap. 5.

and their subjects will be secured. It is evident however that the emperors recognize the God of the Christians as of extraordinary importance.

(*c*) The utilitarian spirit of the edict is everywhere manifest.

In 319 Licinius, always at heart an enemy of Christianity and doubtless suspecting that the Christians were favoring Constantine's ambitious aspirations after universal sovereignty, reversed his policy of toleration and subjected the Christians to the most cruel treatment.[1] Constantine conquered Licinius in 323 and became sole emperor. Thus Christianity triumphed in the Roman Empire after a struggle of two hundred and fifty years.

[1] See Eusebius, "Church History," Bk. X., Chap. 8.

CHAPTER II

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY DURING THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES

I. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

1. IN a world filled with systems of philosophy and religion, and in a time of intellectual activity, such as was the beginning of the Christian era, it could not be expected that Christianity would long be able to hold aloof from other systems, neither imparting its own elements to them, nor absorbing foreign elements. Christianity drew its converts from two grand sources, Judaism and paganism. It would have been strange, indeed, if Jewish and pagan types of Christianity, mutually antagonistic, had not arisen, and if each had not made a distinct impression on the more catholic type that resulted from the conflicts of the second and third centuries.

2. Even among the New Testament writers different shades of opinion, different ways of conceiving divine truth, depending on the attitude of each writer toward Judaism and toward heathen culture, found place. Here, however, the diversity is comparatively superficial and easily harmonizes with what is central in Christianity. But uninspired men of the same tendencies and feelings might have been expected to go to extremes, either in making Judaism the chief thing and Christianity a mere appendage, or in rejecting Judaism absolutely and substituting heathen philosophical conceptions therefor.

3. Such an antagonism, having once entered the realm of Christian thought, naturally awakened intellectual activity, and led finally to the accurate definition of Christian doctrine according to the categories of the Greek philosophy.

Replying to Celsus' charge that Christians "were divided and split up into factions, each individual desiring to have his own party," Origen wrote: "Seeing Christianity appeared an object of venera-

tion to men, and not to the laboring and serving classes alone, but also to many among the Greeks who were devoted to literary pursuits, there necessarily originated sects, not at all, however, as a result of faction and strife, but through the earnest desire of many literary men to enter more profoundly into the truths of Christianity. The consequence was, that understanding differently those discourses which were believed by all to be divine, there arose sects, which received their names from men who admired Christianity in its fundamental nature, but from a variety of causes reached discordant views."

II. HERETICAL SECTS OF THE PERIOD.

1. *The Ebionites or Judaizing Christians.*

LITERATURE: Irenæus, Bk. I., Chap. 26; Hippolytus, Bk. IX., Chap. 13–17; Epiphanius, Chap. 29, 30, 53; Clementine ("Homilies," "Recognitions," and "Acts of Peter"); Eusebius, "Church History," Bk. III., Chap. 27, and McGiffert's valuable notes; Schaff, Vol. II., p. 420, *seq.*; Möller, Vol. I., p. 97, *seq.*; Hilgenfeld, "*Ketzergeschichte*," p. 421, *seq.*; Ritschl, "*Die Secte d. Elkesaiten* (*Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.*," 1853); Neander, Vol. I., p. 341, *seq.*; Pressensé, "Her. and Christian Doctrine," p. 74, *seq.*; Mossman, "History of the Early Christian Church," p. 188, *seq.*; Bunsen, "Hippolytus and His Age," Vol. I., p. 127, *seq.*; Ritschl, "*Althath. Kirche*," p. 104, *seq.*; Lechler, "*Das Apost. und das nachapostol. Zeitalter*," p. 449, *seq.* (also English translation); Baur, "*Die Chr. Gnosis*," p. 300, *seq.*; Mansel, "The Gnostic Heresies," p. 110, *seq.*; Standmann, "*Das Hebräer-Evangelium*" (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, V., 3); Lightfoot, "Epistle to the Galatians," p. 306, *seq.*; Matter, "*Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme*," *Tom.* II., p. 228, *seq.*; Langen, "*Die Klemensromane*"; Harnack, "*Dogmengeschichte*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 215, *seq.* (also English translation); Lipsius, "*Die Quellen d. Römischen Petrussage*"; Uhlhorn, "*Die Homilien u. Recognitionen d. Clemens Romanus*"; Schliemann, "*Die Clementinen*"; Herzog-Hauck, "*Real-Encyklopädie*," art. "*Ebioniten*"; Schaff-Herzog, "Dictionary of Christian Biography," and "Encyclopædia Britannica," art. "Ebionites."

(1) *Origin of the Sect.* From the book of Acts and the Pauline Epistles, we see that there existed in the early church an extreme Judaizing party. Paul could come to an understanding with James and Peter, but an uncompromising set of Judaizers made it their business to follow in his footsteps to stigmatize him as a spurious apostle, to condemn his gospel as insufficient, and to insist on a rigid adherence to the Jewish law as necessary to salvation through Christ. Gradually the great body of Christians, being recruited from paganism, became emancipated from Jewish scruples and those who were inclined to make

much of Judaism were cast off as heretics. The destruction of Jerusalem (A. D. 70) greatly promoted the separation of Judaizers from Christians of the New Testament type. From about 110 until the suppression of the Jewish revolt under Barcochab (132–135) Judaism enjoyed a great revival over the Roman Empire and Judaistic Christians naturally were confirmed in their Judaism. After the suppression of the revolt the hopes of Judaism were crushed. The Judaistic elements soon separated themselves from Christianity, but the extreme Judaizing Christians persisted in small numbers in Palestine and the surrounding countries for about two hundred years longer. The separation was promoted by the increasing stress that was laid by the non-Judaizing Christians on the essential and absolute Deity of Christ.

(2) *Principles of Ebionism.* We must distinguish between the earlier Ebionism and the later Ebionism as it was developed under the influence of the Alexandrian philosophy. Earlier and later Ebionism agreed in maintaining that the true God is the maker of the world and the author of the Mosaic law; in holding that Jesus was the Messiah, but not divine; in rejecting and abominating Paul, and in venerating James and Peter. The earlier Ebionites were ascetics, and exalted virginity. At that time, James, bishop of Jerusalem, brother of Jesus, was their hero. At a later time, when the ascetic spirit had been developed in the Gentile churches, they returned to the Judaic spirit and exalted marriage above virginity. Peter now became their hero.

Many shades of opinion regarding the person of Christ can be distinguished among the Judaizing Christians of the early centuries. Some held to the purely human generation of Jesus, while others acknowledged his supernatural birth.[1] Some modern writers distinguish between Pharisaic Ebionites and Essenic Ebionites, the former term denoting those who held fast to the current Jewish legalism and who were free from the influence of theosophy, the latter denoting the theosophical forms of Jewish Christian thought.

Cerinthus, educated in Alexandria but active chiefly

[1] Origen, "*Contra Celsum*," V., 61.

in Asia Minor, to refute whose teachings the Fourth Gospel is said to have been written, was the first noted Ebionite of the speculative type. According to Irenæus and Hippolytus,[1] he held that the world was not made by God but by an ignorant being. "He represented Jesus as not having been born of a virgin . . . but as having been the son of Joseph and Mary, born after the manner of other men, though distinguished above all others by justice and prudence and wisdom. He taught, moreover, that after the baptism of Jesus the Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove from that Sovereign Power which is over all things, and that he then announced the unknown Father and wrought miracles; but that toward the end the Christ departed again from Jesus, and Jesus suffered and rose from the dead, while the Christ remained impassible as a spiritual being."

Eusebius quotes Caius (latter part of the second century) to the effect that Cerinthus was a propagator of chiliastic views, which, as he claimed, were "shown him by angels." "And he says that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be set up on the earth, and that the flesh dwelling in Jerusalem will again be subject to desires and pleasures. And being an enemy of the Scriptures of God, he asserts, with the purpose of deceiving men, that there is to be a period of a thousand years for marriage festivals." Eusebius quotes also Dionysius of Alexandria to the effect that Cerinthus "dreamed that the kingdom would consist in those things which he desired, . . . that is to say, in eating and drinking and marrying . . . and in festivals and sacrifices and the slaying of victims."[2] It is probable that Cerinthus' views of a temporal reign of Christ are somewhat caricatured by these writers.

The term "Ebionite" (of Hebrew derivation) means "poor," and was applied to the early Christians in general, who were poor in earthly goods and poor in spirit. The use of it was continued by the Judaizing party or was applied to them by their enemies. Some of the Jewish Christians of the second and third centuries were called "Nazarenes." This term also was sometimes

[1] Irenæus, Bk. III., Chap. 11; Hippolytus, Bk. VII., Chap. 33.
[2] "Church History," Bk. III., Chap. 28.

applied to the early Christians as followers of Jesus of Nazareth (Acts 24 : 5). It may have adhered to certain communities of Jewish Christians from the earliest time. Ebionites and Nazarenes were probably separate parties in the third and fourth centuries. Epiphanius represents the latter as the more orthodox and as acknowledging the supernatural birth of Christ.

According to Eusebius,[1] Symmachus, who made a new translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek about the close of the second century, was an Ebionite. "The Gospel according to the Hebrews," which appears not to have been the Hebrew original of our Matthew, was in common use among the Ebionites.

(3) *Elkesaite Ebionism as seen in the Clementines.* The Clementine "Homilies" and "Recognitions" are among the most curious products of the religious movements of the second century. Judaism had been outlawed by the empire, and was despised by Gentile Christians and Gnostics. It occurred to some Jewish Christian, or Christians, to compose books purporting to have been written by Clement of Rome (the third pastor of the Roman Church, one of whose genuine Epistles we have), and of which the materials should be the supposititious discourses and acts of Peter. This would afford an excellent opportunity for combating the now dominant Paulinism, as represented by the Gentile Christians in general, and in a grossly perverted form by the Gnostics. Simon Magus is made to take a prominent place, and to have frequent encounters with Peter, who confounds him in argument and drives him away. Here we have, drawn out in supposed debates between Peter and Simon, a speculative Ebionitic system, somewhat analogous to those of the Gnostics. Peter declares that he will believe nothing against God or the righteous men of the Old Testament time, even though recorded in Scripture. The Old Testament Scriptures are not infallible, but contain much that is false, along with divine truth. Adam and Christ are identified (probably in opposition to the Pauline antithesis, Rom. 5), and constitute the true prophetic spirit in all ages. Along with Adam or

[1] "Church History," Bk. VI., Chap. 17.

Christ, was created a female nature as a companion, differing from the former as quality from substance, as the moon from the sun, as fire from light. She was entrusted to be the first prophetess. Everything, therefore, in the Old Testament that seems contrary to the righteousness of God and the patriarchs, is to be attributed to this inferior earthly prophecy, which has misled and perverted mankind. The male principle is wholly truth, the female wholly falsehood. He that is born of male and female, in some respects speaks truth; in others, falsehood. Moses did not write the law himself, but delivered it orally to seventy wise men. Afterward it was written down, but was burnt in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Hence, as we now have it, the law contains false and true elements. Christ is declared to be begotten and sent, and hence infinitely inferior to the Father. Here, as in all the Gnostic systems, the question as to the origin of evil comes forward. Peter's main object in his disputes with Simon Magus is to vindicate the God of the Old Testament from all imputations of evil. Simon Magus maintains that if evil and the devil exist, and if God is the maker of all things, then God is the author of evil; hence, not himself good. Peter admits that the devil was created by God, but not that God created evil. God created four substances—heat, cold, moist and dry, simple and unmixed. When they were mingled there arose freedom of choice between good and evil. God permits the devil to exist and to rule over the world, in order that he may punish the wicked. The souls of men, as in the Pythagorean philosophy, are particles of light. Purgatory, something like the Platonic, with the annihilation of the incorrigible, is spoken of. Ebionism showed an extraordinary capacity for uniting with whatever foreign elements it came in contact with. Here we see it united with Pythagorean and Platonic elements. Some of these elements, but not all, are attributed to Ebionites in general by the Christian writers. The points given as common to all are the essentials. In the minds of speculative men endless variations of view found place.

The Clementine writings, and probably the Ebionites in general, laid the utmost stress on baptism. This was

due in part to their belief that Jesus became Christ, or was adopted as Son by the Father, in connection with his baptism. Some of the more striking passages are the following:

In "Recognitions," I., 39, it is said that "lest haply they (the Jews) might suppose that on the cessation of sacrifice there was no remission of sins for them, he [God's Prophet—Christ] instituted baptism by water amongst them, in which they might be absolved from all their sins on the invocation of his name. . . Subsequently also an evident proof of this great mystery is supplied, in that every one who, believing in this Prophet who had been foretold by Moses, shall be kept unhurt from the destruction of war which impends over the unbelieving nation." This last probably has reference to the favorable treatment accorded to the Christians as compared with the cruel punishment inflicted on the Jews by Hadrian (135 onward).

In "Recognitions," II., 71, a person who has believed is said to need "the purification of baptism, that the unclean spirit may go out of him, which has made its abode in the inmost affections of his soul," and that he may eat with those who have been purified.

In "Homilies," VII., 8, God's service is said to be, "to worship him only, and trust only in the Prophet of truth, and to be baptized for the remission of sins, and thus by this pure baptism to be born again unto God by saving water," etc.

In "Recognitions," VI., 8, 9, after representing water as the first created thing and as that from which all things are produced, and dwelt on its regenerating efficacy, the writer proceeds: "And do you suppose that you can have hope toward God, even if you cultivate all piety and all righteousness, but do not receive baptism? Yea, rather, he will be worthy of greater punishment, who does good works not well. . . Now God has ordered every one who worships him to be sealed by baptism; but if you refuse, and obey your own will rather than God's, you are doubtless contrary and hostile to his will. But you will perhaps say, What does baptism of water contribute toward the worship of God? In the first place, because that which hath pleased God is fulfilled. In the second place, because, when you are regenerated and born again of water and of God, the frailty of your former birth, which you had through men, is cut off, and so at length you shall be able to attain salvation; but otherwise it is impossible. . . Betake yourselves therefore to these waters, for they alone can quench the violence of the future fire; and he who delays to approach them, it is evident that the idol of unbelief remains in him, and by it he is prevented from hastening to the waters which confer salvation. For, whether you be righteous or unrighteous, baptism is necessary for you in every respect: for the righteous, that perfection may be accomplished in him and he may be born again to God: for the unrighteous, that pardon may be vouchsafed him of the sins which he committed in ignorance."

Notwithstanding their belief in the magical efficacy of baptism, it is not probable that the Ebionites adminis-

tered it to infants. The fact that Jesus was baptized as a mature man and their profound conviction that he first received his divine Sonship in baptism would probably have held them to adult baptism after it had become common among the non-Jewish Christians, who in general attached no such importance to the baptism of Jesus.

2. *The Gnostics.*

LITERATURE: Irenæus, "*Adversus Hæreses*"; Hippolytus, "*Refutatio Omnium Hær.*"; Tertullian, "*De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum*," "*Adversus Marcionem*," etc.; Clement of Alex. and Origen, *passim*; Epiphanius, "*Adversus Hæreses*"; Plotinus, "*Enmead.*," Bk. II., Chap. 9; "*Pistis Sophia*" (a Gnostic Treatise recently discovered, and edited by Petermann, Berlin, 1853); Theodoret, "*De Hæreticorum Fabulis*"; Eusebius, "*Hist. Eccl.*," *passim*; Gieseler, "Ecclesiastical History," Vol. I., p. 129, *seq.*; Vol. II., p. 442, *seq.*; Möller, Vol. I., p. 129, *seq.*; Hilgenfeld, "*Ketzergesch.*"; King, "The Gnostics and their Remains," second ed., 1887 (sympathetic with Gnosticism and rich in archæological materials); Lightfoot, "The Colossian Heresy" (in "Com. on Colossians"); Harnack, "*Dogmengesch.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 158, *seq.* (also English translation); Neander, Vol. I., p. 566, *seq.*; Pressensé, "Heresy and Christian Doctrine," p. I., *seq.*; Mansel, "The Gnostic Heresies"; Burton, "Heresies of the Apostolic Age"; Bunsen, "Hippolytus and His Age," Vol. I., p. 61, *seq.*; Baur, "*Die Chr. Gnosis*" (more concisely in his "Church History of the First Three Centuries," Vol. I., p. 185–245); Ritschl, "*Alikath. Kirche*," *passim*; Lipsius, "*Die Quellen der ältest Ketzergeschicte*"; Harnack, "*Zur Quellenkritik der Gesch. des Gnosticismus*"; Matter, "*Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme*"; Lipsius, "*Der Gnosticismus, sein Wesen, Ursprung, Entwickelungsgang*"; Möller, "*Gesch. d. Cosmologie d. griechischen Kirche bis au Origines*"; Amelineau, "*Essai sur le Gnosticisme egyptien*"; Bright, "Gnosticism and Irenæus" (in "Waymarks of Church History," 1894); Köstlin, "*Die gnostische System d. Buch Pistis Sophia*" (in "*Theol. Jahrb.*," 1854); Merx, "*Bardesanes von Edessa*"; Koffmane, "*Die Gnosis nach ihrer Tendenz u. Organisation*"; Meyboom, "*Marcion en de Marcioniten*"; Gruber, "*Die Ophiten*"; Heinrici, "*Die Valentin. Gnosis u. d. Heil. Schriften*"; "Gnosticism," in Herzog-Hauck; Lichtenberger; Wetzer u. Welte; "Britannica" (ninth ed.), "Dictionary of Christian Biography," and Schaff-Herzog.

The term includes various theosophical bodies, with Christian elements, that flourished during the second century in Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, etc.

(1) *The Germs of Gnosticism* existed, doubtless, in the apostolic times. Paul speaks of knowledge (γνῶσις) as "puffing up," of "oppositions of knowledge (γνῶσις) falsely so called," etc. In the writings of John we see

still clearer evidences of Gnostic opposition to Christianity. In Revelation the Nicolaitans are spoken of as holding the doctrine of Baal, and eating things sacrificed to idols. These were probably Gnostics. Irenæus testifies that the Gospel of John was written to oppose Gnosticism as represented by Cerinthus, an Ebionitic Gnostic. So, in the First Epistle of John, Gnostic tendencies are combated in the two-fold aspect of denial of the Divinity and denial of the humanity of Christ (Docetism). Simon Magus, who, according to the narrative in Acts, gave himself out as "the great power of God," became an arch-heretic (unless all of the accounts of him are legendary, like that of the Clementines), and the precursor, if not the founder, of Gnosticism. He is related to have gained many followers, and to have called himself the "Word," "Paraclete," "Omnipotent," etc.[1]

(2) *The Philosophical Basis of Gnosticism* was the question as to the origin of evil. The answer was influenced by an idealized conception (Platonic and Pythagorean—seen also in the writings of Philo of Alexandria, etc.) of Absolute Being. The world was seen to be full of imperfection; the Supreme Being could not, therefore, be its author. The Old Testament represents Jehovah (or Elohim) as the creator of the world. Hence Jehovah is an imperfect being, and the religion of the Jews antagonistic to true religion. The chief aim of Gnosticism was to account for the existence of the present order of things without compromising the character of the Supreme Being.

(3) *Sources of Gnosticism.* The most direct and most important source of Gnosticism was the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy as represented by Philo. We can account for most of the phenomena of Gnosticism by the supposition of attempts to combine this mode of thought with Christian doctrines, especially with the prologue of John's Gospel. Many points of resemblance can be traced between the Gnostic systems and the Jewish Cabbala, the germs of which probably existed in the second century; but it is impossible to tell whether Gnosticism borrowed from the Cabbala, or *vice versa.*

[1] Justin, "Apol.," I., Chap. 26; Irenæus, Bk. I., Chap. 23.

Both were certainly dependent on Jewish-Alexandrian theosophy. In addition to this chief element, the Gnostic systems (some to a greater, some to a less extent) were influenced by Buddhism and Zoroastrianism, which systems had long been well known in Alexandria. The esoteric theosophy of the old Egyptian religion must have contributed a not unimportant factor to Egyptian types of Gnosticism. The intensely dualistic systems are doubtless connected with the Zoroastrian and old Babylonian dualism. So also its emanation theories. With Buddhism may have been connected the Gnostic teachings respecting the antagonism of spirit and matter, the unreality of derived existence, and, to some extent, the origin of the world from successive emanations from the Absolute Being.[1] Yet it is not necessary to suppose a direct and conscious employment of all these sources. These had more or less influence on the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy current at the time. Such ideas had become common property, and the special combinations in the hands of men of speculative minds who had cut loose from the historical, and sought only to devise plausible systems, is easily accounted for. Philo, under the influence of Neo-Platonism, Neo-Pythagoreanism, and old Egyptian theosophy, had exalted the Supreme Being above contact with the visible world, and had explained all passages of the Old Testament that seemed inconsistent with such exaltation, as referring not to the Absolute Being, but to a derived being, the Logos. He had adopted an allegorical method of interpretation, according to which the literal meaning of the Old Testament was of no account, and a given passage could be made to mean anything whatsoever, according to the fancy of the interpreter.

Philo's Logos doctrine is obscure from the fact that he employed the term in several different senses, viz: *a.* As a divine *faculty*, whether of thought or of creation, or of both together; *b.* as the thinking, creative activity of God; *c.* as the result of thinking, or the ideal world itself; *d.* as the active divine principle in the visible world.[2] The very obscurity and ambiguity of Philo would furnish endless material for speculation. So far

[1] *Cf.* Mansel, "Gnostic Heresies," p. 32.
[2] See Dorner, "Person of Christ," Div. I., Vol. I., p. 24, *seq.*

as the dependence of the later theosophical systems is concerned, it is a matter of little importance whether Philo, in any of his representations of the Logos, meant to teach the existence of the Logos as a distinct personality. Certainly there is abundant material in Philo that could be so employed by uncritical speculative theologians.

Only in those systems in which Oriental features are marked is there need to suppose any direct connection with Zoroastrianism and Buddhism.

(4) *Characteristics of Gnosticism.* *a. Dualism*, in some systems absolute, in others not. Matter being regarded as evil could not have been created by the Supreme Being. *b. Docetism*, according to which the Messiah's body was only an appearance; or, according to others, a mere human body temporarily made use of by the Messiah. This docetism was the result of a theory of the inherent evil of matter. *c. Emanations.* Most of the Gnostic systems are characterized by a series of æons or emanations from the Supreme Being; the more remote, in general, the more degraded. One of the most degraded of the emanations figures as the Demiurge or world-framer. *d. Hostility to Judaism*, with some, absolute, Jehovah being regarded as positively malignant and actively hostile to the true God, and hence the Jewish religion, as entirely diabolical; with others, more moderate, Jehovah being regarded as an ignorant and imperfect being, and Judaism being regarded as a preparation for the revelation of the Supreme being in Christ. *e.* As the Ebionites rejected the writings of Paul and regarded Paul as an impostor, so the Gnostics rejected not only the Jewish religion and Scriptures, but *all of the New Testament except the Pauline Epistles and parts of the Gospels*, Peter and James being regarded as servants of the Demiurge, who tried to keep the people whom Christ had come to free in the slavery of the Demiurge. *f.* Gnosticism was essentially a *striving after system.* Unsatisfied with detached truths, men felt impelled to bring all truth into absolute harmony. It was speculative and not practical, conduct being regarded as entirely subordinate to comprehension of the mysteries of the universe. *g.* Gnosticism was an *aristocratic* system. A man was

regarded as exalted in the scale of being in proportion to his knowledge, not of facts, however, but of supposed mysteries. The great mass of mankind were *sarkical* (fleshly, animal); a part *psychical* (capable of reasoning about earthly matters); the Gnostics themselves were *spiritual* (capable of apprehending the divine mysteries). *h.* The Gnostic systems were all *fatalistic:* Man is in his present condition, not from his own choosing, but from the method of his creation; from this state he can do nothing toward freeing himself; he is absolutely dependent upon the aid that comes from without. *i.* As matter was regarded as evil, the Gnostics had *great contempt for the flesh.* Some of them practised the most rigid asceticism, in order to overcome the flesh; others held that everything depended upon the spirit and that the indulgence of the flesh was a matter of indifference, and gave the utmost license to their fleshly inclinations; while others held that the flesh ought to be destroyed by vice. Some of the Gnostics, regarding all the characters that are reprobated in the Old Testament (as Cain, the inhabitants of Sodom, etc.) as really servants of the true God, thought that the vices of these ought to be imitated. *k.* Gnosticism is distinguished from other theosophical systems—and hence demands consideration in the study of church history—from the fact that it embraces the idea of *redemption through Christ,* a Divine interposition in the world, in connection with the origin of Christianity, to deliver the world from the dominion of evil.

The opposition of the two principles, with the Dualism resting thereon, and the Gnostic repugnance toward anything material; the succession of æons, through which the relation of God with the world is sought to be mediated, but in the place of the Jewish-Christian idea of a free creation of the world the doctrine of the emanation of the world from God is posited; the separation of the Creator of the world from the one Supreme God; the putting of Christ in the same category with other divine beings whose sameness of nature can only be looked upon as an infringement upon the absolute dignity of Christ; the whole process of cosmic development in which Christianity is so completely entangled that the facts of redemption achieved through Christ must lose not only their ethical-religious meaning, but even their historical character—all this formed a very decided opposition to the fundamental intuition of the Christian consciousness. . . . On the other side, Gnosticism had so much that was related to Christianity and in agreement with it, and as soon as

Christianity had once come to be more widely disseminated among the higher classes, every educated man initiated in the dominant ideas of his time felt so keenly the need of himself answering the same questions with whose solution the Gnostics were occupied, that the relation of Christianity to Gnosticism could be, by no means, a merely hostile and repellent one.[1]

(5) *Gnostic Systems.* Gnosticism was so speculative in its nature, that each important leader, even when adopting with little or no change the conceptions of his predecessors, was likely to invent a new terminology. This fact resulted in the almost endless multiplication of Gnostic parties, each of which is known by the name of its founder or by some peculiarity of the terminology or the imagery employed to set forth its ontological and cosmological scheme. Egypt and Syria were the great seminaries of Gnosticism, but Rome, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Eastern Persia furnished fruitful soil for its propagation.

a. Early Christian tradition made *Simon Magus*, after Peter's denunciation of his unholy proposal to purchase the power of bestowing the Holy Spirit (Acts 8 : 18–24), a malignant opponent of apostolic Christianity and an influential disseminator of pestilential heresy. This Simon of Samaria is said to have associated with himself a disreputable woman named Helena, and the two are said to have been worshiped by many of the Samaritans as the male and female principles of deity.[2] He is said to have claimed to be the Word, the Paraclete, and the Omnipotent One, and to have declared Helena to have been the first conception of his mind. Through her the angels and powers of the lower world had been produced, and through these angels the world had been framed. He himself and not Jesus, whom he regarded as a mere man who had received a divine impartation at his baptism, was the true Redeemer of mankind. His system seems to have been based on the Syro-Phœnician cosmology and to have had an elaborate angelology and a well-developed astrology. These elements were freely used in the practice of sorcery. The most noted of Simon's immediate disciples was Menander, who seems

[1] Baur, "*Die drei ersten Jahrhunderten*," pp. 247, 248.
[2] Justin Martyr, "Apol.," I., 26, 56, "Dial. with Trypho," 120.

to have been content with propagating the views of his master, but to have put himself in the place of honor instead of Simon.

b. Saturninus, the founder of Syrian Gnosticism, is said to have been a disciple of Simon and Menander. According to Irenæus (I., 24) he "taught that there is one Father unknown to all, who made angels, archangels, powers, and principalities; that the world and all that is therein was made by certain angels, seven in number; and that man was made by the angels." He was fashioned after the likeness of a bright manifestation of supreme power; but being unable to stand, "the superior power pitying him, . . sent a spark of life, which raised him upright." "The God of the Jews . . . was one of the angels, and because the Father wished to depose all the principalities from their sovereignty, Christ came to depose the God of the Jews, and for the salvation of those who trust in him; that is to say, of those who have in them the spark of life." Marriage and procreation he attributed to Satan. He rejected animal food and practised a rigorous asceticism. He denied the human birth of the Saviour and regarded his body as a mere appearance.

c. Tatian, a learned rhetorician, who had been converted to Christianity through Justin Martyr at Rome (*c.* 155), and had written an apology for Christianity (*c.* 165), was perverted to Syrian Gnosticism shortly afterward and wrote the "Diatessaron," in which he combined the four Gospel narratives into one, eliminating the genealogies and all passages referring to our Lord's Jewish descent (*c.* 175). He advocated and practised extreme asceticism, condemning marriage and the use of animal food, and using water for wine in the Supper. He regarded the creation of the world and the Old Testament revelation as the work of an imperfect Demiurge. The "Diatessaron" in its Syriac form was in common use in Syria till the fifth century. Tatian had vastly more knowledge of historical Christianity than had most of the Gnostic teachers.

d. Basilides, a man deeply versed in Greek and Jewish Alexandrian philosophy and in old Egyptian theosophy, and who may have come under the influence of the teach-

ings of Simon Magus and Menander, appeared in Alexandria as a religious leader about 133. His philosophy was fundamentally pantheistic. His favorite designation of God was the "Non-existent One." He starts out with an absolute void and seeks to account for the phenomenal world. Hippolytus attributes to him the following statement:

> Since, therefore, there was nothing, neither matter nor substance, nor unsubstantial, nor simple, nor compound, nor inconceivable, nor imperceptible, nor man, nor angel, nor God, nor in short any of the things that are named or perceived by the senses or conceived by the intellect, but all things being thus, and more minutely than thus, simply obliterated, the non-existent God . . . without thought, without sense, without counsel, without choice, without passion, without desire, willed to make a world. When I say willed, I mean to signify without will and without thought and without sense; and by the world I mean not that which was afterward made and separated by size and division, but the seed of the world. . . Thus the non-existent God made a non-existent world from things non-existent, having cast down and deposited a single seed, having in itself the universal seed of the world.

This seed contained the three-fold sonship, of the same essence as the non-existent God. The first was purely spiritual, the second was thought of as the more refined material essences (the firmament and the atmosphere), the third seems identified with the spiritual essence connected with material substance of the grosser sort and as in need of purification. After the firmament had been formed there sprang forth out of the seed of the world the Great Ruler (*Archon*), "the wisest and most powerful and brightest of mundane existences, superior to all beneath, except that portion of the divine sonship which still remained in the world." Ignorant of what was above the firmament and thinking himself supreme, he undertook the work of creation. Having begotten a son more powerful than himself and seated him on his right hand, he unwittingly accomplished the counsel of the non-existent God in forming the celestial and the ethereal creation. The celestial and ethereal spheres and their rulers constitute the Ogdoad, and the Great Archon bears the mystical name Abrasax, the value of whose letters makes the number 365. This would seem to identify the Great Archon with the sun and to show

the relationship of the system to the current sun-worship.

In the lower sphere a second Archon is developed who forms the Hebdomad, who also begins with the begetting of a son greater than himself. This second ruler is identified with the God of the Jews and the framer of this lower world. The third sonship is the portion of the divine life and light that has become imprisoned in matter, and the work of redemption consists in the liberation of this divine substance and its lifting up through the Hebdomad and the Ogdoad into the infinite.

Basilides secured a large following in Rome as well as in Egypt, and the influence of his theosophizing was widespread. His writings, which consisted of a recension of the gospel narrative, liturgical works, and an exposition of his cosmological and soteriological system have perished, except the few fragments that are preserved by his opponents. But underneath the somewhat fantastic imagery there seems to have been serious and profound thinking on the great problems of being.

e. Valentinus, also a Greek-speaking Egyptian philosopher, appeared in Rome as the propagator of an elaborate cosmological and soteriological system about 135, and may have continued to labor there with some intermissions until about 160. His system is far the most elaborate and was far the most popular of those developed in Egypt. He seems to have remained in nominal connection with the regular churches until after his departure from Rome. His was the form of Gnosticism with which Irenæus came into closest contact and which was the occasion of the writing of his great work against heresies. The philosophical basis of his system was identical with that of Basilides ; but he was not so careful as Basilides to insist on the original non-existence of God and everything. He starts out with Depth (*Buthos*) and Silence (*Sige*) as the eternal male and female principles. These project Mind and Truth, which in turn project Word and Life. These produce Man and Church (not the mundane). Rejoicing in their productivity, they produce and present to the Father ten æons, a perfect number. Man and Church project twelve æons, of which the last is Wisdom (*Sophia*). This lowest æon

sought to emulate the Father by independently producing offspring. The result was an abortion, who ignorantly proceeded to create this world and to involve in matter a portion of the divine substance that he possessed. This Demiurge was identified with the God of the Jews, and the Old Testament Scriptures were regarded as inspired by him. Mind and Truth projected, thereupon, Christ and the Holy Spirit to restore Form, to destroy the abortion, and to comfort the sorrowing *Sophia*. The work of redemption is to liberate the spiritual nature in man from the evil material existence and the passions by which it is enslaved and to facilitate its escape into the *pleroma* (divine fullness). For this purpose the thirty æons are supposed to have joined in projecting Jesus, the great High Priest, whose incarnation was only apparent, and whose task it was to restore *Sophia* and all of the spiritual substance that had become diffused and enslaved through the Demiurge.

f. The "*Pistis Sophia*," the only important Gnostic writing that has reached us in a state approximating completeness, was probably writen in Greek late in the second or early in the third century, but is extant only in a Coptic version. It exhibits Gnosticism in a highly developed state and seems to make more of historical Christianity than did many Gnostic writings. The title consists of two Greek words meaning "Faith Wisdom." It is the name applied to a female æon, or emanation from the Supreme Light, who having caught a glimpse of the Supreme Light, became discontented with her position and consumed with a desire to return into the infinite. To punish her for this unholy ambition, Adamas, the ruler of her sphere, led her by a false light to plunge into chaos, where she was beset by evil spirits, eager to rob her of the light that she possessed. The visible world, including mankind, resulted from the commingling of light with darkness. The subject-matter of the book is a full exposition of the way in which Pistis Sophia, including all the light and life that humanity possesses, is delivered and restored.

Several mysteries, or secret initiatory rites, are here described, the efficacy of each being carefully explained. These mysteries, it may be presumed, were practised by the Gnostics themselves, the degree of attainment in Christian knowledge and in immunity from the powers of evil being marked by the number of mysteries through which they had passed.

The work is in the form of dialogues between the Saviour and his disciples. Mary Magdalene is the most frequent questioner, and she, along with John, is represented as surpassing the other disciples in spiritual insight.

Among the mysteries baptism occupies a prominent place. I quote from King some of the more interesting statements: "Then came

forth Mary and said: Lord, under what form do Baptisms remit sins? I have heard thee saying that the Ministers of Contentions [accusing evil spirits] follow after the soul, bearing witness against it of all the sins that it hath committed, so that they may convict it in the judgments. Now, therefore, Lord, do the mysteries of Baptism blot out the sins that be in the hands of the Receivers of Contention, so that they shall utterly forget the same? Now, therefore, Lord, tell us in what form they remit sins; for we desire to know them thoroughly? Then the Saviour answered and said: Thou hast well spoken: of a truth those Ministers are they that testify against all sins, for they abide constantly in the places of judgment, laying hold upon the souls, convicting all the souls of sinners who have not received the mystery, and they keep them fast in chaos tormenting them. But these contentious ones cannot pass over chaos so as to enter into the courses that be above chaos; in order to convict the souls therefore receiving the mysteries, it is not lawful for them to force so as to drag them down into chaos, where the Contentious Receivers may convict them. But the souls of such as have not received the mysteries, these do they desire and hale into chaos: whereas the souls that have received the mysteries they have no means of convicting, seeing that they cannot get out of their own place; and even if they did come forth, they could not stop those souls, neither shut them up in their chaos. Hearken, therefore, I will declare to you in truth in what form the mystery of baptism remitteth sins. If the souls when yet living in the world have been sinful, the contentious receivers verily do come that they may bear witness of all the sins they have committed, but they can by no means come forth out of the regions of chaos, so as to convict the soul in the places of judgment that be beyond chaos. But the counterfeit of the spirit [probably equivalent to conscience] testifies against all the sins of the soul, in order to convict it in the places of judgment that be beyond chaos; not only doth it testify, but it also sets a seal upon all the sins of the soul, so as to print them firmly upon the soul, that all the rulers of the judgment place of the sinners may know that it is the soul of a sinner, and likewise know the number of the sins which it hath committed from the seals that the counterfeit of the spirit hath imprinted on it, so that they may punish the soul according to the number of its sins: this is the manner in which they treat the soul of a sinner. Now, therefore, if any one hath received the mysteries of baptism, those mysteries become a great fire, exceeding strong and wise, so as to burn up all the sins; and the fire entereth into the soul secretly, so that it may consume within it all the sins which the counterfeit of the spirit hath printed there. Likewise it entereth into the body secretly, that it may pursue all its pursuers, and divide them into parts—for it pursueth within the body the counterfeit of the spirit and Fate—so that it may divide them apart from the Power and the Soul, and place them in one part of the body—so that the fire separates the counterfeit of the spirit, Fate, and the Body into one portion, and the Soul and the Power into another portion. [According to this representation, human nature consists of five parts: conscience, or the registering and accusing element; fate or destiny, which implies the resist-

less tendency toward evil that belongs to humanity thus constituted; the body, conceived of as evil and as a hindrance to the highest end of being; the soul in the more limited sense; and the power, which seems to mean the particle of deity that is the portion of each individual.] The mystery of baptism remaineth in the middle of them, so that it may perpetually separate them, so that it may purge and cleanse them in order that they may not be polluted by matter. Now, therefore, Mary, this is the manner whereby the mystery of baptism remitteth sins and all transgressions."[1]

Then follows Mary's interpretation of our Lord's saying, Luke 12 : 49–52: "I came to cast fire upon the earth: and what will I, if it is already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished! Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth? I tell you, nay; but rather division; for there shall be from henceforth five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. This, saith Mary, signifieth the mystery of baptism which thou hast brought into the world, because it hath brought about dissension in the body of the world, because it hath divided the counterfeit of the spirit, the body and the fate thereof, into one party, and the soul and the power into the other party. The same is, There shall be three against two, and two against three. And when Mary had spoken these things the Saviour said: Well done, thou Spiritual One in the pure light, this is the interpretation of my saying."

This Gnostic explanation and justification of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration has a great advantage over those of other parties in that it seriously undertakes to explain the process. Human nature has in it five elements, three evil and damning in their character and tendency, and two fundamentally good. The problem is to separate these and to place an insuperable barrier between them. This is precisely the function of the mystery of baptism, which enters into the nature like a penetrating, searching fire and separates and keeps separate these elements, leaving the good elements free to proceed toward the glorious end of being.

(*g*) *Marcion*, a native of Pontus, went to Rome about 138 or 139 and became a member of the Roman church. Failing in an attempt to bring the church to his way of thinking, he felt constrained to organize his adherents into a separate church and to inaugurate an active propaganda. Within a few years he had built up a strong community in Rome and organizations of his followers had been formed in most of the provinces. He seems to have entertained the hope of gaining universal acceptance for his views. He was unquestionably a man of profound earnestness and of marked ability, and he labored in the spirit of a reformer. He was almost

[1] "The Gnostics and Their Remains," p. 141, *seq.*

wholly free from the speculative spirit that permeated the Egyptian and the Syrian Gnosticism. He did not exalt knowledge above faith, he did not embody his views in fantastic imagery drawn from pagan cults, he did not distinguish, as did most Gnostics, between the esoteric doctrines understood by the select few and the exoteric teachings to be imparted to the masses. In fact it is doubtful whether he should be called a Gnostic at all.[1] He had become convinced that Judaism is evil and only evil, and his mission was to eliminate every vestige of it from the religion of Christ. Accepting the Old Testament as the genuine revelation of the God of the Jews, he declared that Jehovah could not be the same as the God of the New Testament. He based his conceptions of Christianity on the writings of Paul, and formed a New Testament canon embracing, besides these, a modified edition of Luke's Gospel. By a diligent study of the Old Testament, he gathered everything contained in it that could be interpreted in such a manner as to reflect on the character of Jehovah: everything anthropomorphic or anthropopathic, everything that could be construed into requirement or approval of immorality and cruelty. With the teachings of the Old Testament he contrasted the spirituality, the gentleness, the mercifulness, and the lofty morality of the life and the teachings of Christ. He denied that God is an object of fear; he is love and requires love alone of his children. Christ took absolutely nothing from the kingdom of the Demiurge. His birth, his physical life, and his death were merely apparent. Yet he laid the utmost stress upon the redemptive work of Christ, which he considered absolutely requisite for man's salvation.

Marcion seems not to have speculated as to the origin of evil. The Demiurge and his kingdom are apparently regarded as existing from eternity. Matter he regarded as intrinsically evil and he practised a rigorous asceticism.

Marcionism found ready acceptance in Mesopotamia and Persia, where dualism had existed from time immemorial, and persisted there for centuries. Its influence

[1] *Cf.* Harnack, "*Dogmengesch.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 197, *seq.*

is apparent in Manichæism, which was far more remote from historical Christianity, in Paulicianism, which, in its purer forms, was almost free from dualism, and in early Arminian Christianity in general.

(6) *Influence of Gnosticism on Christian thought and life.* During most of the second century and part of the third Gnosticism was highly aggressive and became widely diffused throughout the Christian churches. In some cases Gnostic teachers carried forward their propaganda as members of regular Christian churches, and were able to win many of the most intelligent members before their withdrawal became necessary. Few churches, it may be supposed, were wholly free from the presence and personal influence of parties imbued with Gnostic teaching. Professing, as did the Gnostics, to solve all the great problems of the universe and in most cases commending themselves to pious Christians by great earnestness and zeal and by ascetic living, they easily gained followers among those who were predisposed to speculative thinking and to asceticism, despite all the efforts of the teachers of sound evangelical truth. After several of the great Gnostic leaders had been excluded from fellowship in the regular churches, and their teaching had come to be denounced as heretical by churches that were able to resist their proselytizing efforts, it became comparatively easy for Christians to expose their errors and to put believers everywhere on their guard against them. The influence of Gnosticism on Christian life and thought is manifest in the following directions: *a.* Christian teachers were obliged to defend the apostolic faith against its able and seductive assailants. To do this effectively it was necessary for them not only to study the writings of the false teachers, but also to study more profoundly than they might otherwise have done the Old and New Testament Scriptures and the writings of the Greek philosophers on which the teachings of the heretics so largely rested. Such study led to the philosophical statement of Christian doctrines. Naturally the Greek philosophy, already deeply imbedded in current thinking, was the molding influence in the transformation of the unsystematized materials of the New Testament into the Christian dogmas

of the third and following centuries. *b.* The fondness of the Gnostics for "mysteries" or secret rites, which they drew largely from the Greek and Egyptian mysteries, and their introduction of elaborate and pompous liturgical services, no doubt stimulated in the regular churches a taste for similar accessories to worship. *c.* In general it may be said that Gnosticism led the way in the amalgamation of Christian and pagan thought and life that was to transform the religion of Christ and his apostles into the Christianity of the third and following centuries.

3. *The Manichæans.*

LITERATURE: Archelaus, "*Acta Disput. cum Manete*," in Routh, "*Reliquiæ Sac.*," V., 3, *seq.* (Eng. tr. "Ante-Nic. Libr."), Alexander of Lycop. (Eng. tr. "Ante-Nic. Libr."); Titus Bostrensis, "*Contra Manichæos*"; Epiphanius, 66; Augustine, various tracts against Manichæans in "*Opera*," Vol. VIII., ed. Bened. (Eng. tr. in "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," First Series, Vol. IV., by Stothert and A. H. Newman, with notes by the latter); documents in Fabricius, "*Biblioth. Gr.*," V., 285, *seq.*, and VIII., 315, *seq.*, and in Photius, "*Bibliotheca*," cod. 179. Pressensé "Her. and Chr. Doctr."; Gieseler, I., 203, *seq.*, Schaff, II., 498, *seq.*; Mœller, I., 289, *seq.*; Neander, I., 478, *seq.*; Wegnern, "*Manichæorum Indulgentiæ*"; De Sacy, "*Memoires sur Diverses Antiq. de la Perse*," 289, *seq.*; Beausobre, "*Hist. critique de Man.*"; Baur, "*Das Manichæische Religionssytem*"; art. "Mani," in Herzog, "Britannica," and "Dict. of Ch. Biog.," by Kessler, Harnack, and Stokes, respectively; Flügel, "*Mani, seine Lehre u. seine Schriften, aus dem Fihrist d. Abi Jakub an Nadim*"; Kessler, "*Untersuchungen zur Genesis d. Man. Rel. Systems*," and "*Mani, oder Beitrag zur Bekenntniss d. Religionsmischung im Semitismus*"; Mozley, "Manichæans," etc. (in "Ruling Ideas in Early Ages"); Cunningham, "St. Austin and his Place in the History of Christian Thought."

(1) *Characterization of Manichæism.* Manichæism is Gnosticism, with its Christian elements reduced to a minimum, and the Zoroastrian, old Babylonian, and other Oriental elements raised to the maximum. Manichæism is Oriental dualism under Christian names, the Christian names employed retaining scarcely a trace of their proper meaning.

(2) *Origin of Manichæism.* Christianity had been introduced into Persia at an early date and was either of a Gnostic character when first introduced, or soon became such from contact with the State religion. By the middle of the third century Christians were numer-

ous in Persia, and had made considerable impression upon the dominant Zoroastrianism. After a period of decline Zoroastrianism, in its original strongly dualistic form, was restored by the Sassanides about the middle of the second century. Mani, a Mesopotamian, who had been brought up in connection with a sect of old Babylonian origin, having been brought into contact with Christianity, conceived the idea (probably about 238) of blending Oriental dualism and Christianity into a harmonious whole. Supposing that Christianity had been corrupted by the preponderance of Jewish elements, he set to work, in Gnostic fashion, to eliminate all Judaizing elements, and to substitute therefor Zoroastrianism. He regarded himself, at the same time, as an apostle of Jesus Christ, and as the promised Paraclete. Mani was skilled in various sciences and arts—mathematics, astronomy, painting—and had an ardent, profound mind. He seems also to have had a highly attractive personality. He was thus enabled to spread his views with great rapidity. Driven from Persia, he is said to have traveled in India and China. Here he doubtless came in contact with Buddhism, from which he may have derived new elements for his theosophical system. Returning to Persia, he was greatly honored by the new king, but was ordered to be crucified by his successor (about 277).

(3) *Doctrines of Manichæism.* The most fundamental thing in Manichæism is its *absolute dualism.* The "kingdom of light" and the "kingdom of darkness," with their rulers, stand eternally opposed to each other. The victory is not doubtful, but belongs to the "kingdom of light." Inside of this dualism exists a sort of *pantheism, i. e.*, each element of the dualism is conceived of as a unity evolving itself into multiformity. From the ruler of the "kingdom of light" emanates the "mother of life." "The mother of life" generates the "primitive man," with a view to opposing him to the powers of darkness. "Primitive man" is worsted in the conflict, and appeals to the ruler of the "kingdom of light" for aid. "Primitive man" is raised again, but the "kingdom of darkness" has swallowed part of his armor, *i. e.*, part of his light. This stolen light formed the mundane soul, now mixed up with matter. The object of the

creation of the world was to liberate the light thus mixed up with matter.

(4) *Points of Contact with Christianity.* The "primitive man," who was withdrawn from the "kingdom of darkness," was placed in the sun as its principle of heat and light. This was identified with the Logos, or Son of God. All growth, whether of plants or of animals, is an effort of the fettered powers of light to escape from the powers of darkness, prompted by the heat and light of the Sun, or the Son of God. The ruler of the kingdom of darkness, seeing that the powers of light which he held were thus about to be liberated, resolved to create a being in whom these powers might be charm-bound. Man is formed from the longing of the powers of darkness for a form like that of the Sun-Spirit. The object was to concentrate all the powers of light into a single being that should be able to attract and retain the heavenly light. Man, thus created, consisted of two opposite principles—a soul like the kingdom of light, and a body like the kingdom of darkness. The higher nature was tempted by the lower, and the soul that would have ascended to the kingdom of light was divided by propagation. The object of the historical appearance of Christ in the world (his bodily manifestation was only an appearance—*Docetism*) was to aid the good principle in man to overcome the evil, and by this means to liberate the elements of light from their bondage.

(5) *Morals and Customs of the Manichæans.* The Manichæans were divided into two classes, the *elect* or *perfect* and the *auditors*. The former alone were admitted to the secret rites—baptism, communion, etc.,—which are supposed to have been celebrated with great pomp, in much the same way as they were celebrated by the Catholics a little later. The "elect" were a sacerdotal class, forming a sort of connecting link between the "auditors" and the "kingdom of light." The "elect" practised a Buddhist asceticism, possessing no property, abstaining from marriage, from wine, from animal food, were extremely careful not to destroy animal or vegetable life (on account of the elements of light they contained), and occupied themselves with contemplation and devotion. The "auditors," who always constituted

the bulk of the Manichæans, were allowed more freedom, and were supposed to participate in the holiness of the "elect," in consideration of bestowing upon them the necessaries of life. The Manichæans rejected the Old Testament, and treated the New Testament in the most arbitrary way, rejecting whatever seemed unfavorable to their views, and maintaining that even the apostles did not fully understand Christ.

(6) *Effects of Manichæism on the Regular Churches.* Absurd and unchristian as this system seems to us, it claimed to be the only true Christianity, and by its lofty pretensions and the personal power of many of its advocates drew much of the intellect of the age into its ranks. We may say that, in connection with other influences, it stimulated: *a.* The ascetical spirit, with degradation of marriage, the exaltation of virginity, the regarding of the sexual instinct as absolutely evil and to be overcome by all possible means. *b.* The introduction of pompous ceremonial into the church. *c.* The systematizing of Christian doctrine. *d.* Sacerdotalism, or the belief that ministers of religion are intermediaries between God and man, possessing, by virtue of their office, extraordinary power with God. *e.* As the result of this sacerdotalism, the doctrine of indulgences (though in its development other influences can be distinguished) was introduced into the church.

During the fourth and fifth centuries Manichæism gained great popularity in Italy and North Africa. In the West it came into more vital relations with Christianity, and for a time was a most dangerous rival of orthodoxy. Augustine, the greatest of the Latin Fathers, was for many years connected with the Manichæans and his modes of thought were greatly affected by this experience.

4. The Monarchian Heresies.

LITERATURE: See pertinent sections in the works on the History of Doctrine, by Harnack, Seebach, Loofs, Thomasius, Baur, Hagenbach, Shedd, Sheldon, and Fisher; Dorner, "The Person of Christ," Div. I., Vol. II.; Conybeare, "The Key of Truth," 1898; and articles on "Monarchianism," and on the various subordinate parties and their leaders in "Dictionary of Christian Biography," and the Herzog-Hauck "*Real-Encyklopädie.*"

The type of teaching represented by Theodotus and Paul of Samosata is commonly designated by German

writers Dynamistic Monarchianism, as distinguished from the Modalistic Monarchianism of Noëtus, Praxeas, Sabellius, and Beryllus. In the one case the man Jesus is regarded as energized and exalted by the Divine Spirit, in the other the incarnation is regarded as only a mode of the Divine activity and manifestation.

(1) *Dynamistic Monarchianism. a. The Alogoi.* This term was applied by Epiphanius (*c.* 375) to those who in the second century opposed the Logos (Word) doctrine of John's Gospel. They are said to have rejected not only the fourth Gospel, but the Johannean Apocalypse and the Johannean Epistles as well. Epiphanius relates that they not only denied the eternity of the Logos as a person of the Godhead, but attributed the Johannean Gospel and Apocalypse to Cerinthus, who is elsewhere represented as the arch-enemy of the Apostle John. They sought to show that the Christology of the fourth Gospel was contradictory to that of the Synoptic Gospels, which, they claimed, know nothing of the eternal sonship. They are represented as having arisen in opposition to the Montanistic prophecy.[1]

b. The first representative of Dynamistic Monarchianism whose views have been recorded is *Theodotus* of Byzantium, who sought to propagate his views in the Roman church, about 190. According to an anonymous writer,[2] Theodotus held to the supernatural birth of Jesus, but insisted that he was a "mere man" until his baptism, when the Holy Spirit came upon him and bestowed upon him Divine attributes. This form of doctrine, known in the later times as Adoptionism, was condemned by the Roman Church.

c. Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch (260 onward), was for some time a sort of viceroy to Queen Zenobia of Palmyra. About 269 he was excommunicated by a great provincial synod, after years of bitter controversy. After the fall of Zenobia (272), the Emperor Aurelian sustained the party that had the approval of the Italian bishops, and excluded Paul from the use of ecclesiastical property. His views were widely propagated in Meso-

[1] See Epiphanius, "*Hæres.*," 50-54.
[2] By some supposed to have been Hippolytus, by others Caius. The extant fragments are published in Routh's "*Reliquiæ Sacræ*." English translation in Ante-Nicene Library, American edition, Vol. V., p. 601, *seq.*

potamia and Armenia, and his name was probably perpetuated in the great Paulician body, who have kept alive his form of doctrine till the present century. Like Theodotus and his followers he insisted on the absolute unipersonality of God. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one God, one person. Logos and Wisdom are attributes or faculties of God. Christ was begotten of Mary by the Holy Spirit, and at his baptism was energized by the divine Logos (Word). Yet he refused to identify Christ with the Logos. Thus he regarded Jesus as a divinely begotten man, energized by the Holy Spirit (or the Logos) and so exalted to Divine dignity and honor. Of his efficiency as the Saviour of men he seems to have entertained no doubt.

Only a few sentences from his writings have been preserved. The following are the most important, and may fairly represent his mode of thought:

Having been anointed by the Holy Spirit, he (Jesus) was given the title of Christ. He suffered according to his nature, he worked miracles according to grace. For by his unflinching, unblenched will and resolution he made himself like unto God; and, having kept himself free from sin, he was made one with him, and was empowered to take up, as it were, the power to perform miracles. By means of these he was shown to have one and the same energy in addition to the will (*i. e.*, of God), and so received the title of Redeemer and Saviour of our race.

Again:

The Saviour having approved himself holy and just, and having overcome by conflict and labor the sins of our forefather,—having won these successes by his virtue,—was joined with God, having by his progressive advances in goodness attained to one and the same will and energy with him. And having preserved the same undivided, he doth inherit the Name that is above every name, the reward of love that was vouchsafed to him.

Again:

The Word is greater than Christ, for Christ became great through wisdom.

Again:

Mary did not bring forth the Word, for Mary was not before the ages. But she brought forth a man on a level with ourselves. It is

the man that is anointed, not the Word. It is the Nazarene, our Lord, that was anointed.[1]

d. In the "*Acts of Archelaus*," purporting to be a record of a disputation between Archelaus, bishop of Karkhar, in Persia, and Mani, the heretical leader (latter part of third century), views similar to those of Paul of Samosata are set forth by the bishop. This fact would seem to indicate the prevalence of Adoptionist teaching in Persia and the neighboring parts of Armenia. "Tell me," says Archelaus, "upon whom the Holy Spirit descended as a dove? Also, who is it that was baptized by John? If he was perfect, if he was Son, if he was virtue (*i. e.*, Divine power), the Spirit could not have entered into him, inasmuch as one kingdom cannot enter into another. But whose voice sounding from heaven testified to him, saying: 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased'?"

Archelaus asserts the Adoptionist view of the person of Christ in opposition to the docetism of Mani and the Gnostics. The idea of a Divine incarnation seems to have been inseparable, in his mind, from the view that the humanity was a mere appearance.

Regarding the persistence of the Adoptionist Christology in the East, see the section on the Paulicians in the next Period.

The Theodotians are represented as seeking to substantiate their views by a critical study of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and as being much given to the study of the logical and mathematical works of the Greeks. They seem to have rejected the allegorical method of interpretation, and may be regarded as the forerunners of the Antiochian school.

It will be noticed that this view of the person of Christ is in essential agreement with that of the Ebionites; but there is no reason to suppose that Theodotus and his followers were related historically to the Judaizing heresy. The Adoptionist Christology seems to be implied in the "Shepherd" of Hermas, and possibly in Justin Martyr's "Dialogue with Trypho." It is probable that this type of teaching was early diffused in Mesopotamia, Persia, and Armenia. It was to become the prevailing form of teaching in Armenia, and to be perpetuated there by the Paulicians, who for centuries disputed the ground with the Gregorian party.

(2) *Modalistic Monarchianism.* This term may be used to include the views of Noëtus and Sabellius, com-

[1] *Cf.* Conybeare, "The Key of Truth," Introduction, p. xciv., *seq.*

bated by Hippolytus, those of Praxeas, elaborately refuted by Tertullian, and those of Beryllus of Bostra, whom Origen convinced of his error.

a. About 195, *Praxeas*, who had suffered severely for the faith in Asia Minor, visited Rome in order to prevent the recognition of the Montanists by the Roman bishop. When Victor, who had been favorably impressed by the representations of the Montanists, was on the point of giving them letters of commendation, Praxeas succeeded, as Tertullian puts it, in expelling the Paraclete and crucifying the Father, *i. e.*, in causing the condemnation of the Montanists, who claimed to be the organs of the Paraclete, and in spreading his Patripassian heresy. It does not appear that he gained many followers in Rome, but he visited Carthage afterward, and his propaganda there was very successful. About 210, Tertullian, now a Montanist, put forth the most powerful polemic against this type of teaching that the age produced.

b. Noëtus of Smyrna sought to propagate similar views either in Smyrna or in Ephesus, about the time of Praxeas' visit to Rome. When, some years after, he was condemned and excommunicated by the presbyters of his community, he claimed that he was guilty of nothing but "glorifying Christ." His disciple, Epigonus, propagated his views in Rome (*c.* 200 onward). The bishop, Zephyrinus, and his coadjutor and successor, Callistus, according to Hippolytus, secretly aided the propaganda. Cleomenes became one of the most active of the propagandists. Sabellius was won over to this mode of thought, notwithstanding the earnest efforts of Hippolytus to save him from this fate. Callistus, when he became bishop (217), felt obliged to condemn Sabellius, but is represented by Hippolytus as fostering a similar form of teaching.

It is difficult to get at the exact form in which Modalistic Monarchianism was taught by this party. We are almost wholly dependent on their adversaries, who wrote with such passion that we cannot but suspect unfairness of representation. They evidently regarded men like Hippolytus and Tertullian, who insisted on the absolute Deity of Christ, and yet distinguished him from the Father, as ditheists. They were equally convinced of the

absolute Deity of Christ, but they refused to distinguish between Father and Son as different personalities. They identified Christ with the Father, and did not hesitate to attribute to God as God whatever can be attributed to God incarnate, including birth, suffering, and death. Hence the designation "Patripassian."

For further information about the Modalistic Monarchians, see the sections on Hippolytus and Tertullian in the next chapter.

III. REACTIONARY AND REFORMING PARTIES.

1. *The Montanists.*

LITERATURE: Tertullian, Montanistic writings, esp. "*De Corona*," "*De Fuga in Persecutionem*," "*Scorpiace*," "*Ad Scapulam*," "*De Monogamia*," "*De Pudicitia*," "*De Jejuniis*," "*De Virginibus Velandis*," "*De Palliis*" (Eng. tr. in Ante-Nicene Library); Eusebius, "Church History," V., 14–18 (based upon earlier documents; McGiffert's notes are of great value); Epiphanius, "*Hær.*," 48 and 49; Sozomen, "Church History," II., 32. Pressensé "Her. and Chr. Doctr.," p. 101, *seq.*; Mossman, "History of the Early Christian Church.," p. 401, *seq.*; Neander, Vol. I., p. 508, *seq.*; Schaff, Vol. II., p. 405, *seq.*; Mœller, Vol. I., p. 156, *seq.*; Bonwetsch, "*Gesch. des Montanismus*"; Harnack, "*Dogmengeschichte*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 353, *seq.*; Hilgenfeld, "*Ketzergesch.*," *Seit.* 591, *seq.*; De Soyres, "Montanism and the Primitive Church"; Bishop of Bristol, "The Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Century"; Uhlhorn, "Conflict Between Christianity and Heathenism"; Ritschl, "*Altkath. Kirche*," *Seit.* 347–583, *seq.*; Baur, "Church History of the Three First Centuries," Vol. I., p. 245, *seq.*, Vol. II., p. 45, *seq.*; Neander, "Anti-Gnosticus, or the Spirit of Tertullian"; Belck, "*Gesch. d. Montanismus*"; Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire," p. 434, *seq.*; Schwegler, "*Der Montanismus u. d. Kirche d. zweiten Jahrhunderts*"; art. "Montanism" in the encyclopedias referred to above.

(1) *Characteristics of Montanism.* We may regard Montanism: *a.* As a *reactionary* movement against the innovations that were being introduced into the churches through the influence of Gnosticism and of paganism in general; especially against the emphasizing of knowledge at the expense of faith, against laxity of discipline in the churches, and consequently of morals in the members, against the merging of the churches in the world, against the growth of hierarchy, against the growing disbelief in contemporaneous special providences and revelations.

b. As a movement *Judaistic* in its tendencies: not in the sense of exalting Judaism above Christianity, for the Montanists are decided in their preference for Christianity as a higher stage of divine revelation than Judaism; nor in the sense of adhering to Jewish forms and customs, for many things approved of in the Old Testament, as repeated marriages, the use of wine, etc., are reprobated by the Montanists; nor in the sense of Ebionitic denial of the divinity of Christ, for they maintained this most persistently. But *in spirit* the Montanists were Judaistic. They were legalists, attempting to make religion to consist largely in outward observances. They regarded themselves as occupying a position similar to that of the prophets of the Old Testament, with their ecstatic visions, etc.

c. We may say, that while in a sense Montanism was a reaction against innovation, it was yet *innovating in its tendencies*, and anticipated the post-Nicene churches that considered themselves "Catholic" in many of its most distinctive features. In general, the very features of Montanism which led to its rejection by the churches of the time were, within two centuries, part and parcel of the doctrine of these churches: *e. g.*, exaltation of virginity and widowhood, arbitrary division of sins into mortal and venial, undue exaltation of martyrdom, etc.

d. Hence, Montanism may be regarded as in one sense a forerunner of later reformatory bodies, but in a more important sense as a *forerunner of the ascetic Christianity* of the fourth and following centuries.

e. The Montanists *exaggerated the opposition between Christianity and the world.* They had an almost Gnostic contempt for the flesh, and believed that sensual pleasure of any sort was hurtful to the spiritual life. The present life they regarded as of no consequence except as a time of preparation for the life beyond. Montanism was, therefore, an impracticable system. In the nature of things, Christianity, in that form, could never become a universal religion.

f. Montanism may be *contrasted with Gnosticism* thus: Gnosticism was occupied chiefly with speculations as to the *origin* of the universe; Montanism with speculations as to the approaching *end* of the world.

g. Montanism may be *contrasted with Catholicism* of the time thus: Montanism insisted upon holiness—a legalistic and arbitrary holiness, it is true—at the expense of catholicity; Catholicism, *vice versa*.[1]

(2) *Origin of Montanism.* Montanism, as an organized party, originated in Phrygia, about 135–160. Montanus, with two women, Priscilla and Maximilla, claimed to have been especially enlightened by the Paraclete; and to have been divinely commissioned to proclaim the setting up of the kingdom of Christ on earth and to inveigh against the laxity and worldliness of the churches of the time. Their denunciation of the clergy, whom they stigmatized as *psychical* in contrast with their own spirituality, aroused the opposition of the clergy and the less earnest laymen. The Montanists were cut off from the communion of many Phrygian churches. Believing themselves to be the only true apostolic Christians, they appealed to their brethren at Rome and elsewhere for recognition. The Roman Church was about to recognize them, but owing to unfavorable representations of their doctrines and practices by Praxeas, noted for Patripassian views of the Godhead, the recognition failed and the prophets were rejected. The Montanists, against their desire and original intention, were thus forced into the position of schismatics. The movement was one that appealed forcibly to the more earnest Christians throughout the empire, and Montanistic churches multiplied in Asia Minor, in Proconsular Africa, and in the remote East.

The Phrygians were strongly predisposed to extravagance in religion. Their worship of Cybele was grossly immoral, and was accompanied by ecstatic visions, wild frenzy, and fearful self-mutilations. The enthusiastic, perhaps fanatical, character of early Montanism may have been due in part to this national characteristic.

(3) *Doctrines of the Montanists.* In general, the Montanists did not differ widely in point of belief from the orthodox churches of the time. Says Tertullian:[2] "They [the psychical] make controversy with the Paraclete; on account of this the new prophecies are rejected, not

[1] The last two observations are substantially Baur's.
[2] "*De Jejuniis*," Book I. *Cf.* "*De Virg. Velandis*," Book II.; Epiphanius, "*Hær.*," 48, 1; Firmilianus, in Cyprian, "*Ep.*," LXXV., 19.

that Montanus and Priscilla and Maximilla preach another God, nor that they do away with Jesus Christ, nor that they overthrow any rule of faith or hope." We can best get at their peculiarities of view by observing the charges made against them by their adversaries.

a. One of the most distinctive features of the Montanists is their *doctrine of the Paraclete.* They claimed to be the recipients, while in a state of ecstasy, of special divine revelations. They supposed that in their time and in them was fulfilled the saying of Christ: "I have still many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now, but when he comes, the Spirit of truth, he will guide you into the whole truth," etc. Accordingly, they regarded their own dreaming as of more importance than the written word. Says Tertullian:[1] "If Christ abolished what Moses taught, because from the beginning it was not so (Matt. 19 : 8), . . why should not the Paraclete abolish what Paul indulged, because second marriage also was not from the beginning?"

b. The points in which they claimed to be especially instructed by the Paraclete are chiefly those in which the Scriptures are not sufficiently ascetical, showing that the *most fundamental thing* was their *legalistic asceticism,* and that the Paraclete was with them an expedient for obviating the authority of Scripture in favor of greater rigor.

c. To particularize: The Montanists claimed the authority of the Paraclete for *making second marriages equivalent to adultery,* and hence mortal sin, which the church is incompetent to forgive; for *rejecting entirely the use of wine* and insisting on frequent and long-continued fasts, especially the *xerophagies* (or abstinence from moist food of any kind); for *making flight in persecution or denial of the faith under any circumstances mortal* (by the church unpardonable) *sin;* for *expecting the speedy end of the present dispensation.* Indeed, the motive for the Montanistic asceticism was the vivid expectation of the end of the world.

d. As indicated above, the Montanists drew a definite line—first, so far as we know—between *mortal* and *venial*

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[1] "*De Monogamia,*" Chap. 14.

sins: the former comprising homicide, idolatry, fraud, negation (of the faith), blasphemy, adultery, and fornication; the latter embracing all those minor sins to which every Christian is continually subject. The former are irremissible, so far as the churches are concerned; the latter are forgiven through the advocacy of Christ.

(4) *Influence of Montanism on the Church.* Few of the teachings and practices for which the Montanists are distinguished were new creations of the Montanists. Special prophetical gifts, *e.g.*, are spoken of by Justin Martyr and Irenæus as appearing in their time, and millenarianism was by no means peculiar to Montanism. But the Montanists brought forward their ideas and claims in an enthusiastic and one-sided way, having been aroused to fanaticism by the increasing corruption and worldliness of the churches. As worldliness and corruption continued to increase, so reactionary movements continued to appear until, when the great churches as such were thoroughly secularized by the union of Church and State, the reactionary spirit culminated, as we shall see hereafter, in monasticism.

2. *The Novatianists.*

LITERATURE: Cyprian, "*Epp.*," 41–52; Eusebius, "Ch. Hist.," Bk. VI., Chap. 43, 45; Bk. VII., Chap. 8; Socrates, "Ch. Hist.," Bk. IV., Chap. 28; Pacianus, "*Ep. Tres Contr. Nov.*"; (the extant writings of Novatian do not touch specifically upon the distinctive features of Novatianism); Neander, Vol. I., pp. 237–248; Gieseler, Vol. I., p. 254; Mœller, Vol. I., p. 263, *seq.*; Tillemont, "*Mémoires*," Tom. III., pp, 189, 209, 346, 353; Walch, "*Ketzerhistorie*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 185–310; Ritschl, "*Altkath. Kirche*," *Seit.* 335, 538, 575; Harnack, "*Dogmengesch*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 339, *seq.*; encyclopedias as above, *sub. voc.*

(1) *Characteristics of Novatianism.* *a.* After what has been said of Montanism, it will not be necessary to discuss Novatianism at length. Novatianism *was Montanism reappearing* under peculiar circumstances and in another age. Many of the Montanistic ideas had been absorbed by the general churches. The prophetic spirit could not long sustain itself. After the time of Tertullian we hear nothing of prophetic claims. Nor does this feature of Montanism reappear in Novatianism.

b. Novatianism was a *striving after ecclesiastical purity*, perverted by the Montanistic legalism. The churches

must be made pure and kept pure by the rigorous exclusion of all who have at any time committed one of the particular sins which were arbitrarily classed as "mortal," especially negation of the faith.

(2) *Origin of Novatianism.* So far as the Novatianist party was a new party, it originated as follows: During the Decian persecution, many Christians in all parts of the empire denied the faith. At the close of the persecution, it was a most important question with the churches how to deal with the multitudes who now clamored for readmission. The laxer party, which was at this time predominant at Rome, was in favor of readmitting them without much delay or ceremony. An influential party, led by Novatian, opposed this laxity, and when they failed to carry their point in the church, withdrew, Novatian becoming bishop of the protesting party. The Novatianists had the sympathy of a large element in the North African churches, and they soon formed there a strong organization. In North Africa and in Asia Minor they probably absorbed most of the Montanistic party, which was still important. This was certainly the case in Phrygia, the original home of Montanism. Novatianist congregations persisted till the fifth century or later.

(3) *Doctrines and Practices.* *a.* In matters of doctrine and church organization, the Novationists were at one with the general churches. Novatian himself wrote one of the ablest treatises of the period on the doctrine of the Trinity. It was the matter of *discipline* alone, the conditions of church-membership and the competency of the churches to forgive certain specific sins, that furnished occasion for the schism.

b. Believing the general churches of the time to be apostate, they naturally rejected their ordinances, and *rebaptized* those that came to them from churches with which they did not affiliate.

c. The doctrine of *baptismal regeneration* had become almost universal by this time, and the Novatianists held to it so tenaciously as to regard it as a matter of the utmost consequence, not only that every Christian should be baptized, but also that he should be baptized by a properly qualified person.

3. *The Donatists.*

LITERATURE: Optatus Milevitanus, "*De Schismate Donatistarum*," Lib. VII., ed. Dupin (this edition contains also a collection of documents relating to the history of the Donatists); Augustine, various treatises against the Donatists (Eng. tr. by King, edited, with elaborate introductory essay, by Hartranft, in Nicene and Post-Nic. Fathers, first ser., Vol. IV.); Norisius, "*Hist. Donatistarum*"; Hefele, "Councils," Vol. I. and II., *passim*; Hardouin, "*Conc.*," Vol. I., *passim*; Neander, Vol. II., pp. 214–252; Schaff, Vol. III., p. 360, *seq.*; Ribbeck, "*Donatus und Augustinus*"; Bindemann, "*Der heil. Augustinus*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 366, *seq.*; *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 178–353; Völter, "*Ursprung d. Donatismus*"; Walch, "*Historie der Ketzereien*," *Bd.* IV.; Roux, "*De Augustino, Adversario Donatistarum*"; Tillemont, "*Mémoires*," *Tom.* VI.; art. in the "Presb. Rev.," 1884, by T. W. Hopkins; Loofs, "*Dogmengesch.*," *Seit.* 205, *seq.*; Thümmel, "*Zur Beurtheilung d. Donatismus*," 1893; Seeck, "*Quellen u. Urkunden über d. Anfänge d. Donatismus*" (in "*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*," 1889); Reuter, "*Augustin. Studien*"; Deutsch, "*Drei Actenstücke zur Gesch. d. Donatismus*"; art. "Donatism," in encyclopedias referred to above. The art. by Bonwetsch in the third ed. of the Herzog-Hauck "*R. E.*," *Bd.* IV., *Seit.* 788–798, 1898, is of special value and brings the literature up to date.

(1) *Characteristics.* *a.* The Donatists follow in the same general line with the Montanists and the Novatianists. Like the earlier bodies they were concerned chiefly with questions of ecclesiastical *discipline;* and, as in the earlier movements, their scrupulosity was based upon a narrow *legalism.*

b. The Donatists may properly be called the *High Churchmen* of the fifth century. Like many High Churchmen of modern times they were distinguished for their earnestness and zeal.

c. Their protests against the corruptions of the churches were entirely justified, but the spirit of their protests seems to have been more hopelessly at variance with true spiritual Christianity than that of their comparatively lax and indifferent opponents.

(2) *Origin.* The Donatists arose after the Diocletian persecution. Those who delivered up the Scriptures during persecution were stigmatized by the strict party as "traditors." The strict party could not endure the presence of traditors in the churches, especially as officers. As traditors had committed a sin which they felt that the churches had no right to pardon, they re-

garded ordinances performed by such persons as invalid, and churches in which they were tolerated as unworthy of Christian fellowship. Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, when called on to deliver up the Scriptures, was reported to have put in their place some heretical writings, and to have hidden the Scriptures themselves. He and Cæcilian, his deacon, used all their influence against the fanaticism which led so many needlessly to throw themselves into the hands of the persecutors. They also sought to check superstition as it was coming to be manifested in the worship of relics, etc. In 311 Mensurius died, and Cæcilian became candidate for the episcopate. In Numidia, several influential pastors, especially Donatus, of Casæ Nigræ, and Secundus, of Tigisis, had taken strong ground against traditors. A wealthy lady, Lucilla, much given to the veneration of martyrs and their relics, was at the head of the opposition in Carthage. The Carthaginian presbyters were almost all opposed to Cæcilian. The Numidian bishops, who were accustomed to take part in the consecration of the bishop of Carthage, were sent for by the party of Lucilla, and meetings were held in her house. Cæcilian knowing that he would be opposed by these bishops, got himself hurriedly ordained by a neighboring bishop, Felix, of Aptunga. The Numidian bishops declared Cæcilian deposed, and elected Majorinus. There were now two rival bishops of Carthage, each with a strong following, and the utmost bitterness prevailed between the two parties. The schism thus begun at Carthage, spread all over North Africa. Much of the earlier Montanism and Novatianism was probably absorbed by the new party. Indeed, the party can hardly be called new. It was simply a fresh manifestation of the strict tendency as opposed to increasing laxity in the churches.

(3) *Doctrines and Practices.* *a.* They insisted on rigorous ecclesiastical discipline, and pure church-membership. *b.* They rejected unworthy ministers. *c.* They protested against civil interference in matters of religion. This feature, however, was developed only after they had despaired of obtaining the support of the civil power. The evils of State interference must be experienced

before the system could be vigorously combated. *d.* They practised episcopacy in the same sense and to the same extent as it prevailed in the general churches of the time; though the dioceses were for the most part very small, and many bishops were pastors of single churches. *e.* They believed in baptismal regeneration and in the necessity of baptism to salvation. In this they went beyond the Catholics themselves, maintaining that the human nature of Christ himself needed to be cleansed by baptism. Their most prominent characteristic, that of baptizing anew those that had already been baptized, whether in infancy or not, by those whom they regarded as unworthy, is evidence of the fact that they regarded the salvation of the soul as depending on the administration of the ordinance by a blameless person. *f.* They practised infant baptism. This they were probably more scrupulous in doing than the general churches, in accordance with their more vivid sense of its necessity. *g.* They were intolerant and bigoted. This, however, was in a large measure due to the harsh treatment that they received at the hands of their opponents.[1]

[1] The later history of the Donatists will be found in the next period.

CHAPTER III

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES

LITERATURE: Original texts in Migne's "*Patrologia*" and in critical editions to be referred to under each author; English translations in "The Ante-Nicene Fathers," 10 vols, New York, 1885–96; Harnack, "*Gesch. d. Altchristl. Litteratur bis zu Eusebius*," 1893 onward (Part I. consists of a comprehensive survey of the entire body of extant Christian literature so far as it had come to light at the time of writing, with full critical information regarding each document. Part II., of which the first volume was issued in 1897, treats of the chronology of these literary remains. This monumental work is being prepared under the auspices of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences); Gebhardt and Harnack, "*Texte und Untersuchungen*" (This learned work, still in progress, consists of monographs by various scholars on various literary monuments of this age, especially on newly discovered documents and such as are of uncertain date and authorship. Fifteen volumes have already appeared); Robinson, "Texts and Studies" (an English series of monographs by different writers similar to the German series just referred to, still in course of publication); Cruttwell, "A Literary History of Early Christianity," 1893; Krüger, "History of Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries," English translation, 1898; Donaldson, "A Critical History of Christ. Literature and Doctr. from the Death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council," 1866; Farrar, "Lives of the Fathers."

I. PRELIMINARY.

1. *The Importance of this Literature.*

THE Christian literature of the first three centuries stands next to that of the apostolic age not only in time but also in importance. Some of the writings to be here considered belong to the apostolic age and may be earlier than some of the New Testament books, especially the Johannean Gospel and Apocalypse. The importance of this literature is obvious from the following considerations:

(1) The distinct inferiority of the very best of it to any of the New Testament books is strongly confirmatory of the belief that the selection and the preservation of the

latter no less than their original writing was presided over by Divine Providence.

(2) This literature is our only source of information as to the process by which apostolic Christianity was transformed in doctrine, polity, life, worship, and institutions into the Christianity of the fourth century, and by which Christianity became so widespread, powerful, and secularized as to gain recognition as the religion of the State.

(3) These writings contain all the available information regarding the use of the New Testament Scriptures in the churches of the first three centuries and reveal the process by which, and the influences under which, the books now included in our canon secured recognition as the authoritative record of the revelation of the New Covenant to the exclusion of all others.

(4) This literature is remarkably varied as regards form, contents, and type of teaching, and is a true mirror of the diversified forms that Christianity assumed in its contact and conflict with the Jewish and the pagan world.

2. *Divisions of Early Christian Literature.*

We may divide early Christian literature as follows: (1) The *edificatory* period. (2) The *apologetic* period. (3) The *polemical* period. (4) The *scientific* period. We shall find that the order of division is at the same time logical and chronological.

(1) *An Obscure and Quiet Growth.* It was natural and necessary that Christianity should have an obscure and quiet growth before it should get bold enough to defend itself publicly, or at least before it could hope for a public hearing. Moreover, in the age immediately succeeding the apostolic age Christianity had in its ranks few men of philosophical culture who could have been expected to attempt the public defense of their religion. The shock received by the Christians from the atrocities of Nero, repeated in a somewhat milder form by Domitian, would have deterred them in any case from attempting to influence the government in their favor.

(2) *Warding off Attacks.* Again, it was natural, after Christianity had made considerable progress and had won to its support a number of cultured minds, that it

should devote its attention to warding off the attacks of its enemies and to setting forth to those in authority its true character, and should abstain as far as practicable from public attacks on heathen doctrines and practices. Not all of the apologists, as we shall see, were able entirely to refrain from ridiculing the absurdities and denouncing the terrible evils that were involved in the polytheistic worship of the time; but in general their attitude was that of suppliants for mercy.

(3) *A voice of Condemnation.* Again, it was natural, after Christianity had grown strong enough to regard itself and to be regarded as a mighty rival of paganism and as destined soon to supplant it, that it should lift up its voice in condemnation of the corruptions of paganism, especially as the Christians themselves were continually tempted to wrong-doing by the presence of heathen practices. Heresy, moreover, was aggressive and must be vanquished. Most of the polemical literature is directed against false forms of teaching.

(4) *A Scientific Study of Christianity.* Again, it was necessary that Christianity should have gained not simply a firm foothold, but should have had a period of comparative quiet and immunity from persecution, before a scientific study of the sacred books and an application to them of the philosophical modes of thought that belonged to the highest culture of the age should take place. This scientific study of Christianity was promoted by attacks upon Christianity by heretics and pagans and the general interest that cultivated men of all classes were beginning to show in Christianity. Men who were thoroughly familiar with Greek philosophy and with Gnostic speculations naturally sought to exhibit Christianity as the only true philosophy.

II. THE EDIFICATORY PERIOD, OR THE PERIOD OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

1. *General Characteristics.*

(1) *Informal Utterances.* The writings that fall under this head are simple, informal utterances of pious faith. No attempt is made at a systematic exhibition of Christian doctrine, any more than in the New Testament.

(2) *No Knowledge of Pagan Philosophy.* These writers betray no knowledge of pagan philosophy, hence no polemics against paganism occur. Little allusion is made to heresies. Such already existed, to be sure, but the writings that have come down to us are too much occupied with the internal interests of religion to allow of their entering formally upon their refutation; and few of the writers possessed the requisite learning for effectively meeting the theosophical errors of the time.

(3) *These Writings Show us Christianity at Work.* Individual responsibility is everywhere recognized. There is evidence that the missionary spirit was still thoroughly energetic. The type of piety represented in these writings is for the most part healthy and in accordance with the New Testament.

(4) *Revere Old Testament.* While these writers quote freely and lovingly from the New Testament books, it is the Old Testament that they reverence most of all, and to this only is final appeal made in support of doctrine. In other words, they use the New Testament for substance of doctrine, but the Old Testament for proof. The necessity that they felt of finding the whole of Christianity in the Old Testament led them to apply the allegorical method of interpretation in the most arbitrary manner. In this they but followed the example of the Alexandrian Jews and of contemporary pagan writers.

2. *Individual Writings.*

(1) *The First Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthian Church.*

LITERATURE: In addition to works referred to above, "*Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*," ed. Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn (this is by far the best edition of the "Apostolic Fathers." It contains prolegomena, Latin translations, with ample notes and critical apparatus); Wrede, "*Untersuchungen zum Ersten Clemensbrief*," 1891; Lemme, in "*Neu Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theol.*," 1892, *Seit.* 375, *seq.*; Lightfoot, "S. Clement of Rome" (the best edition of the ep., with Eng. trans. and all necessary apparatus); Zahn, in "*Zeitschrift für d. Hist. Theol.*," 1869; Gebhardt, in "*Zeitschrift. für Kirch.-Gesch.*," 1876; Wieseler, in "*Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theol.*," 1875; encyclopedias before referred to, art. "Clement of Rome."

a. Authorship. The grounds for assigning the epistle to Clement are not decisive. The letter is addressed by

"the church of God that sojourns at Rome to the church of God that sojourns at Corinth." Dionysius of Corinth, about 170, is the earliest known witness to its Clementine authorship.[1] Irenæus relates that, during the episcopate of Clement, the church of Rome sent a most appropriate letter to the Corinthians, exhorting them to peace and renewing their faith and calling to their remembrance the tradition that they had recently received from the apostles. He further relates that this Clement was the third in order of the Roman bishops, having been preceded by Linus, appointed by the apostles, and by Anacletus, and that Clement himself had seen the apostles and associated with them. The statement of Irenæus seems probable enough. According to this writer the epistle was still being used in religious services by the Corinthian church in his time.

Eusebius, whose chief authority on this point was probably Irenæus, but who also refers to Hegesippus, who had visited the Corinthian church in the latter part of the second century, may be wrong in ascribing the epistle to Clement *individually*. In Eusebius' time such a letter would have been sent by the bishop, as lord of his church. Hence he may have inferred that Clement, being bishop of the Roman church, himself wrote it. As one of the most influential and intelligent members of the church he may have prepared the letter, but if so, he did it as the representative of the church; hence the superscription. But supposing the letter to have been written by Clement, pastor of the Roman church in the time of Domitian, there is no absolute proof that this was the Clement mentioned by Paul in Phil. 4 : 3. The name was a very common one.

Some modern writers (Lipsius, Volkmar, Erbes, Hasenclever) have sought to identify Clement, the Roman bishop or presbyter, to whom the authorship of the epistle has been attributed, with Flavius Clemens, the consul and relative of the emperor, who suffered martyrdom under Domitian. This identification has been strongly opposed by Zahn, Wieseler, Funk, Harnack, and Uhlhorn.[2]

There has been much difference of opinion as to whether the writer of the epistle was a Jewish or a Gentile Christian. Lightfoot and Lemme contend for the former view, Harnack and Wrede for the

[1] Eusebius, Bk. IV., chap. 23.

[2] See Uhlhorn, in "*Real-Encyklopädie*," third ed., *Bd.* IV., *Seit.* 165, *seq.*

latter, while Uhlhorn thinks the considerations adduced on neither side decisive.

b. Date of the Epistle. This is a disputed point, but it may be assigned, with some probability, to a time between A. D. 93 and 97.

(*a*) Reasons for believing it not earlier than 93: First, It must have been written considerably after the death of Peter and Paul, for their martyrdom is treated as a matter of history (chap. 5). So also their activity (chap. 42, etc.). Secondly, No mention is made of the strife between Jewish and Gentile Christians that had formerly prevailed at Rome and Corinth. Some time must have elapsed since Paul wrote his Epistles. Thirdly, The Corinthian church is spoken of (chap. 47) as *ancient*.

(*b*) Reasons for believing it not later than 97: First, The martyrdom of Peter and Paul is spoken of as belonging *to our generation*. Secondly, Presbyters are represented as still living who were appointed by the apostles. Thirdly, No mention is made of the disturbances created by Gnostics in the Roman church early in the second century. Fourthly, The Roman church is represented as having just come out of great tribulation (chap. 1). As there is no intimation that the Corinthians suffered at the same time, this persecution could hardly be the widespread one under Trajan, but was most probably a local persecution under Domitian (93–97).

c. Abstract of the Epistle. A sedition had arisen in the Corinthian church. A certain faction had deposed, without just grounds, some presbyters of the church. The writer begins, after the salutation, with excusing the delay of the Roman church in responding to the request for advice (the excuse being the severe persecution to which the Romans had been subjected), and calls attention to the high repute in which the Corinthian church had hitherto stood. The sedition is attributed to the pride that follows prosperity. Part of the church had become jealous of the other part. The evil effects of jealousy are shown from numerous Old Testament examples. Jealousy lay at the root of the persecutions in which Peter, Paul, etc., suffered martyrdom. That there is room for repentance on the part of the offenders is shown from Old Testament examples. The Corin-

thians are exhorted to humility in view of the Messianic passage (Isa. 53), and of the example of many Old Testament heroes. God is long-suffering and will forgive the penitent. Yet he is a God of order. He keeps the universe in order. If the Corinthians would act worthily of such a God, they must do all things in order and peace.

General directions follow as to the respect due to presbyters. As a motive for guarding against sedition the Corinthians are reminded of the second coming of the Lord and of the resurrection. The resurrection is proved by the argument from analogy (day—night; seed—plant; the Phœnix, etc.).

God's blessing is to be found in faith, but not without works.

The Roman army, in which each member has a particular place allotted, and contributes to the completeness and strength of the whole, should be an example to the church. The Christian ministry is compared to the Levitical priesthood as regards order, etc. Christ was sent from God, the apostles from Christ. These appointed bishops and deacons, and indicated others to succeed, in case the first should die. Now the Corinthians have removed some holy men from service. The influence of one or two men of no consequence has led to the deposition of men appointed by the apostles. This has given an occasion to the enemies of the gospel to blaspheme the Lord's name. The seditious should confess their sins. Such confession is shown to be noble from Old Testament examples. They should be willing, in order to avoid strife, to retire to whatever place the church may wish. The authority of the presbyters should be respected, especially of such as were appointed by the apostles.

The Roman letter was manifestly based upon the *ex parte* statements of the aggrieved presbyters. It is very possible that the younger men, who had gained influence enough in the church to secure the removal of the old presbyters from office, would have been able in some measure to justify their successful efforts for a change in the administration. It is conceivable that the old presbyters had come to presume too much on their apostolic appointment, and were disposed to be arbitrary, or had become inefficient because of age.

d. Theology of the Epistle. Whatever of a theological nature occurs in the epistle is entirely practical and not speculative.

God is spoken of as the "great Creator and Lord of all," "the all holy Framer and Father of the ages"; "his energy pervades all the operations of nature"; his forbearance, mercy, and love are emphasized.

Christ is most commonly designated as "our Lord Jesus Christ." He is described as the reflection or radiance of God's greatness. He was "sent by God." "His blood was given for us." "On account of the love which he had unto us, Jesus Christ gave his own blood for us, and his flesh for our flesh, and his soul for our soul."

The nearest approach to a doctrine of the Trinity in Clement is in chap. 46: "Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one spirit of grace which was poured out upon us, and one calling in Christ?"

Salvation is represented as being in and through Christ, but is also connected with the fear of God and with love (chap. 48; 21 : 1; 22).

The idea of a church in this epistle is that of a well-ordered assemblage composed of members possessed of equal rights and privileges, all of whom are essential to each other as parts of the body to the body, but some of whom being more highly gifted, are to direct the less intelligent and less gifted (chap. 37). Only two classes of officers are recognized, bishops or presbyters and deacons. No class is recognized as having an inherent right to control the church; but the opinion is expressed that those who were appointed by an apostle, with the consent of the church, and who had performed their duties blamelessly, ought not to be deposed.

REMARK.—The so-called Second Epistle of Clement, now almost universally regarded as a fragment of a homily, was probably written not earlier than A. D. 130, and hence cannot well be the work of Clement, the third pastor of the Roman church. The Clementine "Recognitions" and "Homilies" ascribed to Clement of Rome, have been described sufficiently in the section on the Ebionites. These were probably written about a century after Clement's time. The "Epistles to Virgins" is a still later forgery, representing the full-fledged ascetical spirit of the third century. A number of other writings were set forth under the name of this author, as the "Let-

ter to James," the "Dialogue of Peter and Apion," an address "To the Holy Spirit," etc.[1]

(2) *The Epistle of Barnabas.*

LITERATURE: See in addition to authorities cited above, full bibliography in Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, and in Lightfoot.

a. Authorship. The Epistle has often been ascribed to Barnabas, the fellow-laborer of Paul.

(*a*) The grounds in favor of this view are: The authority of Clement of Alexandria, who regarded it as an apostolical writing and wrote a commentary on it.[2] Origen also evidently regarded it as the work of the New Testament Barnabas. Eusebius mentions the epistle as bearing this name, but classes it, along with the "Acts of Paul," the "Pastor of Hermas," and the "Apocalypse of Peter," as a book that had been regarded by some as Scripture, but which was in his time rejected. This, however, is not necessarily against its having been written by the New Testament Barnabas. Jerome speaks of Barnabas, ordained by Paul, apostle of the Gentiles, as having composed an epistle pertaining to the edification of the church, which is read among apocryphal writings. It is found in the "*Codex Sinaiticus*" (one of the oldest biblical MSS.), under the caption "Epistle of Barnabas."

(*b*) The grounds against the view are mainly internal, as those in favor of it are external. They are: The unaccountable blunders which the author makes with regard to the Jewish ceremonial law. He describes ceremonies for which no authority can be found either in the Old Testament or the Talmud (chap. 7 and 8). Now Barnabas, the companion of Paul, was a Levite, and cannot well be supposed to have been capable of such blunders. He lays stress on the Greek letters that represent the number of servants that Abraham circumcised as making up the name Jesus. The Levite Barnabas could hardly have forgotten that the Old Testament was written in Hebrew. The absurd statements with regard

[1] For full information on the pseudo-Clementine literature, see Harnack, "*Gesch. d. Alt. Chr. Lit.*," *Bd.* I., *Sect.* 47, 214, 228, 518, 761, 777, 778; *Bd.* II., *passim*; and Uhlhorn's article in the Herzog-Hauck "*Real-Encyk.*," third ed., *Bd.* IV., *Seit.* 170, *seq.*

[2] Cl. Alex., "*Stromat.*," Bk. II., chap. 6, 7, 20; Bk. V., chap. 10, etc.

to the habits of animals are a probable, though not decisive, ground against the theory that the epistle is the work of the New Testament Barnabas. The way in which the author looked upon Judaism, not as a preparation for Christianity, but rather as a wicked externalizing of what God meant to be spiritual, is hardly apostolic. The extravagant degree to which the allegory is employed seems unsuitable to an apostle.

Thus the external testimony, which is not contemporaneous, is in conflict with internal evidence of the strongest kind.

b. Date. The epistle must have been written after the destruction of the temple (70), which is pre-supposed in it (16 : 3, 4 ; 4 : 14). It could not well have been written later than 137, when the Jewish insurrection led by Barcochab had resulted disastrously, and the restoration of the temple was out of the question. Hadrian had expressed at the beginning of his reign a purpose to rebuild the temple. Between these two dates a dozen different determinations have been made. It was probably written about 119, near the beginning of Hadrian's reign, and some time before the Jewish insurrection had broken out. Bunsen, on internal evidence, fixes the date during the Domitian persecution—hence 95 or earlier. Lightfoot assigns a still earlier date, the earliest possible, 70–79. Harnack thinks 130-131 the most probable date.

c. Abstract. The author salutes his readers as sons and daughters, assures them that he loves them more than his own life, and that on this account he hastens to write to them, in order that along with their faith they may have knowledge. Since the days are evil and Satan has authority, they ought to attend carefully to the decrees of God, their faith being aided by fear and patience.

God did not desire ceremonial service even under the Old Testament dispensation, much less now. The readers are exhorted not to be like those that heap up sins, saying the Testament is the Jews' and ours. It is ours only, for the Jews lost their part in it when Moses broke the tablets. One object of Christ's coming was that the sins of the Jews might be consummated (chap. 6). The real meaning of the Old Testament prophecies can be

arrived at only by the *gnosis* (knowledge, spiritual insight), which gnosis the author proceeds to give, finding types of Christianity wherever he seeks them in the Old Testament.

He proves allegorically that Christians and not Jews are the true heirs of the covenant (chap. 13). Neither do the Jews celebrate the right Sabbath. The Lord rejected the new moons and the Sabbaths of the Jews. A day with the Lord is as a thousand years. The seventh thousand of years is therefore the true Sabbath, and as this commences with the eighth day, the day of the Lord's resurrection, we Christians celebrate it with gladness.

The Jews also made a mistake with regard to the temple, supposing that a house made with hands, and not rather the hearts of believers, was the temple of God. The epistle concludes with a description of the way of light and the way of darkness, and an exhortation to the readers to walk in the one and avoid the other.

There has been much discussion since the discovery of the "*Didache*" ("Teaching of the Twelve Apostles"), as to the relationship of the passage in Barnabas on the two ways to the similar passage in the "*Didache*." The view that both writers drew the material from a common source, a document that must have been in general use at a very early date, seems best supported.

d. Theology of the Epistle. There is nothing particularly striking about the theology of the Epistle except its manner of viewing Judaism. The writer goes far on the road that led many in his age to Gnosticism.

The word *gnosis* (γνῶσις) he employs again and again in much the same sense as that given it among the Gnostics. His hostility to the Jews, while it does not, like that of the Gnostics, lead to a denial of the goodness and supremacy of Jehovah, escapes such denial only by the supposition that the Jews entirely misapprehended the revelation made to them, and were never properly the people of God.

Like the Gnostics, the author indulges without scruple in allegory.

We cannot avoid the supposition that the epistle was written by a man who had come under the influence of

the Alexandrian philosophy, and probably of the earlier forms of Gnosticism as well.

(3) *The Epistles of Ignatius.*

LITERATURE: Text and ancient testimonials in Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn; Zahn, "*Ignatius von Antiochen*," 1873; Lightfoot, "*Ignatius*," 1885; Réville, in "*Rev. d. l'Histoire d. Religions*," three articles, 1890. Lightfoot's great work in 2 vols. (3 parts) contains all the pertinent materials extant in Greek, Syriac, etc., translations of the epistles and of other important documents, and elaborate critical discussion of all points involved. He is commonly supposed to have settled the Ignatian question in favor of the shorter Greek form. For an admirable summing up of the results of the investigations of Zahn, Lightfoot, and Réville, see article by Starbuck in "Andover Review," September, 1892. See also Bunsen, "*Die drei ächten und die vier unächten Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochen*"; Cureton, "The Ancient Syriac Versions of the Epistle St. Ignatius," edited with an English translation, and Harnack's review of Lightfoot, "Expositor," January, 1886. For Harnack's latest view, see his "*Gesch. d. Altchr. Lit.*"

A peculiar interest attaches to the so-called Ignatian Epistles, partly on account of their inherent importance, and partly on account of the great uncertainty as to the true text.

a. Forms of the Epistles. We have three distinct forms of the Ignatian Epistles, differing greatly as to number, length, and substance. (*a*) The *longer Greek* form, which contains twelve epistles. This form is now universally regarded as a gross fabrication, and is supposed to have been composed in the fourth, fifth, or sixth century. It is full of anachronisms, and was evidently designed as a support for the hierarchical church at the time of its composition. (*b*) The *shorter Greek* form, which embraces the seven epistles mentioned by Eusebius, addressed to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrnæans, and Polycarp. (*c*) The *Syriac version*, discovered among the MSS. from the Nitrian desert, in the British Museum, and published by Cureton in 1845. This recension contains only three epistles, viz: those to the Ephesians, the Romans, and Polycarp, and these in a very short form.

The shorter Greek form had long been strongly suspected, owing in part to the fact that the longer form was acknowledged to be spurious, in part to the fact

that episcopacy seemed to have an emphasis given to it out of keeping with what was otherwise known of the church polity of the early part of the second century, and in part to the extravagances and lack of verisimilitude in the writings themselves. Cureton's discovery was at once regarded by himself and many other scholars as involving a simple solution of the whole problem. Cureton maintained that the three Syriac epistles, in which most of the objectionable features of the shorter Greek epistles are wanting, represent the original Epistles of Ignatius, and that on this basis had grown up the whole body of Ignatian documents. Bunsen lent the weight of his great name to this theory, and for a time it seemed likely to prevail. But the effect of the latest criticism by Zahn, Lightfoot, Réville, and others, has been to demolish the claims of the Syriac form to priority, and to establish the comparative originality of the shorter Greek form.

b. Authenticity. (*a*) *Internal Evidences.* As already intimated, Zahn and Lightfoot have, in the opinion of a large majority of competent judges, established the originality of the shorter Greek form of the epistles, as compared with any other form. If there are any genuine Ignatian epistles, these alone can claim to be such. That just seven epistles are mentioned by Eusebius, with identical addresses, is favorable to the claim. The considerations adduced have convinced many critics that these seven epistles were written by Ignatius, under the circumstances supposed. Some accept these writings as in the main genuine, but suppose them to have been interpolated to a very considerable extent. The fact that interpolation and forgery figure so prominently at a later time in connection with the Ignatian literature would suggest the possibility that the seven epistles may represent an earlier, more moderate, corruption in the interests of episcopacy and asceticism. Some (so Völter) reject the epistle to the Romans, while accepting the substantial genuineness of the other six epistles.

Harnack, Zahn, and Lightfoot have so completely mastered the pertinent literature, have so minutely considered every objection that has been raised or is likely to be raised, and have answered the objections with such

plausibility, that skepticism as to the authenticity of the epistles would almost seem to be out of place. They have sought to show that greater difficulties by far are involved in the rejection than in the acceptance of the genuineness of the writings. A later writer, they claim, would inevitably have fallen into anachronisms, the existence of which in these documents is denied. They hold that there is nothing in the circumstances (the condemnation and transportation to Rome of a leading Christian, the freedom to meet deputations from the churches and to carry on an extensive correspondence during the journey, the implied supposition that the Christians of Rome might be able to secure a reversal of the death sentence) or in the extravagant desire for martyrdom that finds utterance in the epistle to the Romans, inconsistent with the supposition that they were written by Ignatius of Antioch in the time of Trajan.

We must admit the possibility of the supposed circumstances and of the supposed psychological states and consequent acts of Ignatius; but we may well be excused if we find ourselves unable to agree with these great scholars as to the probabilities of the case. The objection based upon the writer's strong episcopal tendencies has little weight (see below); but questions like the following thrust themselves upon us, and are not set aside by the plausible answers that have been given: Is it psychologically conceivable, or if so, is it within the bounds of probability, that a Christian man who had associated with apostles, and who by reason of his character and abilities had attained to a position of commanding influence throughout Syria and Asia Minor, could think, write, and act as Ignatius is represented as doing in these documents? Is it likely that a man condemned to a cruel death on the sole ground of his Christian profession and guarded night and day by ten Roman soldiers, should have been accorded the privilege of meeting with deputations from the churches on the route, and of writing such a body of letters as those before us? Is it reasonable to suppose that a man condemned by the emperor for being a Christian should imagine the Roman Christians possessed of such influence and such boldness as might lead them to secure his release? Trajan

can scarcely be supposed to have been so capricious a ruler as to condemn the bishop of Antioch to death by wild beasts in the Roman arena on the ground of his faith and to pardon him at the request of his Roman fellow-Christians. Lightfoot attributes failure to be convinced of the conclusiveness of his answers to these and like questions to deficiency of "historic imagination." So much for the internal evidences of the genuineness of the seven epistles.

(*b*) *External Evidences.* The external evidences must next be briefly considered. First and most important is the testimony of Polycarp of Smyrna, to whom one of the Ignatian epistles is addressed. Admission of the genuineness of the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians is thought to carry with it admission of the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles. Polycarp informs the Philippians that he is sending them "the letters of Ignatius which were sent by him to us together with any others which we had in our possession." If this passage is genuine, there must have been in circulation in Asia Minor, shortly after the supposed martyrdom of Ignatius, a considerable body of Ignatian epistles. Irenæus (175–190) quotes, as the utterance of a martyr, the Ignatian statement: "I am the wheat of God, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread." Other supposed slight indications of Ignatian influence have been pointed out. The sentence quoted might well have been handed down by tradition, or in some martyrology, as having been uttered by Ignatius or some other martyr. Lightfoot lays much stress on the points of similarity between the account of the condemnation, transportation, and martyrdom of Ignatius and Lucian's account of the death of Peregrinus Proteus, and maintains Lucian's indebtedness to the Ignatian epistles. This we must regard as extremely doubtful; for even if the interdependence of the two narratives could be proved, Lucian's may well have been the original. Origen (died 257) mentions Ignatius as suffering martyrdom at Rome, and quotes a sentence. Eusebius (fourth century) is the earliest writer to give any detailed account of the Ignatian literature. He mentions the epistles by name, and so char-

acterizes them as to identify them to some extent with those under consideration. But Eusebius' notice does not exclude the possibility that the documents he knew were forged or interpolated, or that the documents we possess may have been interpolated since his time.

We conclude: First, that there probably was an Antiochian bishop in the time of Trajan named Ignatius; secondly, that he probably suffered martyrdom at Rome; thirdly, that he probably wrote some letters on his journey; fourthly, that what he wrote furnished the basis of the extant Ignatian documents; fifthly, to what extent interpolations have occurred it is impossible to determine.

c. General Tone of the Epistles. The tone of the epistles is excited and extravagant. This is especially the case with the epistle to the Romans. The style is rhetorical and somewhat artificial. There seems to be a straining after effect. They are taken up largely with exhortations to the churches addressed to steadfastness, unity, subjection to one another, to the presbyters, overseers, and deacons. The epistle to the Romans consists of a flattering salutation to the church (not to the bishop), of an account of his journey under guard of Roman soldiers, of rejoicing in his prospective martyrdom, and of an urgent request that the Roman Christians may do nothing that could rob him of the opportunity to suffer for Christ, intimating that this would be doing him the greatest possible injury. He is the "wheat of God," and wishes to be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, in order that he may "become the pure bread of Christ." Not as Peter and Paul does he instruct them. They were apostles, he is a condemned man. They were free, he is even until now a slave; but if he suffers he will become a freeman of Jesus Christ.

d. Date. The probable date of the martyrdom of Ignatius, and hence of the original Ignatian epistles, if there were such, is 107 or 115. Trajan was in Syria at each of these dates, and the persecution in which Ignatius suffered may have occurred on either occasion.

e. The Relation of the Epistles to Episcopacy. These epistles have formed the chief bulwark of the Romish church for its doctrine of episcopacy. In this interest

the epistles have been interpolated beyond almost any other document of antiquity. But the very fact that they were laid hold of for this purpose is strong evidence that the original documents had at least something of the same tendency. Admitting that the seven Greek epistles mentioned by Eusebius are genuine (though it is highly propable that they are interpolated to a considerable extent), we may say: (*a*) That the very fact that in each letter Ignatius should have felt called upon to lay so much stress on the obedience due to bishops or overseers, is conclusive evidence that such subordination did not exist in the churches. We have, therefore, the writer's ideal rather than a record of historical fact. (*b*) There were undoubtedly at this time elements of discord in the churches addressed, resulting largely from the influence of heretical bodies. The churches were in danger of being rent asunder. Now, Ignatius looked upon schism as the greatest evil. He saw in obedience to the bishops a means of preserving unity. Hence the frequent exhortations to obey the bishops, and to do nothing without their approval. (*c*) There is no intimation that at this time the word "bishop" meant anything more than overseer or pastor of a single congregation, and the chairman of the Board of Elders. Presbyters are nowhere in the epistles exhorted to obey the bishops. (*d*) Ignatius wrote to churches whose bishops he knew to be holy men. He probably knew that these men were far superior in point of intelligence and Christian knowledge to the bulk of the church-members, such superiority in religious life and wisdom having been the ground on which bishops were chosen. Why should not Ignatius have exhorted the brethren to look upon such men as in the place of Christ? to regard them as representing the mind of Christ? (*e*) Side by side with these exhortations to obedience to bishops we must put such passages as these: "Be obedient to the presbyters" (Eph. 20); "Be subject to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ" (Magnesians 2); "I pray that he (the deacon Burrus) may abide in the honor of you and of the bishop" (Eph. 2); "Reverence one another, and let no one look upon his neighbor according to the flesh," etc. (Eph. 6); "Be ye subject to the bishop and one to an-

other" (Eph. 13); "Let all reverence the deacons as a commandment of Jesus Christ."

(4) *The Shepherd of Hermas.*

LITERATURE: Text, full bibliography, etc., in Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn; text, translation, and notes, in Lightfoot, "Apostolic Fathers"; Zahn, "*Der Hirt des Hermas*"; Lipsius, art. "Hermas," in Schenkel's "*Bibel-Lexikon*"; Bunsen, "Hippolytus and his Age," Vol. I., p. 182, *seq.*; Mossman, "History of the Early Christian Church," p. 294, *seq.*; Lightfoot, "Commentary on Galatians," p. 324, *seq.*; Sanday, "The Gospels in the Second Century," p. 273, *seq.*

This is probably the most remarkable production of the early church. Its position in the early church was somewhat analogous to that of "Pilgrim's Progress" in modern times. It was soon translated into Latin and Æthiopic. It was read in many churches, and was regarded as second only to the canonical Scriptures. In fact we find it in the *Codex Sinaiticus* in connection with the New Testament.

a. Form of the Writing. It is that of a religious allegory. The work consists of three parts: Visions, Commands, and Similitudes.

b. Date and Authority. It is now generally agreed, on the authority of the Muratorian Fragment, that it was written by Hermas, a brother of Pius, a pastor of the Roman Church, about 139–140. Its latest possible date, is fixed by the absence of any indication of the agitation among Roman Christians, caused by the activity of Marcion. The false teaching referred to was probably that of the Gnostic Cerdo, possibly the earlier stages of the Valentinian propaganda. The author was, at an early date, confounded with the Hermas mentioned (Rom. 16: 14) by Paul.

Irenæus, quoting from the book, begins: "Well then declared the Scripture, which says," etc.

The Muratorian Fragment (*c.* 200) denies its right to a place in the Canon, but implies that this dignity has been claimed for it by some.

Tertullian and the Montanists rejected it as a Christian manual for reasons to be given below.

Clement of Alexandria appeals to it again and again as an inspired book.

Origen thought that the author of the Shepherd of Hermas was the Hermas of Rom. 16 : 14, and it seemed to him divinely inspired.

Eusebius mentions it as spoken against by some, but by others judged most necessary for those who are in need of introductory grounding in the elements of the Christian faith.

Athanasius speaks of it as a most useful book, and quotes from it extensively.

Harnack defends the unity of the book against Ewald, Zahn, Caspari, and Hilgenfeld, but supposes that it grew slowly into its present form in the hands of the author, the germ having been the second Vision.

c. Contents. The supposed narrator represents himself as a slave sold by his master to a Roman lady named Rhoda. Having allowed himself to entertain an impure desire for a beautiful woman whom he chanced to see bathing in the river, and being penitent for his sin, a vision was vouchsafed to him in which the woman whom he had desired appeared to him, rebuked him severely for his fault, and gave him much wholesome advice regarding the Christian life. Later an older woman appears to him and freely answers all the questions regarding the Christian life that he feels inclined to ask. The five Visions are followed by twelve Commands, and these by ten Similitudes.

A detailed summary of the contents would require more space than can be spared. That the Christian life of the time, and especially in Rome, abounded in corruption is evident from the great variety of transgressors that are specifically rebuked. Among these may be mentioned informers and traitors; blasphemers, or those that yield to the demands of persecutors to curse Christ; renegades, or those that on account of cowardice, or to save their property, fled from persecution; hypocritical pretenders; libidinous people; teachers of iniquity, who have deserted the true way and disseminate false doctrines; friends of the heathen; those who are hampered by the world with its riches and pursuits; calumniators, contentious ones, schismatics; those who bear grudges; those who, though they have known the truth, withdraw from association with the saints; ambitious men eager for honor; insincere, lukewarm, and vacillating people; those who have submitted themselves to Christian teaching and yet refuse to be baptized; false prophets who, after the manner of the heathen, prophesy for gain, and followers of such; presidents (head-elders) who are unjust, contentious, vain, malicious, or negligent, and deacons who appropriate the goods entrusted to them. On the

other hand, those who practised all manner of Christian virtues, and exemplified in their lives all Christian graces, are frequently referred to.[1]

d. Theology of the Shepherd. As regards the Godhead there is little that is peculiar in this writing, the views being in general accordant with the teachings of the New Testament.[2] The peculiarities of teaching appear:

(*a*) In the representation of the relation between baptism and regeneration. It is said: "Whoever with his whole heart changes his mind (or repents), and purifies himself from all iniquity, and adds no more to his sin, will receive from the Lord a cure for all his former sins." Again: "The elect of God will be saved through faith." Yet in Commandment 4 : 3, baptism is represented as having a very important relation to salvation: "We went down into the water and received remission from our former sins." Again, in Similitude 9 : 16: "Into the water, therefore, they descend dead and arise living." The writer's view, then, is evidently that baptism is the culminating act in the process of regeneration. Repentance and faith necessarily precede, but it is only in connection with the baptismal act that the remission of sins really occurs.

(*b*) In the view expressed as to the pardonableness of post-baptismal sins. In Commandment 4 Hermas represents the Shepherd as commanding that, if a man have a believing, adulterous wife, and she repent, he shall receive her back. If he "receive her not back, he sinneth a great sin; . . for there is *one* repentance to the servants of God." Again, Hermas says to the Shepherd: "I have heard from certain teachers that other repentance there is none, save when we went down into the water and received remission of our former sins." And the Shepherd answers: "Thou hast heard well, for so it is." "But I say unto thee, that if after that great and blessed calling, one tempted by the devil sin, he has *one* repentance." It appears, therefore, that at the time

[1] See "Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn," *Fasc.* III., p. LXXIX.

[2] Conybeare ("The Key of Truth," p. LXXXIX.) finds in the Shepherd indications of Adoptionist Christology. This view seems to be supported by Similitude 5 : 5. But Hermas writes not polemically against a pneumatic Christology, but with primitive simplicity and without being aware that his statements involved a degradation of the Redeemer.

of the writing of this book, there were already to be distinguished a strict and a lax party, the one denying the possibility of the forgiveness of post-baptismal sins, and the other erring in the opposite direction. Hermas attempts to mediate between the two, guarding against license on the one hand, and against excessive rigor on the other. It was this slight concession to laxity that led Tertullian, after he became a Montanist, to stigmatize this writing as licentious.

(*c*) There is a sentence in the Shepherd that has been understood to contains the germs of the doctrine of purgatory. In Vision 3 : 7, a completed tower, representing the one holy church, made of stones beautifully adjusted to each other, and which have passed through the water, having been shown to Hermas, he sees also other stones that have been cast aside and not fitted into the tower. He asks whether there is no repentance for these so that they may be fitted into the tower. The answer is: "That there is room for repentance, but not a chance for a place in this tower. But that another and much inferior place they shall fit into, and this when they have been tortured and have fulfilled the days of their sins," etc. It is quite possible, however, that the writer had in view the penal sufferings of the present life.

(*d*) The church is represented as presided over by presbyters, and no distinction is apparent between presbyters and bishops. The unity of the church is emphasized continually, and illustrated by such images as the tower made up of many stones deftly fitted to each other.

(*e*) The Shepherd was designed wholly for edification. There is no writing of this period that throws a tithe as much light on the Christian life and thought of the time as does this. Scarcely any class of evil-doers seems to have been absent from the writer's mind, and all receive their share of reproof and exhortation. The condition of Christian life here represented is far from pure.

(5) *The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians.*

LITERATURE: Texts, etc., as above; Donaldson, "History of Christian Literature and Doctrine," Vol. I., p. 154, *seq.*; Bunsen, "Hippolytus and His Age," Vol. I., p. 225, *seq.*; Lightfoot, "Ignatius"; Renan, "*Journal des Savants*," 1874; "Supernatural Religion," Vol. I., p. 274, *seq.*, second edition.

a. Authenticity. The authenticity of this document has been called in question, but without sufficient ground. Lightfoot has defended it most ably as one of the chief witnesses of the Ignatian epistles. A number of scholars who regard the passage about the Ignatian epistles as an interpolation, admit the substantial genuineness of the epistle. Polycarp is represented by Irenæus, who was with him much in his early and Polycarp's later life, as a disciple of the Apostle John, and of other apostles. Irenæus says that he "distinctly remembers how Polycarp used to describe his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words. And whatsoever things he had heard from them about the Lord, and about his miracles, and about his teachings, Polycarp, as having received them from eye-witnesses of the life of the Word, would relate altogether in accordance with the Scriptures."

Polycarp is therefore one of the most important of the Christians of the second century. He learned from the apostles, lovingly treasured up in his memory, and frequently communicated to other, the things that he had learned. Irenæus appropriated these teachings in the spirit in which they had been repeated, and himself retained a vivid remembrance of them until his death, near the close of the second century. The fact that he was a man of no originality, as we see from the writing under consideration, makes it more probable that he did not modify the things he heard from John, etc., by his own individuality. He was for many years pastor of the church of Smyrna, and suffered martyrdom about 155 or 156.

It is probable that the epistle to the Philippians has suffered some corruption, but we are justified in regarding it as in the main genuine.[1]

b. Date of the Epistle. The manner in which the martyrdom and epistles of Ignatius are mentioned, if they are not interpolations, would lead us to fix the date of the epistle as shortly subsequent to the martyrdom of Ignatius, *i. e.*, about 108 or 116.

[1] There is a beautiful account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, which purports to be a letter written by the church of Smyrna to the church in Philomelium in Phrygia. It was certainly written not long after the event, as it is mentioned by Irenæus.

c. Character of the Epistle. The epistle shows scarcely any originality, but consists almost entirely of direct or indirect quotations from the Scriptures. From the early date to which it must be assigned, if its genuineness is acknowledged, it is especially important for the testimony that it furnishes to the still earlier date and use in the churches of most of the New Testament books. Especially does it show clearly by its numerous citations from the writings of Paul the futility of the efforts of the Tübingen school to establish the fact of an antagonism in the early church between the Pauline and Johannean theology.

d. Theology of the Epistle. This is eminently scriptural, almost every doctrinal expression being in the words of the New Testament. Docetism is denounced, but in the words of John (1 John 4 : 3). The church is represented as administered by presbyers and deacons, and the duties of these are pointed out in New Testament language. It is remarkable that though Polycarp wrote after Ignatius, nothing of a hierarchical tendency occurs in his writing.

(6) *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*

LITERATURE: Editions of Bryennios, Harnack, Hilgenfeld, J. Rendel Harris, and Schaff. The last named (third edition, 1889) is the most complete. It contains *facsimile* of MS., text, and translation, full bibliography, illustrative documents, and discussion of all points involved. Harris' edition gives the entire text in *facsimile*, and contains valuable prolegomena and notes.

The writing entitled "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" was discovered a few years ago by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicodemia, in the Jerusalem Monastery of Constantinople, and was edited by him in 1883. The MS. was written about 1056, and contains, besides the Teaching, Chrysostom's Synopsis of the Old and New Testaments, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistles of Clement of Rome (the only complete copy known), the spurious Epistle of Mary of Cassoboli to Ignatius, and the twelve Pseudo-Ignatian Epistles.

This "find" of Bryennios was hailed as one of the most important of modern times, and in a short time a library of books and articles had been published about it.

Much of the interest was due to the fact that the document was supposed to have originated near the close of the apostolic age. With many the chapter on baptism was the center of interest. Probably no other event of recent times has done so much to quicken popular interest in early Christian literature.

a. Date of Composition. The utmost diversity of opinion as to the date of the Teaching has existed since its publication. Most students have assigned dates within the period A. D. 70–165: Bryennios, 120–160; Harnack, 130–*c.* 160; Hilgenfeld, latter half of second century; Farrar, *c.* 100; Lightfoot, 80–110; Warfield, *c.* 100; Schaff, 70–100. The "archaic simplicity" of its practical directions and the apparent primitiveness of its church order are the chief grounds on which the claim of antiquity rests. The relation of the first chapters on the "two ways" to a similar section of the Epistle of Barnabas, has had much to do with the opinions of scholars. Those who hold that Barnabas borrowed from the Teaching incline to an early date for the latter; those who suppose the writer of the Teaching to have been indebted to Barnabas naturally give to the former a later date. The better opinion probably is, that both writers used an older widely circulated document. The primitiveness of the church order is not inconsistent with a much later date than the earliest assigned, if we suppose (which was probably the case) that it was prepared and first used not in a great ecclesiastical center, where hierarchical development made great strides during the latter part of the second century, but in some region remote from the great currents of church life. (Compare the simplicity and primitiveness of the Coptic and Ethiopic Apostolical Constitutions, which no doubt assumed their present form about the beginning of the fourth century.) There is therefore no reason for assigning the Teaching to an earlier date than the latter part of the second century.

b. Place of Composition. Here also opinions vary. Syria and Egypt have each its advocates. The weight of argument seems to be in favor of Egypt. Most of the early evidence of the use of the document is found in Egyptian writers. Its similarity to the Epistle of Barnabas, to the Egyptian Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy

Apostles, and to the Apostolic Constitutions, favors this view. The circumstances supposed in the chapter on baptism seem to accord better with what we know of Egypt than with what we know of Syria. The mention of mountains in the eucharistic prayer (Chap. IX.) has been adduced in favor of Syria. In any case, the writing was prepared by a Jewish Christian for use in a Jewish Christian community.

c. Authenticity. It is doubtful whether the writer intended to represent the Teaching as composed by the twelve apostles. He may have meant only to claim for his compilation conformity with apostolic teaching. Few early Christian writings are so poorly attested. Eusebius (*c.* 325) mentions a writing called "Teachings of the Twelve Apostles" as being among spurious writings. Athanasius (fourth century) mentions a writing under this name as proper reading for catechumens. There is no earlier mention of the Teaching. Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 202) quotes a sentence that is found in the Teaching; but both writers may have derived it from some earlier document. Little importance can be attached to slight coincidences in expression with passages in the Teaching found in other ante-Nicene writers. There is no certainty that the document we possess is identical with that mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, or that the latter was as ancient as the second century.

d. Sources of the Teaching. There are a few quotations from the Old Testament, and several allusions to Old Testament and apocryphal books. The New Testament books are not referred to by name, but most of the gospel precepts that are quoted are to be found in Matthew's Gospel. A few sentences correspond with passages in Luke's Gospel. Whether the writer had before him these two Gospels, or whether he had a combination Gospel, we cannot say. A number of coincidences have been pointed out that would seem to indicate some knowledge of Johannean teaching. There is no direct reference to Paul or his Epistles, though there are passages that may have been suggested by Pauline writings. Coincidences with other New Testament writings are scarcely definite enough to warrant the inference that the

writer was acquainted with them. Schaff has made a detailed study of the seeming quotations from and allusions to the Old and New Testament writings, and has subjoined a tabulated view.

e. Relation of the Teaching to Other Documents. Whether the Teaching is an original work or a compilation it is not easy to decide. The latter is the more probable view. The material of the first six chapters, consisting of the "two ways," had great currency among the ancient churches. It is found in somewhat fuller form in the Epistle of Barnabas, and with still greater amplification in the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles, an Egyptian document (preserved in Greek, Coptic, and Ethiopic, probably written in the third century), and in the Apostolical Constitutions (fourth century), which purport to have been written by Clement of Rome. In the Ecclesiastical Canons the moral precepts are distributed among the apostles. It is not likely that the Teaching was derived from either of these documents, and it is by no means certain that either of these was derived from the Teaching.

f. Contents. The first six chapters consist of moral precepts, adapted to purposes of catechetical instruction. Chap. VII. gives directions as to baptism. Trine immersion, after catechetical instruction, fasting, and prayer, is prescribed. In case of absolute lack of any kind of water, affusion is allowed. Chap. VIII. gives directions for fasting and prayer, Wednesdays and Fridays being the days prescribed for fasting, and the prescribed form of prayer being the Lord's Prayer, to be used thrice each day. Chap. IX. gives directions, with forms of prayer, for the celebration of the eucharist. This ordinance is restricted to baptized believers. Chap. X. gives a form of prayer to follow communion. Chap. XI. to XIII. treat of apostles and prophets, their testing and treatment. The utmost caution is to be used in receiving strangers claiming to be apostles and prophets; but every true prophet is worthy of his food. Chap. XIV. treats of the Lord's Day as the time of the Christian sacrifice. According to Chap. XV., bishops and deacons are to be elected by the church, and are to be held in honor along with prophets and teachers. The book

closes (Chap. XVI.) with an exhortation to watchfulness in view of the coming of the Lord.

(7) *Fragments.*

a. Papias of Hierapolis, a disciple of John, who suffered martyrdom about 155, collected much information about the apostolic age, and wrote an "Explanation of the Lord's Discourses." Fragments have been preserved by Irenæus and Eusebius. These are of value chiefly in relation to the New Testament Canon.

b. The Epistle to Diognetus is a beautiful exposition of the Christian faith by an unknown author, and may have been written about the middle of the second century.

c. To *Sixtus* (the sixth pastor of the Roman church, 119–128) is ascribed a remarkable collection of four hundred and thirty "Sentences" or aphorisms. There is much doubt, however, as to the authorship of these "Sentences."

d. Of the large body of New Testament Apocrypha and Christian Sibylline books that have been preserved, a considerable number, doubtless, fall within the age of the Apostolic Fathers.

III. THE APOLOGETICAL PERIOD.

LITERATURE: Otto, "*Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Sæculi Secundi.*" This edition contains critical texts of all the extant documents, together with full prolegomena, critical, exegetical, and historical notes, Latin translation, etc.; English translation in the "Ante-Nicene Fathers."

By the time of the Emperor Hadrian, Christianity had attained to considerable importance, and systematic efforts for the securing of its rights began to be made. It came to be felt that patient endurance might be carried to an extreme, that it was better to live and labor than to suffer martyrdom. The apologists are Quadratus, Aristides, Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Hermias, and Melito. Of Quadratus and Melito we have only fragments.

1. *General Observations.*

(1) The earlier Christian writers show little culture or intellectual power. Now we see men trained in the phi-

losophy of the time bringing to the defense of the gospel all of their ability and culture. Such men, contributed greatly toward making Christianity respectable, toward stimulating Christian thought, and toward calling the attention of the educated classes to Christianity.

(2) The apologies were written, not so much with a view to inducing those addressed to accept Christianity, as to secure for Christians the right to exist.

(3) The most important of these were addressed to emperors, viz: to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. This fact is in favor of the view that the persecution of Christians was not mainly the result of imperial edicts, but of popular prejudice and hatred.

(4) The charges against which they defend Christianity are three: Atheism, licentiousness, and cannibalism.

a. Atheism has always been regarded by the populace as one of the greatest of enormities. The Christians incurred this charge by their rejection of the pagan gods, by their refusal to sacrifice, and by their disuse of images. Pagans could not understand how any one could really believe in a god without these accessories. The apologists refute this notion by setting forth clearly the Christian idea of God, as a Spirit to be worshiped only spiritually. They show that their worship of God is far more real than the idol worship; nay, that the gods of the pagans are, according to their own representations, weak and contemptible, given to all sorts of human passions.

b. The charge of *licentiousness* arose doubtless from the fact that Christians frequently met in secret places at night, and that they manifested great affection one for another. The pagans were unable to understand what other motive than licentiousness they could have for such meetings. The apologists in defense point out the Christian doctrine in regard to chastity, which makes even a licentious thought sin.

c. Whether the charge of *cannibalism* arose out of pure malice, or from a misunderstanding of the statements of Christians about eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ, it is impossible to determine. The apologists show that the Christian doctrine in regard to the deadly sin of murder is entirely antagonistic to the

murdering of infants. Nay, Christians will not even allow the *exposure* of children (a thing common among the pagans). Besides, the Christian doctrine of the resurrection would prevent Christians from eating human flesh.

(5) They seek to show that Christianity is the oldest religion in the world, and not, as their enemies maintained, a thing of recent origin. Justin, *e. g.*, maintains that Moses wrote the Pentateuch long before the Trojan war, and hence farther back than the Greeks could trace their history. Christianity is simply a fulfillment of the prophecies and types of the Old Testament. It is maintained that all that is pure and noble in Greek literature was stolen from the Old Testament; that Socrates and Plato, *e. g.*, derived their ideas of God from Moses. The Sibyl is quoted as prophecy.

(6) The apologists stake everything on the Old Testament. Christ came to fulfill Old Testament prophecy, and to impress Old Testament teachings on men's minds, but he taught nothing new. To make these things appear, the allegorical method of interpretation is freely employed.

(7) The main evidence for Christianity, therefore, is prophecy. Miracles might be wrought by demons, but a prediction can come from God alone. Much effort is made to show definite fulfillment of prophecies.

(8) The purity of Christ's life and teachings, and the marvelous transforming power of Christianity are constantly and most impressively set forth.

2. *Individual Writers.*

The field now becomes so broad that we shall be obliged to examine it by specimens. We select Aristides as the earliest apologist whose writings are extant, and Justin as the ablest and most influential.

(1) *Aristides.*

LITERATURE: Harris and Robinson, "The Apology of Aristides," 1891; in Vol. IX., p. 257, *seq.*, of the "Ante-Nicene Fathers," New York, 1896, Kay has published translations of the Greek and Syriac texts in parallel columns, with introduction and notes; Egli, "*Zeitschrift f. Wissensch. Theol.*," *Seit.* 99, *seq.*; Hilgenfeld, *ibid.*, *Seit.* 103, *seq.*; MacDonald, "Indian Ev. Rev.," January, 1892, p. 279, *seq.*;

Harnack, in "*Theol. Litteraturzeitung*," 1891, *Seit.* 301, *seq.*, and 325, *seq.*, in Herzog-Hauck's "*Real-Encyclopädie*," second edition, *Bd.* XVII., *Seit.* 675, *seq.*, and in "*Gesch. d. Altchr. Lit.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 96, *seq.*, *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 271, *seq.*; Seeberg, in "*Zahn's Forschungen*," *Bd.* V., *Seit.* 253, *seq.*, and 317; Hennecke, "*Texte und Untersuchungen*," *Bd.* IV., *Theil* 3.

a. Recovery of the Apology. Eusebius[1] mentions Aristides as "a believer earnestly devoted to our religion, who left an apology for the faith addressed to Hadrian." This document was until recently supposed to be irrecoverably lost. In 1878 a fragment, inscribed "Aristides, the Philosopher of Athens," was discovered and published by the Mechitarist monks of Venice, in an Armenian version. The materials available for forming a judgment as to its authenticity were insufficient, but most critics (Harnack included) pronounced in its favor. In 1889, Prof. J. Rendel Harris discovered a Syriac version in the convent of St. Catharine, on Mount Sinai, which he edited with prolegomena, translation, and notes, in 1891. Not long afterward Mr. J. A. Robinson, Harris' collaborator, discovered that the defense of Christianity contained in a religious novel by John of Damascus (died *c.* 754), entitled "Life of Barlaam and Josaphat," constituted the Greek text in a practically complete form. The Syriac text is far longer than the Greek as found in "Barlaam and Josaphat," and bears evidence of deliberate expansion. It is probable that the Greek text was somewhat condensed for insertion in the story. It is a remarkable fact that the main part of the Greek story in which the Apology of Aristides is embedded is taken from a Buddhist story entitled "Lalita Vistara," and that "Josaphat" is an adaptation of Gautama (Buddha) who figures in the original story. It is equally remarkable that the Roman Catholic Church long ago canonized the hero of the story as "St. Jehosaphat."

b. Date. According to the Syriac version the Apology was addressed not to Hadrian, as Eusebius supposed, but to Antoninus Pius. If the Syriac version is correct, the date of the writing could not have been earlier than 138, and it could not well have been written later than 147. Kay is inclined to credit Eusebius as against the

[1] "Church History," Bk. IV., Chap. III.

Syriac version, and to date the document about 125. In any case, it is probably the earliest extant post-apostolic defense of the Christian religion. The only known predecessor in this branch of literature is Quadratus, whose writing is lost.

c. Character of the Apology. It is largely occupied with an exposition of the Christian idea of God and of Christ, and of the Christian plan of salvation, by way of comparison with heathen religions. The author displays a remarkable acquaintance, not only with Greek and Roman philosophy and religion, but also with the Egyptian, Persian, and possibly with the Indian systems. The writer sets forth the characters of the heathen deities in a repulsive light, and the apology comes near being a polemic ; but the writing is conciliatory in spirit, and might have been expected to make a favorable impression on an emperor who had little regard for the current polytheism. No nobler defense of Christianity was ever written. It is possible that it had something to do with the comparatively favorable attitude of Antoninus toward Christians.

(2) *Justin Martyr.*

LITERATURE: See in addition to literature given above, Gildersleeve's excellent edition of "Justin's Apologies"; Semisch, "*Justin der Märtyr.*" (also English translation of same); Baur, "*Die drei erst. Jahrh.,*" *passim;* Ritschl, "*Altkath. Kirche,*" *passim;* Bornemann, "*Das Taufsymbold. Justins Märtyr.,*" in "*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.,*" *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 1; Weizsäcker, "*Die Theol. d. Justin Märtyr.,*" in "*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie,*" 1867, *Seit.* 60, *seq.* ; Aubé, "*S. Justin, Philos. et Martyr,*" 1875; Engelhardt, "*Das Christenthum Justins des Märtyr.,*" 1878; encyclopedia articles on "Justin."

a. Sketch of Justin. The quasi-autobiographical details given in the dialogue with Trypho are generally taken to be substantially accurate. According to this account he was a Samaritan by birth, saw in his youth a good deal of persecution of Christians, and admired the endurance they displayed. He seems to have been possessed of ample means, and to have enjoyed excellent educational advantages. He studied for a while with a Stoic, hoping to find rest for his troubled soul. But finding himself growing none the wiser with regard to God, he went to a Peripatetic, a sharp fellow in his own eyes.

Soon disgusted with him, he betook himself to a celebrated Pythagorean, who insisted that he must learn music, astronomy, and geometry, as a necessary preparation for philosophical studies. Greatly troubled on account of this rebuff, he went to an intelligent Platonist, from whom he learned the Platonic philosophy, and for a time he was highly elated with his progress.

About this time, while walking near the seashore, he fell in with an aged Christian, with whom he conversed freely, and by whom he was convinced of the truth of Christianity. After his conversion we know very little of Justin's life. He continued to wear his philosopher's robe, while as an evangelist he traveled from place to place, seeking to win men to the gospel. He seems frequently to have sought conferences with men of education, and to have tried to convince them of the truth of Christianity. He met with violent opposition from the philosophers about the court of Marcus Aurelius, and his martyrdom (*c.* 165) was probably due to their animosity.

b. First Apology of Justin. This was addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius. The writer gives the time that has elapsed since the birth of the Christ as one hundred and fifty years.[1] Other internal and external evidences are favorable to this date (150), or a few years later. The year 138 or 139, that has sometimes been insisted upon, seems impossible, for Marcus Aurelius addressed as a "philosopher," was still a youth, and Lucius (Commodus ?), also addressed as son of a Cæsar, was only eight or nine years old. It is written with care, and the emperor is addressed most courteously. The Apology is naturally divided into three parts. In part first he shows that Christians ought not to be condemned without a fair hearing, and that they are innocent of all crime. In part second he gives the arguments for the truth of the Christian religion. In part third he describes the worship of the Christians.

Part I. After the address, Justin claims for Christians the privilege of all defendants. It is unjust and demoniacal to condemn Christians unheard for the mere name's

[1] "First Apology," Chap. 46.

sake. Christians are no atheists. They worship God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. If some Christians are convicted of crime, let them suffer as individuals. But the fact that Christians prefer death to falsehood proves their innocence. Christians are not to be blamed for refusing to worship images—an absurd worship—nor for believing that God, the Creator of all things, does not desire gifts. Again, the empire has nothing to fear from Christianity; Christ's kingdom is not of this world. The empire has no better subjects than the Christians.

Justin then points to the wonderful changes in the character of men wrought by Christianity; the strict observance of chastity, of love for all, of charity to the poor, of patience, of avoidance of swearing, of obedience to rulers, and of payment of tribute. If such subjects are to be despised, the emperors are in danger of future judgment. A resurrection of the body, which such judgment involves, is no more difficult for God than creation, and there is not half so much absurdity about the mysteries of Christianity as about those of paganism.

Part II. Justin undertakes to prove three things: (1) That truth is taught by Christianity alone; (2) that the Son of God was truly incarnate; (3) that the fables of paganism were invented by demons to discredit the advent of Christ, and make that appear a fable likewise. The incarnation of Christ is proved from prophecy, and Justin lays down rules for the interpretation of prophecy. Notwithstanding the fact that Christ's death and sufferings were predicted, man's will is free. Those that went astray before the incarnation of the Logos are responsible, for the seeds of the Logos were in all (Chap. 46). The fables concerning Zeus were invented by demons, with a view to throwing discredit on the coming of the Son of God. That Christ was to come they had learned from the prophets; but the demons did not understand, and hence were not able to imitate, the cross. Justin enumerates many symbols of the cross (Chap. 55). The demons still mislead men in the persons of such magicians as Simon, Menander, and Marcion, and cause the persecution of the Christians.

Part III. Justin here shows how the Christians con-

secrate themselves to God in baptism, celebrate the Lord's Supper, etc.

c. The Dialogue with Trypho the Jew. This production has the form of a Socratic dialogue, extending through some days, between Justin and Trypho with his six companions. The dialogue may be divided into three parts. First: Justin refutes the opinion of the Jews concerning the law. Secondly: He shows that the true Son was begotten by God, became incarnate, and was crucified for our sake. Thirdly: He maintains that the calling of the Gentiles and the constitution of the church by Christ were predicted and prefigured long ago. This extended writing is of great importance as showing the attitude of Jews and Christians toward each other about the middle of the second century.

d. Theology of Justin. (*a*) *God the Father* Justin seems to have regarded, with almost Gnostic absolutism, as absent in relation to creation and Providence. "He remains in the super-celestial regions—never appears or speaks to any one by means of himself."[1] "No one that has but a small particle of sense would dare to say that the Father, leaving all things above heaven, had appeared in a little portion of the earth."[2] Thus, the omnipresence of God seems to have been lost sight of.

(*b*) *Christ*, with Justin, is the Son of God. "As a beginning before all creatures, God begat a certain rational power from himself, who is also called by the Holy Spirit 'Glory of the Lord,' and sometimes 'Wisdom,' and sometimes 'God,' and sometimes 'Lord,' and 'Logos.'"[3] Through Christ all things were made, and through him all things are ordered. Justin makes no distinction between the divine and the human in Christ.

(*c*) *The Holy Spirit.* According to Justin, the chief work of the Holy Spirit was the inspiration of the prophets.

(*d*) *The Will.* Justin's doctrine of free will would probably have been regarded at a later time as Pelagian. The freedom of the human will is not affected by prophecy, for prophecy is simply a result of God's foreknowledge of what would be.[4] Every man has the power of choosing good or evil. Repentance or change

[1] "Dial. with Tr.," Chap. 56. [2] "Dial.," Chap. 60. [3] "Dial.," Chap. 61.
[4] "First Apology," Chap. 64.

of mind is an act of man's free will, by which he turns from evil to good. When a man changes his mind toward God, God at once pardons all his sins.[1] Christ's work in regard to man's salvation was, therefore, not to satisfy the Divine justice, but by enlightening men's minds to turn them from the worship of demons unto God, and as a sufferer, to go through all the trials of men, overcome them, and lead men to the same victory.

(*e*) *The Church*, as represented by Justin, consists of believers only. All the members are priests, and the sacrifices that these priests make are thanksgivings poured out over the cup and bread. The only officers mentioned are deacons and presidents. Baptism is administered only to believers, after fasting and prayer. Like Barnabas and Hermas, Justin seems to have regarded baptism as the culmination of the process of regeneration, in which remission of sins actually takes place. Christians meet together every Sunday. Some one reads as long as there is time from the writings of the apostles or prophets. Then the president instructs or exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then all rise together and pray. After this, bread and wine mixed with water are brought. The president gives thanks, the people saying 'Amen.' Then there is a distribution to each member present, and a part is sent to the sick. A collection for the poor follows. Justin gives us the most detailed and lifelike view of the ordinances and worship of the early Christians that we have.

The so-called "Second Apology" of Justin has been proved by Boll, Zahn, Harnack, Veit, *et al.*, to be no independent work, but a sort of appendix to the Apology proper. Justin had already written a somewhat elaborate "Syntagma," against the Gnostic heresies, which has perished, but the substance of which was probably incorporated in the works of Irenæus and Hippolytus.

(*3*) *Other Apologists.*

a. Tatian. The Apology of Tatian, or Oration to the Greeks (*c.* 172), is one of the most remarkable, though not one of the most important, of the apologies. Tatian was brought up in heathenism, was a sophist or rhetorician, and was therefore skilled in argumentation.

[1] "Dial.," Chap. 45.

His Apology is one of the most *denunciatory* of all the apologies of this time. In fact, it is little more than a tirade against paganism. Every pagan practice and belief is held up to ridicule with great acuteness and almost unrivaled sarcasm. The effect of such a writing could hardly have been favorable to the Christians. His classical references and quotations are more numerous than those of any early Christian writer except Clement of Alexandria. After the martyrdom of Justin, who seems to have helpfully influenced him, he adopted Gnostic views, repudiating marriage as sinful, rejecting the Old Testament as the revelation not of the true God, but of the Demiurge, etc.

b. Athenagoras. Next to Justin Martyr may be ranked Athenagoras, the Athenian philosopher, who embraced Christianity as a result of an examination of the Scriptures, with a view to their refutation, and who wrote an apology for the Christians to Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus (*c.* 177). The Apology is written in a rhetorical style, abounds in quotations from the Greek classics, and is exceedingly conciliatory in tone, verging upon flattery. The arguments employed and the character of the theology are not very different from those of Justin. In some respects this is one of the best and most admirable of all the Christian apologies of this age.

c. Theophilus. The next in importance, perhaps, is Theophilus of Antioch. Theophilus is said to have become bishop of Antioch about the eighth year of Marcus Aurelius, *i. e.*, 169, and wrote his treatise in defense of Christianity to Autolycus during the reign of Commodus, probably *c.* 190. Unlike the apologies of Justin and Athenagoras, the *main* object is, not to defend the Christians (though this is not neglected), but rather to convince Autolycus of the absurdity of heathenism and the truth of Christianity. Theophilus, like Athenagoras, shows great familiarity with Greek classics, and his writings are frequently resorted to by critics of the classical Greek texts on account of their richness in citations.

IV. THE POLEMICAL PERIOD.

There were polemical treatises in the preceding period. Justin, *e. g.*, wrote extensively against heresies, but

nothing distinctively polemical has reached us from this period. Side by side, during the first half of the second century, an apologetical and a heretical literature had sprung up. In some of the Apologists, as in some of the Apostolic Fathers, we see tendencies that might easily develop into Gnosticism. Gnostics, about the middle of the second century, were everywhere attracting by their culture, their respectability, their extravagant claims to be the only true Christians, and by their aristocratical principles, many of the ablest minds. Many that did not fully accept their views were yet deeply affected by them. A *desire for system* was one of the fundamental characteristics of Gnosticism. This desire became contagious. The Gnostics' bold speculations with regard to the Godhead, the origin of the world, of sin, etc., were the means of arousing those who would otherwise have been content with simple faith to a systematizing of Christian doctrine. They felt that it was not enough to declare the Gnostic systems absurd. They must put something better in place of these. Christian writers now begin to express themselves accurately on doctrinal points.

1. *General Observations.*

(1) In the preceding period, the chief writers were men who had just emerged from heathenism, and had devoted their early manhood to heathen philosophy. They brought into Christianity much of their previous modes of thought, and hence we find a great deal of crudeness in some of their doctrinal statements. Now we find men that have grown up under the greatly improved Christian culture that prevailed after the middle of the second century.

(2) The Apologists wrote in times of persecution and aimed to ward off danger from without. The polemical writers see the greatest dangers to Christianity, not in outward violence, but in the alarming spread of error under the guise of Christian truth.

(3) Now for the first time the New Testament Scriptures are seen to occupy their proper place. The Old Testament is not discarded, but the New Testament books are quoted as authority and carefully studied. In their

contests with paganism, when the great reproach to be avoided was that of *novelty,* we have seen that the Christian Apologists attempted to prove Christianity to be the oldest religion in the world, and to this end exalted the Old Testament as the only source of authority. The case is different now. The polemical writings are mostly directed against Gnostic teachers, who entirely repudiated the Old Testament and sought to connect their systems with the New Testament writings.

(4) Here we first see the idea of an orthodox catholic church, strongly set forth in opposition to heresy, and the basis for future ecclesiastical development firmly laid.

(5) Most of the earlier writers had been Oriental by birth or by education. The ablest of the polemical writers belong to the West.

(6) Some writers of this period recognize, from seeing it carried to extremes by the Gnostics, the evil results of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, without, however, being able entirely to free themselves from it.

(7) The method of argumentation most in favor is that of the *reductio ad absurdum.* Arguments from Scripture, especially from the New Testament, occupy, however, an important place.

2 *Individual Writers.*

(*1*) *Irenæus.*

LITERATURE: Harvey's and Stieren's editions (the former has English prolegomena and notes, and is the *best* edition; the latter has Latin prolegomena and notes, and embraces reprints of all the principal treatises on Irenæus from Erasmus onward); English translation in "Ante-Nicene Fathers"; Neander, Vol. I., *passim;* Pressensé, "Martyrs and Apologists," *passim;* Schaff, Vol. II., p. 746, *seq.;* Mœller, p. 199, *seq.;* Bunsen, "Hippol.," Vol. I., p. 246; Dorner, "Person of Christ," Div. I., Vol. I., p. 303, *seq.;* Ritschl, "*Altkath. Kirche,*" p. 312, *seq.;* Duncker, "*D. Christologie d h. Irenæus;* Harnack, "*Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol.,*" 1874, p. 174, *seq.,* and p. 211, *seq.;* Zahn, "*Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol.,*" 1875, p. 72, *seq.;* Lightfoot, "Contemporary Review," August, 1896; Ropes, in "*Bibliotheca Sacra,*" 1877; encyclopedia articles on "Irenæus."

a. Sketch. Irenæus was born in Asia Minor, about 130–135, and in his youth was a disciple of the aged Polycarp. He received a liberal education, for he cites

most of the leading Greek classics. He was a diligent student of the Old and New Testaments. He quotes by name almost all the earlier Christian writers of whom we know anything. He was thoroughly acquainted with the heretical literature of his own and preceding times. He was, moreover, a man of great piety and zeal, and of simple faith. In 177, when Pothinus, the pastor of the Christian church at Lyons, had suffered martyrdom, Irenæus, who had been laboring in the region for some years as a missionary, bravely took the dangerous position. Persecution ceased, but the relaxation caused by immunity from persecution probably caused false doctrine to gain more and more acceptance. Toward the close of his busy life Irenæus wrote his "Five Books against Heresies" (*c.* 185), in which the views of the different heretical sects are stated and refuted, and in which Christian doctrine is ably expounded. The systematizing of Irenæus has formed the basis for all later efforts.

b. Abstract of the Five Books Against Heresies. Book I. is devoted mainly to a historical account of the various Gnostic sects (Chap. 1–9). By way of contrast to the heretical teachings, the author presents a declaration of the faith of the Catholic Church, perhaps the first distinct statement of the faith formally drawn up in a series of propositions.

Book II. is a philosophical polemic against the Valentinian Gnostics, interspersed with criticisms of their false interpretations of Scripture. The philosophical arguments are designed: (*a*) To prove the unity of God, and the absurdity of the Gnostic distinction between the Supreme Being and the Demiurge; (*b*) to overthrow the Platonic hypothesis of a correspondence between the world of ideas and the visible world. Many Valentinian doctrines rested on this. Irenæus insists that when the Scriptures are plain and unambiguous they shall not be explained ambiguously according to the fancy of the interpreter. The truth is never to be arrived at in this way, for the method of discovery has been rejected. Ambiguous passages (as parables) should not be made the source of doctrines (Chap. 1). Perfect knowledge is not attained in this life.

Book III. is chiefly a refutation from Scripture of the Gnostic heresies: First, concerning the unity of God, and secondly, concerning the person of Christ. The fact that the Gnostics differ among themselves, and the recent nature of their traditions, is contrasted with the agreement of Catholics in doctrine, handed down directly from the apostles. The Old Testament and the New Testament agree in teaching that there is but one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Creator of all things. Irenæus asserts the canonicity and inspiration of the four Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), and of these only. He refutes the opinion of those who attempt to establish an antagonism between Paul and the other apostles by Paul's own testimony, that the same God wrought in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision and in himself to that of the Gentiles. He proves the pre-existence, incarnation, and suffering of Christ from Old and New Testament passages, rejecting, like Justin, the translation of the Hebrew word in Isa. 7 : 14, "young woman," and applying the prophecy to the birth of Christ from a virgin.

Book IV. consists of proof from the words of Christ himself that he recognized but one God and Father, and this the same that is set forth in the Old Testament. The Gnostics' perversions of the words of Christ are refuted. Irenæus proceeds to combat the view of Marcion, which excluded Abraham and his posterity from salvation through Christ, showing that they were inspired by the same God from whom Christ came (Chap. 8–11). The Old Testament system still continues in the New Testament system. Sacrifices are perpetuated in the Lord's Supper (Chap. 17, 18). The book concludes with a vindication of the Old Testament Scriptures against the cavils of the Gnostics.

Book V. is devoted chiefly to a vindication of the doctrine of the resurrection against the Gnostic objections. The chief objection of the Gnostics was the essentially evil nature of matter, and hence the unsuitableness of a material body for a state of blessedness. This same feeling led them to deny the real incarnation of Christ. Irenæus maintains the true humanity and the true divinity of Christ, and shows how both are necessary to the

truth of our Lord himself and to the redemption of mankind. This established, he uses it as a proof against those who deny that flesh is capable of salvation.

c. Theology of Irenæus. (*a*) *God.* Irenæus does not, like Justin, exalt the Supreme Being above all relations to the world. The result of such exaltation in the Gnostic systems that he combats, depriving them as it did of any firm basis of thought and plunging them into endless speculations, would save him from such an error.

(*b*) *The Son.* The emanation theory of the Gnostics would have prevented Irenæus from representing the Son as created or as emanating from the Father. With Irenæus the Logos is eternal. He says: "God being all mind and all Logos, both speaks exactly what he thinks and thinks exactly what he speaks. For his thought is Logos, and Logos is mind, and mind, comprehending all things, is the Father." Thus he seems to identify the Logos with the Father. Elsewhere he writes: "If any man say to us, 'How then was the Son produced by the Father?' we reply that no one understands that production, or generation, or calling, or revelation, or by whatever name one may describe his generation, which, in fact, is indescribable."[1] Perhaps his doctrine of the Logos can be fairly said to imply no more than that the Logos is God, considered in his thinking, creative, and redeeming aspect.

(*c*) *The Holy Spirit*, according to Irenæus, is identical with the Wisdom of the Old Testament, and is God manifest in Providence, revelation, and the human conscience. The Trinity of Irenæus would therefore be: God in the world, God in Christ, and God in himself.

(*d*) *Freedom of the Will.* In opposition to the fatalism of the Gnostics, Irenæus maintains the freedom of the will, and asserts that with God there is no coercion. Those who yield obedience to God have the promise of eternal good. Only by regarding the will as free can he account for the exhortations in the Old and New Testaments to do good, and the promises made to those that obey.[2]

(*e*) The eternal decree of *redemption* is represented as

[1] Book II., Chap. 18. [2] Book IV., Chap. 37.

an act of God's love. The *atonement* is a ransom paid, not to God, but to the devil, to whom all who have disobeyed God are in subjection.

(*f*) Irenæus looked upon the *Church* as an organic unity whose doctrine had been handed down through a succession of presbyters. He nowhere lays stress upon episcopacy as a divine institution, but makes the liberty and independence of each church (including a city with its surrounding villages) the fundamental principle of the ecclesiastical constitution. In Irenæus' time, the question whether Easter should be celebrated on the 15th Nisan on whatever day of the week it might occur, or on the first Sunday after the vernal full moon, was raging. Victor, pastor of the Roman church, was arrogant enough to break off communion with the churches of Asia Minor because they adhered to the former view. Irenæus, in an epistle to him (cited by Eusebius), while agreeing with him in opinion, censures severely his intolerant conduct. "Christ's apostles," he says, "have ordained that no one shall disturb men's consciences with regard to such things. It is not right to tear asunder the bonds of Christian communion on account of festivals and seasons, knowing as we do from the prophets that such things celebrated in hatred and discord do not please God."

We see also that the Roman church had by this time great prestige. Irenæus believed that it was established by Peter and Paul, who appointed successors. This belief, together with the position of the Roman church in the metropolis, the administrative ability that it early displayed, and the readiness with which it sent contributions to needy Christians in other places, caused it to be looked up to, and to be frequently appealed to in matters of controversy (so even in the time of Clement). We see also that a formalizing tendency had already set in at Rome and in Asia Minor (the Easter controversy); but Irenæus did not favor such a tendency.

(2) *Hippolytus.*

LITERATURE: De Lagarde's editions; English translation in the "Ante-Nicene Library"; Bunsen, "Hippolytus and his Age," 1852–6; Döllinger, "*Hippolytus u. Callistus*," 1853 (English translation, 1875); Wordsworth, "St. Hippolytus and the Church of

Rome"; Volkmar, "*Hippolytus u. d. röm. Zeitgenossen*," 1855; Lipsius, "*Quellen d. ältest. Ketzergeschichte*," 1875; Achelis, "*Hippolytstudien*," 1897; Caspari, "*Quellen zur Gesch. d. Taufsymbols*," *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 377, *seq.*, 1875. A new edition of the works of Hippolytus, edited by Bonwetsch and Achelis, is in process of publication under the auspices of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences.

a. Sketch. Considering the number and the importance of his writings, surprisingly little is known of the life of Hippolytus. Eusebius seems to be the earliest extant writer to mention him, and his knowledge was exceedingly limited. He was born, it is probable, shortly after the middle of the second century, whether in Rome or in the East is unknown. Like most of the leading Roman Christians of the second century he was of Oriental origin and Greek was his native tongue. He is said to have been a disciple of Irenæus, but when or where the personal intercourse of the two occurred is not recorded. It is not improbable that Irenæus on one of his visits to Rome gave a series of discourses on the Gnostic heresies that formed the basis of his great work on the subject. Eusebius calls him "bishop," but does not know over what church he presided. He places him in the time of Alexander Severus (222–235). From the "Refutation of All Heresies" it is manifest that Hippolytus was an active participant in Roman church matters during the pastorates of Zephyrinus and Callistus (199–222). It would seem that, for reasons given in another paragraph, he refused to recognize Callistus as bishop, and that he became the recognized leader or bishop of the stricter party that claimed to be the true church of Rome. After the death of Callistus he probably became reconciled with the principal church, and as a presbyter of the church continued his ecclesiastical and literary work until 235, when he and Bishop Pontianus were transported to Sardinia by Maximinus the Thracian. They probably died in the mines, but they are said to have been buried on the same day in Rome, where they were honored as martyrs. A statue of Hippolytus has been unearthed in modern times (1551), bearing a catalogue of his writings on its pedestal. The late tradition that he was bishop of the Portus (at the mouth of the Tiber) seems to be due to a desire to account for the fact that

he was bishop and martyr by those ignorant of the fact that he was bishop of the faction that opposed Callistus.

Hippolytus was one of the four greatest scholars and theologians of his age (ranking with Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen), was a most rigorous disciplinarian, a keen and hard-hitting polemicist, and had much in common with contemporary Montanism and later Novatianism.

b. Writings. Hippolytus was a voluminous writer. The list of his works includes dogmatic, polemical, and exegetical treatises. Most of these have been preserved only in fragments. In 1842 a manuscript was discovered in the monastery on Mt. Athos, which was at first supposed to be the lost "*Philosophumena*" of Origen, and was published as such by E. Miller at Oxford in 1851. The criticism of Bunsen, Döllinger, Volkmar, *et al.*, proved that it was the "Refutation of All Heresies," by Hippolytus. The decisive considerations in favor of this view are, (*a*) that the style of the work is such as to exclude Origen's authorship, and (*b*) that the author refers to a work of his own whose title is given in the list of Hippolytus' works on the ancient statue referred to.

"The Refutation" covers substantially the same ground as the great work of Irenæus, which in many points it materially supplements. It is the opinion of many recent critics (Lipsius, Hilgenfeld, Harnack, *et al.*), that both writers drew largely from Justin's lost "*Syntagma*," that Hippolytus used the work of Irenæus, and that he had access to a number of Gnostic works that have perished. The most remarkable part of "The Refutation," and that which has been most provocative of controversy, is Book IX., in which he makes his refutation of the heresy of Noëtus an occasion for denouncing the laxity and doctrinal unsoundness of Callistus.

c. The Roman Church in the Time of Hippolytus. During the second century the Roman church greatly increased in numbers and influence. Persecutions had occurred from time to time, but these were not so severe nor continuous as seriously to interfere with the development of the body. No doubt it continued to receive important reinforcements from Asia Minor, Greece,

Syria, and Egypt, and Greek appears to have been still the language of Roman Christians. With the exception of Minucius Felix, all Roman Christian writings till some time after the close of the second century were Greek. Gnosticism, Montanism, Adoptionism, and Monarchianism had found their way to Rome, and several leading Gnostic teachers had propagated their views there with considerable success. But the Roman church, so far from yielding to such influences, was led thereby to strengthen its organization. Monarchial episcopacy was one of the results of its contest with pagan intolerance and Gnostic heresy. From the beginning the Roman church manifested something of the practical spirit that little by little secured for it a place of leadership and authority among the churches. Its location in the great metropolis, its practical benevolence, its freedom from extreme doctrinal developments, due in part to its poverty in speculative theologians, gave it a great advantage over other churches. During the reign of Commodus and his immediate successors (180 onward) immunity from persecution had brought into the church multitudes of imperfectly Christianized people from the wealthier classes, and discipline was in consequence gradually relaxed. In the time of Hippolytus we see in the church two distinct parties, a rigorous party almost Montanistic in its severity, led by himself and apparently in a small minority, and a liberal party represented by Zephyrinus and Callistus, supported by the wealth and the social influence of the church.

Victor, chief pastor of the church (*c.* 189–199), had been a man of great sternness, and many had been restive under his rigorous discipline. He was succeeded by Zephyrinus (199–219), a man of little moral or intellectual weight, who permitted the flock to be led astray by all sorts of false teachers; and, under the influence of Callistus, permitted various moral delinquencies to have place in the church. Callistus, a slave, had been entrusted with a large sum of money, had embezzled it, had been imprisoned, then released, then banished to the mines of Sardinia for having caused a riot in a Jewish synagogue. Having escaped from the mines through the good offices of Marcia, the emperor's favorite, he re-

turned to Rome, now a freed man, became the right-hand man of Zephyrinus, and succeeded him as chief pastor in 219.

During Zephyrinus' pastorate the Noëtian heresy, according to which God the Father and Christ are absolutely identical, and hence the Father was born of a woman and suffered on the cross, had been introduced at Rome. Callistus, apparently, adopted this doctrine, and brought his influence to bear upon the young and promising Sabellius. Hippolytus and his party strove earnestly against these theological errors, and were stigmatized by their opponents as *ditheists*, because they insisted on the absolute deity of Christ and yet refused to identify him with the Father. Hippolytus remonstrated with Sabellius, who held that the terms "Father," "Son," and "Spirit," are only designations of the three different phases under which the Divine essence reveals itself, all three together exhausting the revelation of God to the world.

Callistus, when he became chief pastor, threw off Sabellius as not orthodox, and with a view to conciliating Hippolytus and his party set forth his own views in a form slightly differing from the Noëtian, but in the opinion of Hippolytus essentially the same. This modified Sabellianism Callistus is said to have propagated with the greatest diligence and success. Callistus offended Hippolytus more by his laxity of discipline than by his doctrinal unsoundness. Many that had been excluded from the church for gross misconduct were restored, Callistus proclaiming himself ready "to forgive all sins." He taught that if a bishop should be guilty even of a mortal sin he could not be deposed. He maintained that Noah's ark, in which clean and unclean beasts were preserved together, was a type of the church. He is said to have permitted ladies of rank who did not wish to marry to have slaves for paramours.

In narrating the career of Callistus, Hippolytus manifests so much passion that his representations cannot be implicitly trusted. Callistus must have been a man of marked ability and more than usually attractive personality to have risen from slavery and a reputation for dishonesty to the foremost position in the church. He may have honestly differed from Hippolytus as regards the disci-

plinary policy of the church. Hippolytus imputes the worst of motives to all his actions, and represents his proceedings in the worst possible light. Rumors and suspicions figure, apparently, as undoubted facts.

It is by no means certain that Callistus was as much at fault in relation to Noëtus and Sabellius as Hippolytus would have us believe. The views of these teachers he caricatures. No doubt they were making an honest effort to express the great facts of revelation with reference to the Godhead in such a manner as to avoid ditheism or tritheism, the Gnostic emanation theory, and the Ebionitic denial of the true deity of the Son. They wished to hold fast the divine unity and monarchy and the absolute deity of Christ. The modal doctrine of the Trinity was the result. Sabellius applied the term "person" (*πρόσωπον*) to each of the three modes of divine manifestation (as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit), a term that in a different sense was to figure prominently in the orthodox theology of the later time.

(3) *Tertullian.*

LITERATURE: Oehler's edition of Tertullian; English translation in "Ante-Nicene Fathers"; Neander, "*Antignosticus*, Spirit of Tertullian," and "Ch. History," Vol. I., *passim;* Pressensé, "Martyrs and Apologists," p. 374, *seq.;* Schaff, Vol. II., p. 818, *seq.;* Kaye (Bishop of Bristol), "Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, Illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian"; Baur and Ritschl, as on "Montanism"; Bonwetsch, "*Die Schriften d. Tert. nach d. Zeit ihrer Verfassung*," 1879; Harnack, "*Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol.*," 1878, p. 572, *seq.;* Hauschild, "*Tertullians Psychologie*," 1880; Hauck, "*Tert. Leben und Schriften*," 1877; Noeldechen, "*Tertullian*," 1890; works on the "History of Doctrine," by Hagenbach, Neander, Baur, Shedd, Sheldon, Crippen, Harnack, Loofs, Fisher, Seeberg, etc.; encyclopedia articles on "Tertullian."

a. Sketch. Tertullian (*b.* 150–160) was a native of Carthage and the son of a Roman proconsular centurion. He was educated in Roman law and in the liberal arts, and had attained to considerable eminence before his conversion. He also acquired familiarity with the Greek language, and is said to have written some works in it. He was greatly influenced by Stoic philosophy in its later form, as is manifest in his theological thinking. He is the first Christian writer in whom Roman law and Stoic philosophy appear as determining elements. His conversion may have occurred about 180, under what influence we are not informed. His ability and zeal soon led to his appointment as a presbyter in the Carthaginian church. His able and voluminous Latin writings laid the foundations for Latin theology. He was the first

important Christian writer to use this language, and he forged it into shape for Cyprian, Lactantius, Jerome, and Augustine. According to Jerome, "he was a man of sharp and vehement temper." He had little in common with the Platonising theologians, and had no patience with Gnostic theosophy. "He apprehended Christianity . . . eminently in its opposition to all the pallid wisdom of philosophy, as a mighty supernatural reality, a divine foolishness wiser than men, creating and transmuting, challenging and disdaining contradiction. His was a fiery nature, rich in fantasy, witty and passionate, and inclined to paradox, at the same time endowed with a certain amount of Oriental (Punic) warmth and sensuousness, but also with a good share of Roman sense of what is solid and effective."[1]

In mid-career his views underwent an important change. By way of reaction against laxity in discipline, that was so glaringly and scandalously manifest in the Roman church under Zephyrinus, he was carried away by the rigor and enthusiasm of the Montanists. While there is no lack of zeal and fervor in his earlier writings, the later are still more intense and are characterized by the forms of teaching peculiar to Montanism. His works are too voluminous to be adequately described in this chapter. The more important ones will be referred to in connection with the characterization of his chief adversaries and the statement of his distinctive doctrinal positions. He seems to have been a born fighter and throughout his career to have been much engaged in controversy. He is pre-eminently the polemicist of the age.

b. Adversaries of Tertullian. (*a*) The *Monarchians* or Patripassians, as represented by Praxeas, who had combated Montanism in Asia Minor and "when the bishop of Rome had acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and . . . had bestowed his peace on the churches of Asia and Phrygia," had "by importunately urging false accusations against the prophets themselves and their churches . . . compelled him to recall the pacific letter which he had issued."

[1] Möller, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. I., p. 203.

He availed himself of his visit to Rome to disseminate there his Monarchian views of the Godhead. By this visit "Praxeas did a two-fold service for the devil at Rome. He drove away prophecy, and he brought in heresy; he put to flight the Paraclete, and he crucified the Father."[1]

Monarchianism had become widespread by the beginning of the third century. The ground of it may be stated thus: Up to about 175 most of the Christian writers had represented Christ as the pre-existent Logos, and in a way that seemed to imply subordination. In opposition to Ebionism the church gradually freed itself from this implied subordinationism. But the difficulty now was that of seeming to postulate two Gods. Hence those that held to a distinction between Father and Son, and yet refused to admit the subordination of the latter, were stigmatized as "ditheists." Those that rejected the Gnostic Docetism, the Ebionotic denial of Christ's Divinity, and the setting up of two equal personalities, were driven to views like those of Noëtus and Sabellius. The most decided opposition to this tendency was that offered by Montanism. Tertullian's treatise, "*Adversus Praxean*," is the ablest contemporary refutation of Monarchianism.

(*b*) *Paganism*, as represented by idolatry, vicious spectacular exhibitions, the persecution of Christians, etc. Tertullian displays his great rhetorical powers to best advantage in his denunciation of paganism and in his eulogizing of Christianity by way of contrast.

(*c*) The various *Gnostic systems* that were combated also by Irenæus and Hippolytus. Tertullian's fiery African nature did not permit him to reason calmly, and here, as in all his polemics, he is too denunciatory and fails to give his adversaries credit for the good that their systems contain. Yet Tertullian probably did more to overthrow Gnosticism than any other man.

(*d*) The *Jews*. The "Answer to the Jews" was occasioned by a discussion that occurred between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte. The reasoning is not very different from that of Justin in his "Dialogue with Trypho."

c. Tertullian and Montanism. Tertullian was the great theologian of the Montanistic movement. His conversion to Montanism was probably a gradual one, and occurred when he was already of mature age. The

[1] "*Adversus Praxean*," Chap. I.

genius of Tertullian was too great to exhaust its influence upon a sect. In Latin theology nothing had appeared at all comparable with his writings, and we may suppose that they were eagerly read throughout the Latin churches. Tertullian was so stanch a defender of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity that his authority was everywhere great, notwithstanding his Montanism, and through him Montanistic views were infiltrated into the dominant form of Christianity in the succeeding time.

d. Theology of Tertullian. (*a*) With regard to the *Godhead.* As an opponent of Monarchianism, especially in the form of Patripassianism, Tertullian held most tenaciously to the distinction of the Father and the Son. No earlier writer had expressed himself with so much precision on the doctrine of the Trinity. His clearest statement is found in his treatise "*Adversus Praxean,*" Chap. 2:

> We believe in one only God, yet under this dispensation, which we call "economy," that the one only God has a Son, his Word (*sermo*), who proceeds from himself, through whom all things were made, and without whom was made nothing. That this Son was sent by the Father into a virgin and was born of her, man and God, Son of Man and Son of God, and named Jesus Christ; that he suffered, that he died and was buried, according to the Scriptures, that he was resuscitated by the Father and taken back into heaven, that he sits at the right hand of the Father, that he will come to judge the living and the dead; who has sent thence from the Father according to his promise the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, the sanctifier of the faith of those that believe in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

And farther on:

> And nevertheless the sacrament of the "economy" is guarded, which disposes unity into trinity, arranging three, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; three, however, not in state but in degree; not in substance but in form; not in power but in aspect; but of one substance and of one state and of one power, because it is one God from whom those degrees and forms and aspects, in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are reckoned.

He remarks (in Chap. 3) that the greater number of the Christians of his time, having just abandoned polytheism, are in mortal dread of the "economy," "presuming that a numbering and disposition of trinity is a division of unity." Tertullian maintains that "unity

deriving trinity out of its very self is not destroyed, but administered thereby." Again (in Chap. 9): "For the Father is the whole substance, as he himself informs us: 'The Father is greater than I'; but the Son is a derivation and portion of the whole." Thus Tertullian distinctly formulates a doctrine of the Trinity, but he seems to deny the co-eternity and co-equality of Son and Spirit with the Father. Largely as a result of his Stoical training, Tertullian was materialistic and could not allow that God himself was immaterial and formless.

(*b*) With regard to *man's original and actual condition*, Tertullian advances views far more developed than those of any of his predecessors. In answer to Marcion's cavil that if God had been good and prescient and potent, he would not have allowed man to fall into sin, Tertullian argues that "God alone is good by nature, for he who has what is without beginning has it not by institution, but by nature. But man, who is altogether by institution, having beginning, with beginning was allotted a form in which he should be, and so was determined to the good, not by nature, but by institution, not having as his own to be good, because not by nature was he determined to the good, but by institution, according to the Good Institutor, that is to say, the Maker of good things."

He adds that free will was given to man in order that he might attain unto a good of his own analogous to that of God. Had man remained subject to the Divine will he would have been exalted above the angels. Sin consisted in the fact that man sought to free himself from subjection to the Divine will. If God had restrained man from sin it would have involved a withdrawal of freedom from man, which was potentially the instrument of his highest good.

Here also the influence of Stoicism is manifest. The Stoics held that evil is necessary for the production of moral virtue, that there is no virtue where there is no choice, and that man was created free to choose.[2]

After the fall the "corruption of [man's] nature is

[1] "*Adversus Marcionem*," Bk. II., Chap. 5-9.
[2] Compare Hatch, "Hibbert Lectures," p. 231.

another nature, having its own god and father, namely, the author of corruption himself, yet so that there inheres also that principal, that divine and true (*germanum*), and properly natural, good of the soul. For what is from God is not so much extinguished as beclouded. It can be beclouded, because not God; it cannot be extinguished, because from God."[1]

Man, therefore, assisted by the grace of God, freely bestowed upon all through Christ, is capable by the seed of good that remains in him of turning unto God and attaining to salvation.

Tertullian was the first, so far as we know, to formulate the doctrine of the transmission of the soul by propagation from parent to child, known in the history of doctrine as "Traducianism." His psychology is somewhat materialistic, in harmony with his Stoic mode of thought. He defines the soul[2] as "born of the truth of God, immortal, corporeal, having form, simple of substance, . . free of will, obnoxious to accidents, mutable through natural dispositions, rational, dominating, divining, multiplying from one." Elsewhere he gives an account of a Montanist prophetess, who professed to have seen a soul and attempted to describe its outward appearance.

(*c*) *Baptism.* No Christian writer of the early centuries wrote so extravagantly regarding the magical effects of water baptism. His attitude toward baptism was due in some measure to his Stoical conception of the essential unity of matter and spirit (materialistic monism).

The treatise "*De Baptismate*" begins: "Blessed is our sacrament of water, in that, by washing away the sins of our early blindness, we are liberated into eternal life." Again: "But we, little fishes, after the example of our ΙΧΘΥΣ Jesus Christ [the letters of this Greek word meaning fish are the initials for 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour,' and the picture of a fish was a very common sign among the early Christians], are born in water" (Chap. 1). He dilates on the age and the *dignity* of water as the primeval element on which the Divine Spirit brooded. "Water was the first to produce that which had life, that it might be no wonder in baptism if waters knew how to give life" (Chap. 3). He argues that "the Spirit of God, who hovered over (the waters) from the beginning, would

[1] "*De Anima*," 46. [2] *Ibid.*, 22.

continue to linger over the waters of the baptized." "Thus," he continues, "the nature of the waters, sanctified by the Holy One, itself conceived withal the power of sanctifying." Again: "All waters, therefore, in virtue of the pristine privilege of their origin, do, after invocation of God, attain the sacramental power of sanctification." Again: "Therefore, after the waters have been in a manner endued with medicinal virtue through the intervention of the angel, the spirit is corporeally washed in the waters, as the flesh is in the same spiritually" (Chap. 4). He calls attention to the lustral rites of various heathen peoples and the magical efficacy ascribed thereto, but it does not seem to occur to him that he is paganizing. Rather he argues that "if the mere nature of water . . . leads men to flatter themselves with a belief in omens of purification, how much more will waters render that service through the authority of God, by whom all their nature has been constituted" (Chap. 5).

Tertullian earnestly dissuades from the practice of *baptizing little children* (not infants), which appears to have been becoming somewhat common in his time. He is insisting[1] upon the utmost care in the administration of baptism, lest those should be baptized who have not a proper understanding of the efficacy of the ordinance and the obligations it entails. Believing as he did in the unpardonableness of post-baptismal sins, he thought that no one should be baptized who was not in a position to guard his life most scrupulously from the moment of his baptism.

"Let them come," he says, "while they are adolescent, while they are learning, while they are being taught wherefore they come; let them become Christians when they become able to know Christ." Tertullian opposed the baptism of little children, but not on absolutely correct principles. The custom that he is arguing against appears to have been the baptism of children who were large enough to "hasten to the remission of sins," but who yet had no proper idea of Christianity. On the same ground Tertullian argues that the unmarried and virgins ought to delay their baptism until they have passed through their maturity.

(*d*) State of *Christian life* represented in the writings of Tertullian. The opposition between the worldly Christians and the ascetical, legalistic, Montanistic party had reached its climax. Abundant evidence of the corruption of morals in the churches, and of the growing tendency toward episcopacy, which Tertullian as a

[1] "*De Baptismate*," 17.

presbyter combats, is furnished by the writings of Tertullian.

e. The Carthaginian Church. It is not known just how or when Christianity was first introduced into Carthage, but almost certainly from Rome, in the first half of the second century. Carthage had by this time come to be one of the great cities of the world. Africa was the chief source of grain supply for Italy, and Carthage was its commercial center. It had adopted the language of Rome and had developed considerable intellectual activity. It combined the licentious idolatry of the East with the luxury and extravagance of Rome. It is described by an ancient writer as the Rome of Africa and as surpassing all other cities in corruption and vice.

Yet Christianity found acceptance here among all ranks of people, even the highest, and from this centre spread all over Proconsular Africa. By the close of the second century the Christians numbered many thousands. A distinct type of Christianity was naturally developed here, combining Roman organization with African fire and impetuosity. In all matters the North African Christians seem to have tended to extremes. Nowhere else did such violent schisms occur during this period. Carthaginian Christianity had little of the speculative spirit of the Alexandrian, and its speculative heresies (Gnosticism, Monarchianism, etc.) were chiefly importations.

Here, as at Rome, opposition soon arose between the strict and the lax elements. It is only necessary to read Tertullian's treatises concerning Idolatry, Spectacular Exhibitions, Chastity, Modesty, and Veiling of Virgins, to be convinced of the corruption in which a part of the Carthaginian Christian community was involved. We learn that the virgins or nuns of the church were fond of fine dress and of attending the public baths (no sign of modesty); that makers of idols were sometimes admitted into the church, urging in defense of their conduct inability to support themselves otherwise; that Christians could not be restrained from witnessing spectacular exhibitions; and that drunkenness, gluttony, and lust abounded. Such things were condemned by the strict Montanistic party, which, driven to despair by the condition of the church, doubtless became somewhat fanatical in its zeal for purity and separation from the world, exalting virginity, insisting upon abstemiousness in regard to every human pleasure, being zealous for martyrdom, etc.

Fanaticism in religion almost always springs from despair in rela-

tion to the actual state of things and opposition encountered in efforts for reform.

(4) *Cyprian.*

LITERATURE: "*Cypriani Omnia Opera*," various editions, Erasmus, Fell, Goldhorn, Hartel, etc. (A critical edition of Cyprian is a desideratum); Pontius, "*De Vita Cypriani*"; Eusebius, "*Hist. Ecc.*," Bk. VII., Chap. 3; Lactantius, Bk. V., Chap. 1; English translation of Cyprian's works in "Ante-Nicene Fathers"; Neander, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. I., *passim*; Pressensé, "Mart. and Apol.," pp. 414, *seq.*; Poole, "Life and Times of Cyprian"; Rettberg, "*Cyprianus nach seinem Leben und Wirken*"; Long, in "Baptist Quarterly," 1877; O. Ritschl, "*Cyp. von Carthago*," 1885; Greenwood, "*Cathedra Petri*," Vol. I.; Tillemont, "*Memoires*," *Tom.* IV., p. 76, *seq.*; "St. Cyprian's Correspondence" in "Church Quarterly Review," July, 1891; Goetz, "*Gesch. d. Cypr. Litteratur*," 1891; Le Provost, "*Etude philosophique et littéraire sur St. Cyprien*," 1888; Freppel, "*St. Cyprien et l'Eglise d'Afrique*," Third Edition, 1889; Böhringer, "*Biographien*," *Bd.* I., *Th.* 2, *Seit.* 813–1039; Benson, "Life of St. Cyprian"; encyclopedia articles, especially "Herzog," and "Dict. of Chr. Biog."

a. Sketch. Cyprian was born in Proconsular Africa, probably in Carthage, about 200. Like Tertullian, he was the son of a Roman officer and was educated as a rhetorician. He was a brilliant teacher of rhetoric before his conversion to Christianity. Having adopted Christianity, he at once became zealous in defense of it, and devoted his ample means to Christian purposes. He was an ardent admirer of Tertullian, and may be regarded as his disciple. Cyprian became bishop of the Carthaginian church so shortly after his conversion as to cause much dissatisfaction among the presbyters. But the Christian community had become so impressed with his sanctity and his fitness for the highest position in the North African Church, that he was enthusiastically appointed, notwithstanding the opposition.

The Decian persecution soon broke upon the North African Church. The fury of Decius was directed particularly against the bishops. When Cyprian could no longer remain at Carthage with any safety, he went into retirement. This exposed him to the charge of unfaithfulness on the part of his enemies; yet he probably had a truer view of Christian duty than those who courted martyrdom. His letters to the people during this period of separation show that he felt the profoundest solicitude for

their welfare. Having returned, he suffered martyrdom under Valerian (258).

b. Theological Position of Cyprian. Though far inferior to Tertullian in learning and philosophical ability, Cyprian has always held a high place among the Fathers of the Church. He transferred the life and theology of Tertullian into the Catholic Church. Though a man of great holiness, Cyprian may be said to have done more for the development of hierarchical views than any man of this age. The circumstances under which he was placed, the difficulties he had to encounter, together with the remarkable administrative powers and predilections which were his by nature, led him to take a position in advance of his age in favor of hierarchical principles.

Cyprian was the first to establish clearly the distinction between presbyters and bishops, and the primacy of the Roman church as the *Cathedra Petri*.

(*a*) *The distinction between presbyters and bishops.* We have seen that up to the time of Irenæus the distinction between presbyters and bishops was by no means clear. The distinction, firmly established from the time of Cyprian, was brought about in the following way: The churches had come to be large bodies difficult to manage, especially in times of persecution. The collection and distribution of alms had assumed vast proportions, and the superintendence of this work devolved upon the bishop. The bishop was chairman of the board of presbyters and the leader of the church in the administration of discipline. Presbyters often disagreed, and the feeling grew that there should be in each Christian community a center of authority, whereby schism might be prevented and unity preserved. This was especially the case in large cities, where a single organization was maintained, with many places of worship, each presided over by a presbyter of the church. Occasions would frequently arise for the interference of the bishop, and when the need for episcopal authority came to be strongly felt the vindication of such authority was sure to follow.

In general, a struggle took place between the aristocratical government of the presbyters and the monarchical government of the bishops. Bishops when they had strong governing talent and were popular, gradually

gained the upper hand; so, especially, did it happen in Cyprian's struggle with the Carthaginian presbyters. The triumph of episcopacy undoubtedly promoted for the time tranquillity and order; but it was unfriendly to the free development of ecclesiastical life and led to the sacerdotalism of a later time.

Cyprian, while in retirement, still attempted to give direction to the church of Carthage, and instructed the presbyters as to the administration. Whenever he had to decide anything without consulting the presbyters, he was careful to excuse himself. But many such cases occurred and the precedent was established.

Yet Cyprian conceded to the people the right of choosing worthy bishops, and of rejecting unworthy ones. The fact that he himself was elected by popular vote, and even against the desire of some of the presbyters, was enough to secure his recognition of this right. But the very popularity of Cyprian enabled him to triumph over the presbyters, just as Hildebrand, at a later time, triumphed over the bishops by arousing the people against them.

He was a genuine pastor, and had the profoundest regard for the welfare of each member of the flock. He had administrative plans, and he insisted on executing them. The interests of the people must be regarded, whether the presbyters concurred or not. His motives seem to have been pure; but when the same method came to be applied by less worthy bishops, great abuses resulted.

(*b*) *The doctrine of the supremacy of the Roman Church as the Cathedra Petri, and the center of unity of the one Universal Church.* Irenæus had insisted upon the unity of the church; but it was a spiritual unity, resulting from community of headship in Christ and from community of belief, as handed down through a succession of presbyters, *not* an external, organic unity. The general tendency of the church from this time forward was toward making religion external; and the idea of the spiritual unity of the church was easily transformed into that of outward unity.

The same tendency that led to the centralization of power in the bishop, for the sake of securing unity and

order, led to a centralization of power in a head of the universal church. If the church was an outward, organic unity, it needed a single mouthpiece, just as much as did a single community. Controversies were arising everywhere among bishops. A supreme bishop—a bishop of bishops—was needed to adjudicate upon these controversies. There arose thus in the minds of Cyprian and others a desire for such a unifying, authoritative power; but it is noticeable that such a power was desired only on the supposition that the authoritative head would decide justly, *i. e.*, on Cyprian's side. The thought never occurred to Cyprian, perhaps, of submitting to an unjust decision, *i. e.*, one against himself.

In his work, "*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*," Cyprian makes use of such language as this: "The primacy was given to Peter, that one church of Christ and one chair might be pointed out." "Does he believe that he is in the faith, who does not hold this unity of the church? Does he trust that he is in the church who strives against and resists the church? who deserts the *Cathedra Petri* on which the church has been founded?" "There is one episcopate, by the single members of which each part is held in solidity." "Just as there are many rays of the sun, but one light; and many branches of the tree, but one strength, founded on the tenacious root; and since from one source many streams flow forth, the numerosity may seem diffused by the bounty of the surging stream, nevertheless unity in origin is preserved. Pluck a ray of the sun from the body, the unity of the light does not receive a division." "He cannot have God for his Father who has not the church for his mother."

There is considerable ground for skepticism regarding the authenticity of these strong expressions regarding the *Cathedra Petri* and the primacy of the Roman bishop. While there is no documentary basis for the theory of interpolation, it seems improbable that the Cyprian who was so self-assertive in his intercourse with the bishops of the Roman church in his time should have sought to exalt the authority of these very bishops. But it may be that the object he had in view in writing this treatise led him to forget for the time his personal attitude toward the incumbents of the Roman See.

c. Adversaries of Cyprian. (*a*) *With regard to the treatment of the "lapsed."* Large numbers of nominal

Christians were led by physical fear or love of property to deny the faith. When persecution had ceased these clamored for re-admission into the churches. Martyrs and confessors had always been highly esteemed. Some of these were supposed to have made dying requests for the restoration of the fallen. In the eyes of many this was a sufficient ground for indiscriminate restoration. A certain Lucian claimed to have been directed by a well-known confessor, Paul, to give "letters of peace" to all the lapsed, and accordingly spread such letters broadcast through the North African churches. In many cases the lapsed, with these letters in their hands, overawed presbyters and bishops; but Cyprian was not to be thus overawed. The decided stand that he took on this matter brought him into controversy not only with the confessors, but also with some of the presbyters (those chiefly that were already against him), and with the Roman church, which was in favor of leniency toward the lapsed.

Cyprian adopted a middle course: Those who showed signs of true penitence and whose sins had not been particularly grave, were to be restored; others, not. This was one of the hardest battles Cyprian had to fight; and in the course of it he was led to assert the divine right of bishops as successors of the apostles, appointed by God himself and acting in the name of Christ, and their supremacy over presbyters.

(*b*) *With regard to the administration of church finances, etc.* Novatus was one of the presbyters who opposed the election of Cyprian. In direct opposition to Cyprian's wish he soon appointed (or caused to be chosen) Felicissimus as deacon in his church. The opposition between Cyprian and Novatus and Felicissimus was long and fierce. Before Cyprian's return from exile, he sent two bishops and two presbyters to examine into the condition of the churches and to make a schedule of all the poor who were to be supported from the church funds, with notices of their ages, their conduct in persecution, etc. They were directed to give to the poor from the church funds what they needed for immediate support and to give to mechanics who had lost everything in persecution, money for purchasing tools, etc. Felicissimus, as deacon

and treasurer, refused to allow Cyprian to meddle with the finances of Novatus' church. This church now became the resort of many of the lapsed, and a schism was effected with Felicissimus at its head. A council was called by Cyprian, and Felicissimus and his party were condemned. Both parties appealed to Rome, and although the Roman church agreed with Felicissimus with regard to the treatment of the lapsed, it refused to recognize a party that was looked upon as schismatical. The party of Felicissimus never became strong.

(*c*) *With regard to the validity of heretical baptism.* After the rise and diffusion of schismatical bodies, persons frequently sought admission into the churches who had been baptized in these. The churches of Asia Minor maintained the invalidity of heretical baptism. This principle was rigidly adhered to by the Montanists, and had come from Tertullian to Cyprian. The opponents of Montanism soon began to oppose re-baptism.

In 255 Cyprian secured the convening of a council, which decided in favor of the stricter principle; although in 253, Stephen, bishop of Rome, had excommunicated the bishops of Asia Minor for holding to this view, stigmatizing them as "Anabaptists." It is wonderful how Cyprian's tone, in correspondence with the Roman bishop, varies according to circumstances. He now writes to Stephen, giving him the decision of the African council and the reasons for it, without once alluding to any authority of the Roman bishop to reverse the decision. The tone is somewhat bold and defiant.

(*d*) *With regard to the competency of the church to forgive the lapsed.* Cyprian's views on this subject are historically connected with the Novatian schism, discussed above. It is remarkable, that although Cyprian tended toward the Montanistic rigor he was prevented from supporting the Novatianists by two considerations: First, that the extreme position drove men to despair, and he was wise enough to see that it was impracticable; secondly, that the Novatianist party had broken the unity of the church by setting up a bishop in opposition to a duly consecrated, and hence divinely appointed, bishop. Cyprian could endure anything rather than see the unity of the church broken. The idea of the one Uni-

versal Church was gaining a strong hold upon men's minds in Cyprian's time, and any party that should break this unity was sure to be repudiated by the most influential Christians and churches, however holy the life or pure the doctrine of such party.

V. THE SCIENTIFIC PERIOD.

Alexandria at the beginning of the Christian era was the most cosmopolitan city in the world. Oriental and Occidental culture met and blended there as nowhere else. The Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy, as seen most fully developed in the writings of Philo, was one of the most noteworthy products of the eclecticism that there prevailed. Nowhere was a new religion or philosophy so sure of a hospitable hearing. Here Gnosticism and speculative Ebionism flourished. The first introduction of Christianity into the city is veiled in obscurity. Tradition points to Mark as the founder of the Alexandrian church. A distinct mode of theological thought, of which Pantænus, Clement, and Origen were the great exponents, was here developed. Shortly after the middle of the second century a catechetical school was established for the instruction of the children of believers and fresh converts from paganism in the fundamentals of Christian doctrine and morals. The first teacher of whom we have information was Pantænus, whom his more distinguished pupil praises, but whose writings have not survived. The instruction at first must have been very elementary in its nature. Under Clement, who succeeded Pantænus, the school grew in popularity, and the instruction became more scientific. Clement having fled from Alexandria during the persecution under Severus (202 or 203), Origen, a mere youth, became teacher. Under him, the school rose to its highest point (202–230), attracting large numbers of pagans and Gnostics, as well as Christians. Clement and Origen may be regarded as the first really scientific students of Christianity and the Christian Scriptures; the first, the Gnostic bodies excepted, who attempted to reduce Christianity to a consistent, harmonious system. Alexandria continued to be a chief center of Christian thought and influence until the seventh century.

1. *General Characteristics.*

(1) Earlier Christian writers like Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Tertullian, had discussed individual doctrines with special reference to attacks made upon them by heretics. But the idea seems never to have occurred to them to make a *systematic exposition of Christianity as a whole;* to apply comprehensive principles to the interpretation of Scripture; to compare systematically the different parts of Scripture among themselves. Such a study of Christianity was begun toward the close of the second century at Alexandria.

(2) Alexandria being the seat of speculative philosophy, whence most of the elements of Gnosticism had come, it might have been expected that Christianity, after it had become well established here, would assume a *speculative form.*

(3) The Alexandrian theologians with whom the scientific spirit had its birth, were *Platonists* (with a strong admixture of Pythagoreanism and Stoicism). Not that they had been simply brought up Platonists (as were Justin and Athenagoras, who yet, after they adopted Christianity, rejected Platonism as the work of demons); but they remained Platonists, and sought to explain Christianity according to the Platonic categories, in somewhat the same way in which Philo had, two centuries earlier, attempted to explain Judaism. In fact these Christian Platonists were greatly indebted to Philo.

(4) The chief difference between the theology under discussion and that of the Gnostics is, that the representatives of the former were *decided Christians,* adhered to the historical, and admitted the divine authority of the Old and New Testaments; whereas, the latter had little sympathy with the spirit of Christianity, and paid no regard to the historical.

(5) Heretofore, the *allegorical interpretation* had been applied to the Scriptures, whenever it suited a writer's purpose. Allegorizing was now reduced to a system.

(6) In the profound speculations of this school of thought, with regard to the origin of evil, the Godhead, the will of man, the consummation of all things, etc., lay the *germs of many later doctrinal developments.*

2. *Individual Writers.*

(1) *Clement of Alexandria.*

LITERATURE: The best edition of the works of Clement is that of Dindorf, though this is very defective; Eng. tr. in "Ante-Nicene Fathers"; Eusebius, "*Hist. Ecc.*," Bk. V., Chap. 11, Bk. VI., Chap. 11, 13; Photius, "*Bibliotheca*," 109–111; Bunsen has made a clever attempt to reconstruct the "*Hupotuposeis*," from fragments preserved by Theodotus and Photius, in his "*Analecta Antenic.*," Vol. I., p. 159, *seq.*; Bigg, "The Chr. Platonists of Alexandria"; Hatch, "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church," 1890; Kutter, "*Clem. Alex. und das N. T.*," 1897; Merk, "*Clem. Alex. in seiner Abhängigkeit von d. griech. Philosophie*," 1879; Lehmann, "*Die Katechetenschule zu Alexandrien*," 1896; sections on Clem. of Alex. in the works on the history of doctrine, by Loofs, Thomasius, Seeberg, Fisher, and Sheldon; Allen, "The Continuity of Christian Thought," p. 38, *seq.*; Harnack, "*Dogmengesch.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 501, *seq.*; Zahn, "*Forschungen*," *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 17–176; Neander, Vol. I., p. 691, *seq.*; Schaff, Vol. II., p. 781, *seq.*; Mœller, p. 207, *seq.*; Pressensé, "Martyrs and Apologists," p. 540, *seq.*; Bunsen, "Hippolytus," Vol. I., p. 239, *seq.* (highly appreciative and apologetic); Mansel, "Gnostic Her.," p. 261, *seq.*; Dorner, "Person of Christ," Div. I., Vol. I., p. 285, *seq.*; Reinkens, "*De Clem. Alex.*"; Kling, in "*Studien u. Kritiken*," 1841; Westcott, art. "Clem. of Alex." in Smith's "Dict. of Ch. Biog.," and Bonwetsch, in "Herzog" (third edition).

a. Sketch. Clement was born about 160, probably at Athens. Having pursued studies under various masters, of various nationalities and of various religious and philosophical views, he at last found rest under the influence of Pantænus, the head of the catechetical school in Alexandria, whom he regarded as the greatest of them all. He always speaks of Pantænus (not often by name) in terms of the very highest praise. Pantænus was, in his view, the "deepest Gnostic," *i. e.*, possessed the most perfect insight into the significance of Christianity.

Clement was already profoundly versed in Greek philosophy and literature and knew something of Christianity when he came under the influence of Pantænus. The philosophical Christianity of Pantænus satisfied his needs and he devoted himself with ardor to theological studies. He succeeded Pantænus as teacher about 190, and continued in this work until about 202, when he was driven from his post by perse-

cution. But he left behind him a pupil who soon took his place and gave still greater lustre to the school. He was probably the most accomplished Christian scholar before Origen. Greek, Gnostic, and Christian literature he had not only read, but mastered. His writings abound in apt quotations from the rich literature at his command. He was an elegant writer of Greek, and few early Christian writers are so attractive to the modern reader.

It was during his residence at Alexandria, and in connection with his duties as teacher, that he composed the writings on which his fame rests.

In Clement we see a man of a profoundly speculative mind, with a high appreciation for the true, the beautiful, and the good, wherever he might meet them, who attempted to form a harmonious system of Christianity in its relation to the universe. We find in his writings much that is noble and instructive, together with much that is fantastic and puerile.

It is in Clement that we see most clearly the influence of Greek philosophy upon Christian thought. His aims and aspirations were very similar to those of the great Gnostic leaders; but he had vastly more understanding for historical Christianity, and he rejected earnestly all the most dangerous of the Gnostic views. His work has been pronounced "epoch-making" (Harnack). He undertook the great task of preparing an introduction to or an initiation into that which is inmost and highest in Christianity.

b. Writings of Clement. The principal writings of Clement that have been preserved are: The "*Logos Protreptikos*," or "Address to the Greeks"; the "*Paidagogos*," or "Tutor"; the "*Stromateis*," or "Miscellanies"; and the "*Hupotuposeis*," or "Outlines of Scripture Interpretation."

The conception and the execution of this series of works has been declared by Overbeck to be "the boldest literary undertaking in the history of the church." He was the first to attempt "to represent Christianity in the forms of the profane world-literature for the Christian community itself." "The design of Clement is nothing less than an introduction to Christianity, or to speak more correctly and more in accordance with the spirit of the work, an initiation

into Christianity. For . . . the task that Clement sets for himself is the introduction (of his readers) into that which is inmost and highest in Christianity itself. He aims, so to speak, with a work of literature to transform Christians into perfect Christians, with such a work to repeat for the Christian what the life has already otherwise accomplished for him, but to raise him up to something still higher than the forms of initiation that the church has provided itself with have disclosed. To this end, . . he translates the ideal career of a Christian of that time into the form of a book and requires this Christian to repeat the wandering in order henceforth to lead him to the highest aims thereof."[1]

"The gospel in his view is not a fresh departure, but the meeting-point of two converging lines of progress, Hellenism and Judaism. To him all history is one because all truth is one. 'There is one river of Truth,' he says, 'but many streams fall into it on this side and on that.' Among Christian writers none till very recent times, not even Origen, has so clear and grand a conception of the development of spiritual life."[2]

Clement regarded star-worship as a divinely given stepping-stone to a purer religion.[3] He compared truth to the body of Pentheus, torn to pieces by fanatics, each of whom imagines his fragment the whole.[4]

(*a*) *The "Address to the Greeks"* is probably the earliest of Clement's writings, and may have been composed about 190. The aim of the address is to prove to those conversant with Greek philosophy the infinite superiority of Christianity, in its adaptability to all human needs, in its purity, spirituality, clearness, and substantiality. The address abounds in eloquent passages. See especially his description of the mission of the Word and the true destiny of man (Chap. 11).

(*b*) *The "Pedagogue."* The aim of the "Address" was to win heathen to the acceptance of the gospel; the design of the "Pedagogue" was to convey elementary instruction to the young and to those that had just accepted Christianity. It is, therefore, an eminently practical work.

Book I. contains a description of our Pedagogue, Christ, his character, his method of dealing with his children. The Pedagogue is practical, not theoretical; his aim is to improve the soul, not to teach; and to train up to a virtuous, not to an intellectual life. Clement's theory is, that those coming to Christ from paganism need first to be cured of their corrupt habits and thoughts before

[1] See Herzog-Hauck, third edition, *Bd.* IV., *Seit.* 156, *seq.*
[2] Bigg, "The Chr. Platonists of Alex.," p. 47, *seq.*
[3] "*Stromateis*," Bk. VI., Chap. 14. [4] *Ibid.*, Bk. I., Chap. 13.

special instruction in the doctrines of Christianity can profit them. The mercy and purity of Christ are emphasized and held up for imitation.

Books II. and III. consist of practical instructions as to eating, drinking, expensive vessels and furniture, behavior at feasts, laughter, filthy speaking, relations of the sexes, sleep, the procreation of children, clothes, ornaments, etc. The utmost simplicity and moderation in all things are insisted upon.

Book III. is exceedingly important for the light it throws upon the church life of the time, and the nature of the instruction required by the converts and given to them by Christian teachers.

(*c*) *The "Miscellanies."* This work consists of a conglomeration of extracts from pagan and Christian writers, interspersed with original comments and occasional prolonged discussions. The object of the whole is to awaken the interest and to exercise the ingenuity of the readers, and to show the infinite superiority of the Christian religion and philosophy to the pagan.

Book I. points out the office and origin of Greek philosophy in relation to Christianity and Judaism. It is claimed that the Greek philosophers borrowed directly from the Old Testament.

Book II. shows the superiority of biblical morality to that of heathen philosophy. Faith and repentance are discussed at length. Likeness to God is declared to be the ideal which Christians are to set before them.

Book III. contains a prolonged discussion of the doctrine of marriage; the licentious views of pagans and some Gnostics are stated and refuted. On the other hand, abstinence from marriage, on the ground of the evil nature of matter, is condemned. The standard biblical passages are thoroughly discussed in answer to erroneous interpretations of heretics.

Book IV. begins with a statement of Clement's plan for the defense of Christianity. He then describes the true "Gnostic" or Christian philosopher. Self-sacrifice that does not shrink from martyrdom, love, endurance, are among his traits. Although martyrdom is extolled, fanatical seeking for martyrdom is sharply reproved, and the views of certain Gnostics with regard to martyrdom are refuted. The perfect man does good neither for glory nor reputation, nor for reward either from men or God; but so as to pass life after the image and likeness of the Lord. He does good because he judges it right to do good.

Book V. discusses faith, hope, and enigmatic teaching. The mysteries of Pythagoreans, Egyptians, etc., are compared with those of the Bible; and the principle of symbolic teaching is vindicated. Here, also, he attempts to prove that the Greeks have borrowed from the Bible by citing numerous examples of supposed coincidence.

Book VI. continues the subject of plagiarism on the part of the

Greeks. He declares the Greeks to have some knowledge of God. He asserts that the gospel was preached in hades both by Christ and his apostles to those of the Hebrews and Greeks who were righteous according to the law and philosophy. Here, again, the Christian philosopher is described at great length. The delineation is continued through Book VII. This is the most important of the writings of Clement, and was designed for those who had already adopted Christianity, and had received the preliminary training prescribed in the "Pedagogue."

(*d*) *The "Outlines."* Only fragments of this are preserved. It consisted of a commentary on large parts of the Old and New Testaments, written partly in refutation of false interpretations by heretics.

(*e*) The small treatise entitled "*Who is the Rich Man that is Saved?*" is an eloquent appeal for the right use of wealth.

c. Theology of Clement. (*a*) *God the Father* is the "remoter Cause (*i. e.*, than the Son), the Father of all things, the oldest and most beneficent of all, yet not representable by voice, but in reverence and silence with holy astonishment is to be venerated and adored in the most lordly manner." We see here the well-known Alexandrian (Platonic) tendency to exalt the Supreme Being above all relations to the world.[1]

(*b*) *The Son* is called the timeless and unoriginated Principle of existence, from whence we are to learn the remoter Cause.[2]

Again, having declared the pious man to be the best thing on earth, and an angel the best thing in heaven, he adds: "But most perfect and most holy, and most lordly and most princely, and most royal and most beneficent is the nature of the Son, which is nearest to the only Omnipotent One. This is the greatest excellence, which orders all things according to the will of the Father, and steers everything in the best way, . . for the Son of God is never displaced from his watch-tower, not being divided, not being severed, not passing from place to place, being always everywhere and contained nowhere; wholly mind, wholly paternal light, wholly eye, seeing all things, knowing all things; by power examining the powers."[3]

[1] "*Stromateis*," Bk. VII., Chap. 1. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, Chap. 2.

This Being is further declared to be the same that Christians call Saviour and Lord. Inasmuch as the whole universe is under his government, he is Lord of the Greeks and barbarians. He it was who gave to the Greeks their philosophy. He cares continually for every human being.

The Son is declared to be the "power of God, as being the Father's most ancient Word, before the production of all things, and his Wisdom." He is declared "to have invested himself with flesh, and to have come for the salvation of men."[1]

Clement's representations of the Logos are various, some of them obscure; but we may safely say that he insisted upon the eternal existence of the Son as the Wisdom of God, and as God's instrument in the creation and the governing of the universe. We have here, in a less developed form, the "eternally begotten" Logos of Origen. This Logos, according to Clement, was of the very essence of the Father.

(*c*) *The Holy Spirit.* Clement has no clear statement on this subject, *i. e.*, no statement which enables us to see whether he distinguished the work of the Holy Spirit from the work of the Logos in Providence, in the human conscience, etc. He writes: "There is one Father of the universe; there is also one Word of the universe; and one Holy Spirit, who is everywhere."[2]

(*d*) *Anthropology.* Clement held most decidedly to the freedom of man's will; to the power of every man, through the incarnation and death of Christ, to overcome sensuality and to attain unto salvation.

He regarded man's original state as infantile and free. The account of the temptation he regarded as an allegory, meaning that man was overcome by sensuality. As a result of this, mankind has ever since had to contend against sensuality. Christ came to deliver man from the power of sin and death.[3]

Physical death he regarded as a natural necessity of the Divine economy following upon generation.[4] Regarding Christ's activity in human history as constant

[1] "*Stromateis*," Bk. VII., Chap. 2.
[2] See Bunsen's scheme of the complex representations of the Godhead by Clement, in "Hippolytus and his Age," Vol. I., p. 244.
[3] "*Protrept.*," Bk. XI.
[4] "*Stromateis*," Bk. III., Chap. 9.

from the beginning, Clement supposed that Christ came in the flesh to show men the sufficiency of their powers for obeying God's commandments, by himself living in the flesh a life free from sin, thus overcoming sin and destroying the power of death. This he did as an example for men.[1]

To the Gnostic dilemma: "Man was created either perfect or imperfect; if imperfect, how is the work of a perfect God—especially man—imperfect? If perfect, how does he transgress the commandments?" Clement replies, that man was not made "perfectly equipped, but fitted for attaining to virtue; for it is important certainly for virtue, to be fitted for the possession of it. But he wishes us of ourselves to be saved. . . All, indeed, are fitted by nature for the acquiring of virtue; but one more, another less, advances in discipline and training. Wherefore, also, some have attained even unto perfect virtue; others have arrived at some; but others, again, through negligence, even if they were otherwise well-disposed, have been turned into the opposite."[2]

d. Ideal of Christian Life. In his delineations of the Christian philosopher, we see Clement's ideal. It is that of a man who by self-discipline and study has overcome all of his evil propensities, so that he is superior to all selfish motives, even the expectation of heavenly reward. He has risen to a state of exalted contemplation, so that he understands the methods of God's providential dealing, and the meaning of God's written word. Clement's system was, therefore, aristocratical. His gradation was: Christ, angels, Christian philosophers, the great bulk of Christians who never attain to perfection. Though it was far from Clement's intention, his views very naturally ministered to sacerdotalism.

Thus we see that Clement of Alexandria and his contemporary, Tertullian of Carthage, were antipodes in theological thought. The one had sympathies as broad as humanity; the other confined the saving efficacy of Christ to a particular type of Christian life, regarding not only all pagans, but all Christians, who did not conform to his narrow system, as reprobated. The one looked upon humanity and human life as inherently noble, and as capable of being raised by proper discipline to a state of perfection; the other, in constant expectation of the end of the world, regarded the present life as of no account except as a time of preparation for a future life; and he regarded that preparation as involving a constant crucifixion

[1] "*Stromateis*," Bk. VII., Chap. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, Bk. VI., Chap. 12.

of the flesh. Clement believed in rational instruction as a means of attaining to exaltation of character; Tertullian enjoined an irrational asceticism.

Clement went to an extreme in his humanitarianism, and was the forerunner of Pelagianism. Tertullian went to the opposite extreme, and was the forerunner of Monasticism, with its utter repudiation of human nature.

(2) *Origen.*

LITERATURE: Various editions of the complete works of Origen, of which the most convenient is that of Lommatzsch, in twenty-five volumes, 8vo; Eusebius, "*Hist. Ecc.*," Bk. VI., Chap. 1–6; Gregorius Thaumaturgus, "*Oratio Panegyrica in Orig.*" and Pamphilus, "*Apol. Orig.*" (Eng. tr. in "Ante-Nicene Fathers"); Jerome, "*Opera*," *passim*; Neander, Vol. I., pp. 543–557, 568–571, 587–592, 621–631, 636–640, 693–722, and *passim* (Neander is particularly valuable here); Pressensé, "Martyrs and Apologists," *passim*; Schaff, Vol. II., p. 785, *seq.*; Mœller, p. 209, *seq.*; Bigg, "The Chr. Platonists of Alex.,"; Harnack, "*Dogmengesch.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 511, *seq.*; Dorner, "Person of Christ," Div. I., Vol. II., p. 104, *seq.*; Bunsen, "Hippolytus," Vol. I., p. 279, *seq.*; Thomasius, "*Origines*"; Redepenning, "*Origines*" (the best work on the life and teachings of Origen); Ritter, "*Gesch. der Chr. Philos.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 465, *seq.*; works of Neander, Baur, Hagenbach, Shedd, Loofs, Seeberg, Fisher, and Sheldon, on the history of doctrine; encyc. articles, esp. Westcott, in "Dict. of Chr. Biog."

a. Sketch. Origen was born *c.* 185, of Christian parents, and from his childhood was favored with excellent religious training. While yet a child he could repeat from memory large parts of the Scriptures, and he often perplexed his intelligent father by the subtlety of his questions. His father, Leonides, suffered martyrdom about 202, Origen exhorting him to steadfastness, and being restrained with the utmost difficulty from offering himself up for martyrdom. From childhood throughout life he practised a rigorous asceticism; he possessed but one coat, and no shoes; rarely ate flesh, never drank wine; devoted much of the night to study and prayer, and slept on the bare floor.

After the departure of Clement he was appointed catechist in his place (203). His knowledge of Scripture and other literature was already considerable; but now he resolved to master the systems of the leading heretical bodies in order that he might successfully combat them. The Neo-Platonic philosophy was just coming

into prominence under the leadership of Ammonius Saccas. Origen studied the system carefully under its great representative. His reputation was soon widespread. Heathen and Gnostics in large numbers attended his lectures, and many were converted. Ambrosius, a wealthy Gnostic, was converted, and spent a large sum of money in purchasing an extensive library for Origen, and in facilitating the publication of his works. Julia Mammæa, mother of Alexander Severus, invited him to Antioch to expound to her the Christian religion. An Arabian prince secured a visit from him with like intent.

With a view to attaining a better understanding of the Old Testament, he mastered the Hebrew language under the most discouraging circumstances. He traveled, from time to time, to Rome, to Arabia, to Palestine, and to Greece.

While in Palestine, in 228, he was ordained a presbyter by Alexander of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Cæsarea. This proceeding aroused the resentment of Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria. At two councils, called by Demetrius in 231 and 232, Origen was condemned for false doctrine, self-mutilation (committed in his youth in supposed obedience to the Saviour's injunction, Matt. 19 : 12, such mutilation, according to the most ancient ecclesiastical law, incapacitating one for ordination), and violation of church laws, and was deposed from his office. His study of philosophy and Gnosticism had not left him the simple believer it found him. With immensely more learning and logical consistency than Clement, Origen probably indulged in even wilder speculations than he.

He was the most learned man and one of the profoundest thinkers in the ancient church (Jerome was more learned in Hebrew), and probably exerted more influence on the doctrinal development of the church than any other man. He became involved in controversy during his lifetime, and after his death a series of controversies based upon his teachings set in that lasted for centuries.

The remainder of his life, after his departure from Alexandria, was spent chiefly in Palestine, where he died

about 254, partly as a result of imprisonment and torture during the Decian persecution.

b. Writings of Origen. Origen was one of the most voluminous of writers. Jerome says that he wrote more than other men can read. Epiphanius estimates the whole number of his writings at about six thousand. Many have perished; others are preserved only in fragments; most that we have are in indifferent Latin translations.

(*a*) *Critical, Exegetical, and Edificatory Works on the Bible.* Origen was the first to study the Bible scientifically and critically. Clement's exegetical performances, so far as we can judge from the extant fragments, were insignificant in comparison. There is no writer of the early church to whom biblical criticism is so much indebted. Jerome would have been impossible without Origen. These biblical works are of three kinds:

Works on the Text—the Hexapla and Tetrapla—(the former an Old Testament Polyglot, with Hebrew, Hebrew in Greek letters, LXX., and three other Greek versions in parallel columns—the design being the restoration of the LXX. to purity; the latter containing only the four Greek versions). Only fragments of these have been preserved, but they are of exceeding value.

Commentaries, extending over almost the entire Bible. These, though they contain much that is fantastic, are full of information and highly suggestive.

Homilies, or familiar expository discourses, on large portions of the Bible.

(*b*) *Apologetical.* One of the maturest of Origen's works, and the one that throws most light on the relation of Christianity to paganism in Origen's time, is the work, "*Contra Celsum.*" Celsus, a Platonist (or Epicurean), had written a most scurrilous work against Christianity, probably during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. This appears to have been still employed by the pagans as an armory against Christianity in the time of Origen. Origen's refutation of pagan charges against Christianity is the ablest work of the kind that the early church produced.

(*c*) *Dogmatical.* Here the chief work is the "*De Principiis.*" This is the first attempt at a systematic exhibition

of Christian doctrine. It was written some time before Origen's departure from Alexandria, and contains more of crude speculation than any other of his works. We possess this work only in the professedly unfaithful translation of Rufinus (Rufinus having omitted many of the more offensive expressions). It was published without his permission through the zeal of his patron Ambrosius. Here we find the fundamental Christian doctrines concerning God, the Father, Son, and Spirit, Free-will, Immortality, Eternity, Eternal Life, etc., speculatively discussed.

(*d*) *Practical Works.* Of these, the most important that have been preserved are, the treatise on Prayer, and that on Martyrdom. These show a man of great piety and Christian zeal. The work on Martyrdom was addressed to his friend Ambrosius in time of persecution, and is somewhat extravagant in its exaltation of martyrdom.

c. Theology of Origen. Origin distinguished carefully between those points of doctrine on which the Scriptures contain explicit statements, and those questions which, though not answered by Scripture, yet obtrude themselves upon the Christian thinker's mind. The latter class of questions must be answered, as far as possible, in conformity with the Scriptures; but still much ground is left for speculation. He believed strongly in allowing to every man the utmost freedom in considering such matters.

In his great dogmatic work, "*De Principiis,*" accordingly, he sets out with a concise statement of the rule of faith of the universal church. There is nothing especially remarkable about this rule of faith; but having laid down this as a basis, he proceeds to the consideration of other questions not clearly answered by Scripture and ecclesiastical tradition.

(*a*) *Concerning God.* Origen first refutes materialistic views based upon expressions like: "Our God is a consuming fire," etc.; and proves that God is a Spirit, chiefly from New Testament passages. God is not only a Spirit, but is incomprehensible and inestimable.[1] His

[1] "*De Principiis,*" Bk. I., Chap. I.

idea of God, therefore, is that of pure, absolute Being (Platonic, seen also in Justin and Clement). He is knowable only through his works, and especially through his Son. As God was from eternity Father and Lord, the generation of the Son and the creation of the world are eternal processes. Origen could not think of the Absolute Being as having ever been idle.

(*b*) *The Son.* It was Origen's doctrine of the Son, more than any other of his doctrines, that played so important a part in later doctrinal development. Origen held that the Son was "begotten by the Father," yet that "there never was when he was not." The begetting then is an eternal effect of the Father, yet is not to be regarded as a projection or emanation from the being or substance of the Father, in a way that would involve diminution or division thereof. The Father is the originating cause of the Son, the Son of all other creatures. The begetting of the Son is an act of God's will, and in so far the Son is a creature. On the other hand, he is uncreated, God of God, of the Divine nature and essence. The Son differs from creatures in having his being immediately from the primal source, and in that his divine nature is essential, independent, and inalienable. The Son, or the Logos, contains in himself all ideas which are realized in the world (Platonic). He constitutes the rational element in all intelligent creatures. The activity of the Logos in the guidance and instruction of the human race is coeval with the race. He gave the law, inspired the prophets, and enlightened the heathen, so far as they have any religious or moral knowledge. The work of the Logos is to lead all intelligent creatures, step by step, upward to the contemplation of God. From the human he leads up to the angelic; from the angelic to the archangelic. To men he appears as man; to angels as an angel.

(*c*) *The Holy Spirit* Origen regarded as the first and most exalted of all beings produced by the Father through the Son. His activity differs from that of the Logos, in that the latter extends to all creatures, whereas the former appears only in connection with the dispensation of God's grace.

(*d*) *Anthropology.* Origen held that in the original

world there were only spiritual existences. Many of these spirits, having been created pure, apostatized from God. The material world was created out of nothing, to be the abode of fallen spirits, the object being at the same time penal and reformatory. The account of Adam's fall in Genesis Origen regarded as an allegorical representation of the fate of the whole class of fallen, embodied spirits. Origen held to the Platonic trichotomy of human nature: the material body, dead in itself; the soul, or vital principle, which man has in common with beasts; the spirit, which he has as participating in the being of the Logos.

By his apostasy, man's reason is darkened; he is deprived of the true spiritual life; he is under the influence of Satan; yet his will is free to choose good or evil.

The redemption wrought by Christ consisted in his uniting in himself the human and the divine; in his example, his teachings, his miracles, his death—which redeemed man from the power of Satan.

Origen thus believed in the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. Christ is a sacrifice, not merely for all men, but for fallen angels. The merit of Christ must be appropriated by each individual through faith. By believing in Christ we become like him in character. Origen distinguished gradations in Christian life: mere faith, knowledge, wisdom.

The power to will and to do comes from God; choice of good rests with man; after choice for good, all needful assistance in the perfecting of Christian character is furnished by the Holy Spirit.

(*e*) *Baptism.* Believing, as he did, that children are born into the world polluted by sin, hence that little children need remission of sins, and believing as he did in the efficacy and necessity of baptism for the remission of sins, Origen spoke approvingly of the baptism of little children as a well-established custom of the churches.

(*f*) *Eschatological Views.* Origen did not believe in a resurrection of the material body; the resurrection body, he thought, would have the same *form*, but not the same substance as the present. It would not be a body of flesh and blood, but a spiritual body.

Origen had a firm belief in the final restoration of har-

mony in the spiritual world. The end is to be as was the beginning. Even the damned and devils, he supposed, would, after having undergone sufficient disciplinary punishment, be brought into voluntary subjection to Christ.

d. Method of Scripture Interpretation. Origen was the first to reduce the allegorical method of interpretation to a system. The allegorical interpretation of Scripture had been extensively employed by the great Jewish-Alexandrian thinkers, Aristobulus and Philo. It had been taken up by the Gnostics, and was practised by most of the Christian writers of the early time. The aim of the allegorical interpretation was to harmonize the Scriptures, which were regarded as divinely inspired, with the Platonic modes of thought, which had become, as it were, part and parcel of the being of such Christians as Origen. Had Origen been shut up to a literal interpretation of the Old Testament, he would, probably, like the Gnostics, have rejected the Old Testament and the God of the Old Testament.

He held, therefore, in accordance with the Platonic trichotomy, that every passage of Scripture has three senses, the literal, the moral, and the spiritual.

To the *literal* (earthly, sensual, carnal, Jewish) sense, he attached little importance, save as a basis for the higher senses; but his chief merit as an exegete consists in the fact that he did industriously seek to ascertain this literal sense. The literal sense is not always true.

But there underlies every passage a deeper sense (celestial, intelligible, symbolical, mystical, secret), which is distinguished into the *moral* and the *spiritual* sense.

The *moral* sense is that which relates to matters connected with religious life.

The *spiritual* sense is that which relates to the heavenly life, the world to come.

e. Influence of Origen on the Later Church. (*a*) His method of Scripture interpretation was soon adopted throughout the church (except the Antiochian school, which went to the opposite extreme of adhering rigidly to the literal meaning), and prevailed throughout the Middle Ages. In this particular Origen's influence was bad, and only bad. Yet his views on the literal meaning have always been of great utility.

(*b*) The effect of his bold, wild speculations was two-

fold: (1) Many were led astray by his example, while (2) others were frightened by his boldness into a denial of the right of freedom of thought.

We cannot say that the great doctrinal controversies of the fourth and following centuries would not have taken place except for the speculations of Origen; but as a matter of fact they almost all centered around the points on which he had speculated most boldly. If the formulating of Christian doctrine which took place in the Nicene and following ages was a beneficent consummation, then Origen's merit in this direction was very great. If those fierce theological controversies were evil and hurtful to the progress of the kingdom of Christ, then Origen's responsibility was great.

"Origen may well be placed side by side with Augustine as one of the two most important and most influential theologians of the ancient church. He is the father of ecclesiastical science in the broadest sense of the word, and at the same time the founder of that theology which in the fourth and fifth centuries reached its full development and which in the sixth century definitely denied its originator, yet without losing the impress that he had given it. Origen created ecclesiastical dogmatics, and he laid the foundation for the science of the sources of the Jewish and Christian religion. He proclaimed the reconciliation of science with the Christian faith, of the highest culture with the gospel."—*Harnack.*

(3) *Gregory Thaumaturgus.*

LITERATURE: Text in "Migne," Vol. X., p. 983, *seq.* (Eng. tr. in "Ante-Nic. Lib.," Am. ed., Vol. VI., p. 7, *seq.*); Ryssel, "*Greg. Thaumaturgus, sein Leben u. s. Schriften*," 1881; articles in "Dict. of Chr. Biog.," Herzog-Hauck, and Schaff-Herzog.

Gregory Thaumaturgus, one of the most distinguished of Origen's disciples, was born at Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus (*c.* 210). Having been led to take an interest in Christianity he availed himself of an opportunity to visit Cæsarea (Palestine), where Origen was laboring. He was by this great teacher led into the light, and for eight years sat at his feet. Returning to Neo-Cæsarea (*c.* 240), he found only seventeen Christians in the whole neighborhood. By his zealous labors, continued through thirty years, he so transformed this pagan region as to merit the title "Thaumaturgus" (wonder-worker).

His most important extant writing is his "Panegyric" on Origen. It is not only one of the most eloquent discourses in all the literature of the age, but it gives us a

view of the character of Origen and his methods of teaching and of bringing his influence to bear upon young men, that we should not otherwise have possessed.

Besides the "Panegyric," we have from Gregory a "Declaration of Faith," in which the relations of the persons of the Godhead are set forth in Origenistic fashion; a "Metaphrase of the Book of Ecclesiastes," which consists chiefly of moral reflections and does not, as might have been expected of a disciple of Origen, contain an elaborate allegorical interpretation of the book; and a "Canonical Epistle," giving directions for the penance and the discipline of those who when taken captive by heathen had eaten things sacrificed to idols.

Like many of his contemporaries Gregory shrank from the responsibilities of the episcopal office. He was ordained in his absence by a neighboring bishop, whose determination to thrust this dignity upon him he was aware of and whom he was studiously avoiding. Early tradition ascribed actual miracle-working to Gregory.

(*4*) *Dionysius of Alexandria.*

LITERATURE: Text in "Migne," Vol. X., p. 1237, *seq.* (Eng. tr. "Ante-Nic. Lib.," Am. ed., Vol. VI., p. 81, *seq.*); works of Harnack, Seeberg, Loofs, Thomasius, Baur, and Fisher, on the history of doctrine; Dorner, "Person of Christ"; articles in "Dict. of Chr. Biog.," Herzog-Hauck, third ed., and Schaff-Herzog.

Dionysius of Alexandria (*c.* 200–265) was another distinguished pupil of Origen, and after a considerable interval (during which Heraclas conducted the work), succeeded him as head of the catechetical school of Alexandria (*c.* 232). The reputation of the school was well sustained by this great teacher, who after fifteen years of service exchanged this position for the bishopric of Alexandria (*c.* 246), succeeding Heraclas in this position also. The fragments of his works that have been preserved are chiefly polemical and exegetical. He wrote against Sabellianism, and he set forth in an epistle to Dionysius, bishop of the Roman church, his views on the Trinity. He insisted on the absolute eternity of the Son, regarding the generative process as an eternal one. Yet he held that "the Son has existence not from him-

self, but from the Father." This involves the subordination of the Son, which Dionysius did not know how to avoid. Controversies that were to occupy much of the energy of the Christian churches for the following centuries were already disturbing the minds of thinking men and the harmony of the churches.

(5) *The Ecclesiastical Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles.*

LITERATURE: Schaff, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," p. 127, *seq.*, and 237, *seq.* (Schaff gives full information regarding the literature and the Greek text with an English translation); Harnack, "*Texte u. Untersuch.*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 225, *seq.*; Shaw, art. "Apost. Const.," in "Dict. of Chr. Antiq."; and Achelis, art. "*Apostol Kirchenordnung*," in Herzog-Hauck, third ed. In his "Hyppolytus and His Age," Vol. II., Bunsen has attempted by a critical process to restore from the Greek, Coptic, and Ethiopic texts the "Church- and House-Book of the Ancient Christians," in an English translation. It is highly probable that most of the material thus selected is Ante-Nicene.

The "Ecclesiastical Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles" seems to have formed a connecting link between the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" and the "Apostolic Constitutions," which did not reach their present form until the latter part of the fourth or the early part of the fifth century. That it was widely used is evident from the fact that it has been preserved in Greek, Ethiopic, Coptic (Memphitic and Thebaic), and Syriac.

The document known as the "Two Ways," which we have met in Barnabas and in the "Teaching," is here distributed among the twelve apostles, who are supposed to have come together to frame a body of moral instructions and who each in turn gives utterance to his thoughts. Martha and Mary also appear as speakers. The precepts as given in the "Teaching," are considerably expanded, much new material being introduced. The first thirteen canons are parallel with the "Two Ways."

The remaining seventeen canons give directions as to the qualifications, the manner of choosing and setting apart, and the duties of the various classes of church officers. A somewhat primitive ecclesiastical condition is still presupposed. If as many as twelve believing

men are in a given locality, they are to write to the churches round about requesting each to send three chosen men to examine him whom they have chosen for a bishop, and if he is found worthy, to set him apart for his work. The bishop thus appointed shall examine and ordain two or three presbyters to assist in the administration of the ordinances and discipline. Provision is made for the appointment of readers, widows, deacons, and deaconesses.

The Coptic Constitutions give detailed directions respecting the selection, training, baptizing, and admission to communion, of catechumens. The utmost care is prescribed in the reception of candidates for catechetical training, those engaged in disreputable pursuits being rigorously excluded. Three years is given as the normal period of training in doctrine and in life, and admission to baptism at the end of the period is conditioned on a favorable report of the catechist as regards the candidate's good behavior, his zeal in Christian service, and his progress in Christian knowledge. Baptism is preceded by exorcism, and anointing with the oil of exorcism. The candidate goes unclothed into the water, makes an oral profession of his faith, is immersed three times, makes another fuller confession, then having gone up out of the water is anointed by the presbyter with the oil of thanksgiving, clothed, and allowed to enter the church. The bishop then lays his hands upon the head of the newly baptized, invokes the gift of the Holy Spirit, and again anoints his head. The Lord's Supper is next administered to the new members, and they are given, besides the bread and the wine, "milk and honey mixed," as symbolizing the fact that they have entered into a state of blessedness among the saints.

CHAPTER IV

CONDITION OF CHRISTIANITY AT CLOSE OF THE PERIOD

I. EXTERNAL CONDITION.

1. *Extent.* Christianity had by this time permeated the entire Roman Empire, having gained adherents even among conquered tribes. From Britain to India the name of Christ was honored. All the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea abounded in Christians. We are not to infer from the fact that Constantine thought it good policy to make Christianity the favored religion, that Christians were already in a majority. Even in the large cities they still constituted but a small minority, and many rural districts were still in pagan darkness. But Christianity was organized, confident, and aggressive, and to it the future evidently belonged. Paganism, on the other hand, was without organization, without hope, without aggressiveness.

2. *Social Position.* Christianity had gained a high social position in the empire. Before the Diocletian persecution Christians held many high civil offices.

3. *Wealth.* Christians by this time probably had their full share of worldly goods; the churches had, in many instances, acquired great wealth; and this individual and corporate wealth tended at the same time to give them respectability in the eyes of the world, and to facilitate the making of converts.

4. *Culture.* Christianity had now on its side culture superior to that of the pagans. There was no pagan philosopher or poet of the third century who bore comparison with the best Christian writers. Apart from the great teachers and writers, whose works we have examined, there must have been a very large number of educated Christians in each important community. The development of a rich literature presupposes a public to whose needs it is adapted.

5. *Opponents.* Yet Christianity still had many deadly

enemies: philosophers, especially the Neo-Platonists, who attempted to make of their philosophy a rival religion; priests and magicians, whose worldly interests were endangered by the growing power of Christianity; the Manichæans, etc. The widely diffused Mithras worship does not appear to have been so distinctly hostile to Christianity as Neo-Platonism and Manichæism; and many converts were doubtless drawn from this quarter.

II. INTERNAL CONDITION.

1. *Corrupting Ideas.* That Christianity did not win for itself popular and imperial recognition without undergoing momentous internal changes is admitted by all. In life, doctrine, church order, and worship, the churches of 313 were very different from the churches of 100. Those who regard the apostolic churches as a standard must look upon these changes as perversions. The following corrupting ideas, derived almost wholly from paganism, may be distinguished:

(1) *Meritoriousness of External Works.* This led to, *a.* Asceticism and fanatical seeking for martyrdom. *b.* Perversion of Christian charity into indiscriminate almsgiving, with the idea that almsgiving secured the remission of sins. *c.* Perversion of the ordinances into magical mysteries whereby spiritual benefits are obtained.

(2) *Fetichism,* the idea of the sanctity and the spiritual potency of water, the element of baptism, of holy places, of the bones and other relics of saints and martyrs, of the cross and the sign of the cross, of the sepulchre of Christ, etc.

(3) *Sacerdotalism,* common to all pagan religions, and closely connected with (1): *a.* The ordinances possessing magical efficacy must be administered by a properly qualified priest. *b.* The priest, by reason of his ceremonial consecration, a mediator between God and man, the channel through which alone the ordinary believer can secure spiritual benefits. *c.* The following of priestly directions more important than morality.

(4) *Ritualism,* an invariable accompaniment of (1) and (3). Pompous ceremonial satisfies the desire to propitiate Deity by external performances and is at the

same time the ready device of priestcraft for securing and maintaining the reverence of the people.

(5) *The Allegorical Interpretation of Scripture*, by virtue of which Scripture could be used in support of any doctrine or practice whatsoever. Nothing so completely destroys the authority of Scripture as a standard of faith and practice as this method of interpretation, which had long been in vogue among pagans and Alexandrian Jews.

These corrupting ideas had not at the close of this period fully accomplished their work; but their growing influence can already be clearly seen.

2. *Changes in the Ministry*. At the beginning of the period we had only two classes of church officers: presbyters or bishops and deacons. Now we find not only a clear distinction established between presbyters and bishops, but also the addition of a number of subordinate officers, viz, sub-deacons, readers, acolytes, janitors, and exorcists. The multiplication of officers originated in large churches, such as those of Rome, Alexandria, and Carthage. The number of deacons was usually limited to seven, in accordance with the number of brethren appointed to administer the charities under the direction of the apostles (Acts 6), and these required assistance in the performance of their functions.

The hierarchical spirit was active. The same tendencies and circumstances that raised the *bishops* above the presbyters, raised presbyters, as being entrusted with the ordinances, far above deacons and laymen. *Presbyters* continued to be the advisers of the bishops, and from their number bishops were usually chosen.

Deacons, as being limited in number and as holding an office instituted by the apostles, were, in accordance with the same hierarchical tendency, elevated in rank above laymen. Their duties consisted chiefly in the collection and administration of the finances of the churches under the direction of the bishops, and in assisting the bishops in the exercise of discipline. They attended also to the preservation of order during religious services, and assisted in the celebration of the Lord's Supper and in the administration of baptism; but they were not permitted to administer either ordinance alone.

Deaconesses, apparently recognized in the New Tes-

tament, reappear in the churches of this period. Their functions were prayer, and ministering to the religious and the temporary needs of women. They were rigorously excluded from service "at the altar."

The *sub-deacons* were not ordained with the imposition of hands, and their duties were chiefly to relieve the deacons of their humbler duties. They also usually acted as carriers of ecclesiastical correspondence.

The office of the *acolyte* was to light the candles in the church, to provide wine in the pitcher for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, etc. Such were the liturgical services of the acolytes, but doubtless they attended to many minor matters in the administration of the diocese.

The duties of the *readers* was to read the Scriptures from the reading desk. Very few Christians had copies of the Scriptures, and the great mass of the people were dependent upon hearing them read at church.

Exorcists were those supposed to be especially gifted with the power of casting out demons. These do not seem to have been a distinct class of officers especially ordained for this purpose; but the power might belong to one occupying any ecclesiastical position, or even to an unofficial member.

The reason for the multiplication of ecclesiastical offices was the necessity of having responsible functionaries, and the sacerdotal feeling which would allow laymen to perform no ecclesiastical functions.

The hierarchical development at which Cyprian aimed, and which he in a measure effected, represents the highest attainment in this direction during the period under consideration. In the cities the position of bishops was one of much dignity and responsibility. They had almost exclusive control of the church funds, including the responsible administration of the charities. They had the supervision of a large number of congregations, and of the presbyters and deacons who ministered therein. Their authority was as yet only a moral authority, but in many cases it was very considerable. Country bishops were mere pastors of local churches until long after the close of this period.

3. *Synods or Councils.* As early as the middle of the second century we have evidence of the meeting together of the clergy of different communities to consider questions affecting the interests of the churches. The earliest meetings of this sort on record are those in Asia

Minor, to take measures against Montanism, and those in the East and the West to discuss the Easter question (latter part of second century).[1] As diocesan episcopacy became developed the clergy of the diocese were called together annually, or oftener in case of emergency. Before the close of this period provincial synods, in which many bishops, presbyters, and deacons participated, were becoming common. Such bodies discussed and legislated upon questions of doctrine and discipline; yet their decisions had only a moral authority, and the individual communities were free to accept them or not. "Within the limits of his own community," writes Hatch,[2] "a bishop has no superior but God." Cyprian, who did so much for the development of episcopal prerogative, and who laid great stress on ecclesiastical unity, refused to be bound by the decisions of councils of bishops. It was not until the next period, when councils were called under the imperial authority and when their decisions received the importance of imperial ordinances, that these latter became obligatory upon the churches.

4. *Places of Worship and Sepulture.* Until the latter part of the second century the position of Christians was not secure enough to allow of the erection of church buildings. Meetings were still held secretly in private houses. During the third century many "Lord's houses" or "churches" were erected, and considerable attention was given, in the wealthier communities, to architecture and to internal decoration.

The catacombs were underground burial places, some of which may have originated in the apostolic age. During the second and third centuries such cities of the dead were constructed at Rome, Naples, Milan, Alexandria, and elsewhere. Those of Rome and Naples are of great extent and special interest. The idea that they were largely used for purposes of worship has been abandoned, owing to lack of evidence of the existence of chambers large enough to accommodate any considerable gathering. Burial services were no doubt conducted with much solemnity, and Christians frequently visited

[1] Eusebius, "Ch. Hist.," Bk. V., Chap. 16 and 24.
[2] "The Organization of the Early Christian Churches," p. 171.

the tombs of relatives and of venerated martyrs and other saints for devotional exercises. In times of severe persecution (which were infrequent) Christians no doubt hid themselves temporarily in these subterranean galleries. Archæologists are still undecided as regards the dates of many of the mural paintings and the inscriptions. Very few belong indisputably to this period. Most of the decoration seems to belong to the latter part of the fourth century, when the use of the catacombs for sepulture had almost ceased. As the tombs of saints and martyrs they were venerated and filled with religious paintings and inscriptions.[1]

5. *Ritualistic Development.* The externalizing tendency that we have so frequently observed in our study of this period was soon to express itself in the public worship of the churches. Under various influences: that of paganism, with its mysterious rites, especially those of the widely prevalent Mithras worship; that of Gnosticism, which itself imitated the Orphic, Eleusinian, and Pythagorean mysteries; that of being long obliged to worship secretly; and the growth of sacerdotalism, with which ritualism always goes hand in hand, Christianity, by the close of this period, had ceased to worship and perform its ordinances in the free and simple way represented in the New Testament and in the "Apology" of Justin Martyr.

From the middle of the second century onward the Lord's Prayer seems to have been generally employed in the churches in a liturgical way. Gradually other forms were added, and by the close of this period somewhat elaborate forms of prayer and praise, with full directions for the solemn administration of the ordinances, had been introduced.

There was at first no effort made at uniformity of ritual. Each great church, in general, formed a ritual of its own, and this was usually adopted by the churches under its influence. Hence the number and the variety of early liturgies.

6. *Christian Education.* In the apostolic age, when most of the converts were Jews or had been under the

[1] See the well-known works of Rossi, Kraus, Northcote and Brownlow, and Parker, on the Catacombs, and articles in the encyclopedias.

influence of Judaism, and hence were familiar with the Old Testament teaching, baptism was usually administered immediately after the profession of faith in Christ. When most of those who applied for admission into the churches were pagans, and had but inadequate ideas of the true God and of the Christian religion and morality, it was natural and right that they should be instructed in the fundamental truths of Christianity before baptism and full reception into the churches. During the second century the work of teaching such applicants for membership was, in the larger churches, entrusted to a catechist. In the Alexandrian school the catechumens were divided into classes according to their advancement. The period of catechising frequently extended over three years, but was in many instances much shorter. The catechumen was first instructed in simple moral principles; afterward he was admitted to hear the gospel, but was dismissed before the prayer, and especially prevented from witnessing the celebration of the ordinances. Baptism was finally administered with considerable pomp and ceremony, and the catechumen was thereby received into full fellowship.

Reference has been made in an earlier chapter to the catechetical school of Alexandria, founded by Pantænus and made illustrious by Clement, Origen, Heraclas, and Dionysius. Antioch did not so early become a seat of Christian learning, but from *c.* 270 onward, under Lucian, it came into rivalry with Alexandria as a center of theological thought and influence. In the great christological controversies of the fourth and following centuries Alexandria and Antioch were always antagonists, Alexandria representing a mystical transcendentalism and promoting the allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures; Antioch insisting on the grammatico-historical interpretation of the Scriptures, and having no sympathy with mystical modes of thought.

7. *Christian Life.* We can probably get a better view of the state of Christian life at the beginning of the fourth century, by an examination of the so-called "Canons of the Holy Apostles," which may have taken their present form toward the close of this period, and of the decrees of the Councils of Elvira (306), of Arles, Ancyra, and Neo-Cæsarea (314), than in any other way. These documents show:

(1) A great amount of worldliness among the clergy.

Provisions constantly occur against their engaging in secular pursuits; against their frequenting taverns and playing at dice; against usury; against their removing from place to place without sufficient reason; against their receiving their offices through secular influence, etc.

(2) It appears that many had come into the churches who were still essentially pagans. Provisions against pagan practices are common.

(3) The most prevalent and crying sin of the age seems to have been licentiousness. It must have been common among all classes of Christians, including bishops, presbyters, deacons, and nuns. A large proportion of the decrees of the councils of this period are directed against some form of sexual sin.

(4) While celibacy of the clergy was not insisted upon, a strong effort was being made to prevent those that came into the clergy unmarried, from marrying. This feeling was promoted: *a*. By the Gnostic or Manichæan idea of the inherent evil of the sexual relations. *b*. By the fact that the priesthood was coming to be looked upon as a distinct class, and that such familiar intercourse with ordinary mortals as the family involves was felt to be incompatible with priestly dignity. *c*. The fact that the clergy had complete control of the church finances made it seem undesirable for them to have dependent families.

(5) Christianity had already received far more pagan material than it could assimilate, and had become corrupted thereby, before the Diocletian persecution. When the churches had become predominatingly pagan; when pagans of wealth and influence entered the churches in large numbers, especially when they became bishops, as was often the case, it was perfectly natural that the churches should be made to conform to a great extent to pagan temples; should be filled with images; should introduce saint-worship in the place of polytheism, etc.

(6) Yet we must beware of supposing that Christianity as a whole was thus corrupt. That there were many who abhorred the prevalent laxity of morals and who earnestly strove for reformation, is evident from the very existence of the documents on which we are dependent for our knowledge of the facts mentioned. Moreover,

the prevalence of laxity was the cause of much of the extreme asceticism that appeared in the church from the time of Tertullian onward.

8. *Multiplication of Ecclesiastical Festivals.* At the beginning, the Lord's Day and the Jewish Sabbath were, so far as we know, the only days to which Christians attached any particular sanctity.

(1) *Easter* may, in some sense, have been observed in the apostolic age, *i. e.*, the Jewish Passover continued for some to be observed by Jewish Christians, the chief thought in their minds being probably the death and resurrection of Christ. Gradually this came to be the only thought. We have seen how from the time of Polycarp, controversy raged with regard to the exact time of its celebration.

The fact that vernal festivals were general among pagan peoples no doubt had much to do with the form assumed by the Easter festival in the Christian churches. The English term "Easter" is of pagan origin.

(2) So also the feast of *Pentecost* was connected with the Jewish feast, the Jewish element soon dropping out of consideration, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit coming to be exclusively thought of.

(3) The feast of *Epiphany* probably originated in the second century, and was designed as a commemoration of the baptism of Christ, when he was manifested to the world as the Son of God. It was celebrated on January 6. At a very early date the idea of the nativity was added to that of baptism, both being commemorated on this day. It was not until about the middle of the fourth century that the birthday and the baptismal day were separated, the former being placed on December 25, the date of the Roman *Brumalia* at the close of the *Saturnalia* (December 17–24), and of the Scandinavian *Yule*. This date follows immediately the winter solstice, and there was thought to be a peculiar appropriateness in identifying the birthday of the Sun of Righteousness with that of the physical sun.[1]

(4) In connection with these festivals, long periods of

[1] *Cf.* Conybeare "The History of Christmas," in the "American Journal of Theology," for January, 1899.

fasting were observed by Montanists and other ascetical Christians.

(5) Martyrs have already come to be venerated, but there is no evidence that their festivals were definitely established before the fourth century.

9. *The Rule of Faith.* We have observed, in our study of the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen, that in opposition to heresy there grew up in the churches a clear, concise confession of faith, which tended more and more to become stereotyped into a creed. At a later period the process was completed by attributing the fully developed creed to the apostles. This brief statement was early used as a baptismal confession. (See the "rule of faith," in its gradual growth from the apostolic age to the fourth century, in Schaff, "Creeds of Christendom," Vol. II., pp. 11–55.)

10. *The New Testament Canon.* Until after the middle of the second century there was no such thing as a definite New Testament canon. The Old Testament books, chiefly in the Septuagint version and without the exclusion of the Apocrypha, were chiefly appealed to as authoritative. The New Testament books were freely used for substance of doctrine, but rarely quoted with precision. Evidence of the use of all the New Testament books by *c.* 150 has been preserved. Marcion, the Gnostic (*c.* 140), seems to have been the first to form a definite New Testament canon; but this was a distinctly subjective and partisan selection, consisting of one Gospel only (a modification of Luke) and ten Pauline Epistles (including the Epistle to the Laodiceans). Tatian, another Gnostic, constructed a combination Gospel (Diatessaron), probably in the interests of his peculiar views, though it may have been prepared before his separation from the orthodox communion. The Muratorian Fragment (after 150), a document of unknown authorship, gives a list of fully received New Testament writings from which Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, and 3 John are definitely excluded, doubt being expressed about 2 John and Jude. Irenæus (*c.* 175) quotes all of the New Testament books except Philemon, 2 Peter, and Jude, but seems to regard the "Shepherd" of Hermas as also inspired. Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 200) uses

all the canonical New Testament writings, but seems to put the Epistle of Barnabas on a level with these. Origen (*c.* 255) includes in his list all our canonical books except James and Jude, and along with these Hermas, Barnabas, and 1 Clement. The Peshito Syriac version (*c.* 300) omits 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation. It was not till after the close of this period that perfect definiteness was reached; for in Eusebius' time (*c.* 325) the canonical authority of James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Revelation, while upheld by many, was disputed by some.

In conflict with heresy the Christian leaders were led to emphasize more and more the importance of apostolic teaching as the basis of doctrine and the common bond that unified all true Christian churches. As the authoritative exponents of apostolic teaching, the apostolic writings grew in importance. As a consciousness of church unity and a realization of the necessity of uniformity in doctrine and practice grew, the importance of agreement with reference to the body of apostolic writings that should be held as authoritative came to be profoundly felt. Such writings as had been held in suspicion on account of supposed peculiarities of teaching were gradually received into favor, and attention was given to harmonizing seeming discrepancies.

Thus we see that the formation of the New Testament canon was the work of centuries. From the human point of view we may say that the selection of books that should form the canon was a product of Christian consciousness; from the divine point of view we may say that this process was presided over and directed by the Holy Spirit.[1]

[1] See the great works of Westcott and Zahn on the New Testament canon.

PERIOD III

FROM THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE TO THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE (312–800)

CHAPTER I

CHURCH AND STATE

LITERATURE: Eutropius, "*Breviarium Hist. Rom.*," Bk. IX., X.; Lactantius, "*De Mort. Persecutorum*"; Eusebius, "*H. E.*," Bk. IX., X., and "*De Vita Constantini*" (Eusebius was a thorough courtier, and his praises of Constantine are to be taken with much allowance); Laws of Constantine in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian, also arranged in Migne's "Patrology" under the title, "*Opera Constantini*"; Socrates, "*H. E.*," Bk. I.; Sozomen, "*H. E.*," Bk. I., II. (Several of these works are available in English in the "Ante-Nicene" and the "Nicene and Post-Nicene Libraries" of the Fathers); Neander, Vol. II., pp. 1–32, and *passim*; Schaff, Vol. II., pp. 1–37; Stanley, "Eastern Church," *passim*; Neale, "The Holy Eastern Church," *passim*; Newman, "Arians of the Fourth Century"; Milman, "Latin Christianity," Vol. I., pp. 93, *seq.*; Gibbon, "Dec. and Fall," Chap. 15–17; Greenwood, "*Cathedra Petri*," Bk. I., Chap. 7, 8; Alzog, "Univ. Ch. Hist.," Vol. I., § 96, *seq.*; De Broglie, "*L'Eglise et l'Empire au IV. Siècle*," Vol. I., II.; Keim, "*Der Uebertritt Const. d. Gr.*"; Tozer, "The Church and the Eastern Empire"; Carr, "The Church and the Roman Empire"; Gwatkin, "The Arian Controversy"; Zahn, "*Constantin d. Grosse u. d. Kirche*"; Brieger, "*Konstantin d. Gr. als Religionspolitiker*"; Neander, "*Kaiser Julian u. s. Zeitalter*"; Rendall, "The Emp. Julian: Paganism and Christianity"; Cutts, "Constantine the Great"; King, "Julian the Emperor"; Tzschirner, "*D. Fall d. Heidenthums*"; art. on the various emperors, events, and institutions in Smith and Wace and Herzog-Hauck.

I. CONSTANTINE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

1. *Constantine's Motives in Adopting Christianity.* Constantine, like his father, was out of sympathy with the popular religion and was interested in the worship of the Persian sun-god Mithras, then much in vogue in the Roman army. It was a combination of Neo-Platonic with Zoroastrian modes of thought, and was made attractive by an elaborate and imposing ritual. When about to lead his forces against the tyrant Maxentius at the Milvian bridge near Rome he felt that the occasion was a most critical one. Success meant ultimate headship of the empire. Defeat would be utterly disastrous. He

was aware of the fact that Maxentius had exhausted all the possibilities in the way of propitiating the popular deities, and he could not hope to compete with him for their support. He had been brought up to regard Christianity with some degree of favor. He had observed its aggressiveness, its rapid growth, and its thorough organization. In his anxiety he made up his mind to invoke the aid of the God of the Christians. Something must be done to inspire his troops with confidence. He declared that he had seen in the sky a banner in the form of a cross with the inscription "By this conquer." He had a splendid labarum made after the pattern of what he claimed to have seen, and under this banner his army won a glorious victory.

Constantine's subsequent life was not such as to lead us to credit his account of the divine manifestation. He was a shrewd and unscrupulous politician. No life was sacred if his interests seemed to require its destruction. He had Licinius treacherously slain after his defeat. The murder of nearly all his relatives, including his nephew Licinianus and his son Crispus, seems wholly unjustifiable and could not have been the work of a Christian. The story of the murder of his wife Fausta has been somewhat discredited. In general, it may be said, that while his character compares favorably with that of pagan despots, and had many admirable and amiable traits, he can hardly be supposed to have exercised a saving faith.

2. *Constantine's Favors to Christianity.* Soon after the victory over Maxentius he had a statue of himself erected in Rome with a cross in the right hand and the inscription, "By virtue of this salutary sign, which is the true symbol of valor, I have preserved and liberated your city from the yoke of tyranny," etc. The Edict of Milan (313), issued jointly by Constantine and Licinius, proclaimed liberty of conscience and showed partiality for Christianity. His policy at first was not to interfere with pagan worship, but by filling the chief offices with Christians and surrounding himself with Christian teachers to make the condition of Christians enviable. Pagan temples that were peculiarly offensive to Christians on account of their immoral rites, or to which pilgrimages were made from superstitious motives, were in some cases destroyed.

He exempted the Christian clergy from military and

municipal duties and their property from taxation (313); abolished various pagan customs and ordinances offensive to Christians (315); facilitated the emancipation of Christian slaves (315); legalized bequests to Christian churches, a very important measure (321); enjoined the civil observance of Sunday, though only as the day of the Sun, and in connection with an ordinance requiring the consultation of the soothsayer (321); contributed largely toward the building of Christian houses of worship; and gave his sons a Christian education.

In 324 he is said to have promised to every convert to Christianity twenty pieces of gold and a white baptismal robe, and twelve thousand men, with women and children in proportion, are said to have been baptized in Rome in one year. The persistent adherence of the Roman aristocracy to paganism was a matter of great concern to Constantine, and he took especial pains to overcome the antipathy of the Romans toward Christianity.

In 325 he issued a general exhortation to his subjects to embrace Christianity.

3. *Constantine's View of the Relations of Church and State.* As the Roman emperor was Pontifex Maximus of the pagan State religion, he would naturally assume the same relation to Christianity when it became predominant. This headship the gratitude of the Christians heartily accorded. In all of his dealings with Christian matters the supreme motive seems to have been that of securing unity. About doctrinal differences he was almost indifferent. But he dreaded dissension among those on whom he depended for the support of his government.

He attempted to settle the Donatist controversy by negotiation and arbitration, and resorted to violence only when all other means had proved ineffective.

At great expense he convened the Nicene Council for the adjudication of the controversy between Arius and Alexander. His persecution of Arianism was due to his conviction that only thus ecclesiastical unity could be restored. He soon came under the influence of semi-Arian bishops (Eusebius, etc.), and the year before his death he banished Athanasius, who had become bishop of Alexandria. Constantine did not formally adopt

Christianity as the religion of the State, but he virtually gave it this position.

Though he considered himself a "bishop of bishops," he did not think it prudent to accept baptism until just before his death in 337. No doubt this delay was due to his belief in the efficacy of baptism to wash away the sins and crimes that had so marred his life.

When the Roman people refused to accept the new religion, Constantine transferred his capital to Byzantium and built Constantinople or New Rome. Other reasons doubtless co-operated with his desire for a Christian capital.

4. *The Sons of Constantine.* Constantine's three sons, Constantine II. (b. 312), Constantius II. (b. 317), and Constans (b. 320), succeeded to the imperial dignity with the good will of the armies. The other relatives of Constantine, except two nephews, Julian and Gallus, were foully massacred, Constantius being chiefly responsible for the crime. The empire was so divided that Constantine II. ruled in the West, Constans in Italy and Africa, and Constantius II. in the East. Constantine was slain in a battle with Constans near the walls of Aquileia (340). Constans was forced to commit suicide by one of his generals (350). This left Constantius sole emperor. The sons of Constantine did little credit to their Christian education and profession.

Constantius went far beyond his father in his efforts to destroy paganism, which still determinedly held its ground in Rome, Alexandria, and in many other parts of the empire. In 341 a law was promulgated against pagan superstition and sacrifice. In 346 the visiting of temples was forbidden. In 352 and 356 the death penalty was affixed to heathen sacrifices and to conversion to Judaism. These laws could not be enforced in Rome or in Alexandria. Constantius regarded his pagan opponents as traitors and pagan rites as involving conspiracy. Constantine II. and Constans favored the orthodox or Athanasian party and restored Athanasius repeatedly to his See. Constantius was an Arian and joined with Athanasius' opponents in repeatedly banishing him. The growing corruption and intolerance of Christians and the irritating and arbitrary measures of Constantius prepared

the way for the pagan reaction that was to follow this reign.

5. *Julian the Apostate.* Julian and his elder half-brother, Gallus, nephews of Constantine the Great, were saved, through the intercession of a bishop, from the common massacre of relatives, the one by reason of his tender youth, the other because of supposed mortal sickness. Julian received a Christian education under the direction of Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, and during his residence in Cappadocia he is said to have ministered in the churches, probably as reader. He studied classical literature in Constantinople and in Nicomedia, where the great rhetorician Libanius was teaching. Forbidden to attend the lectures of this pagan master he secretly read his writings and became deeply interested in the Neo-Platonic philosophy, with its mysteries and its manticism. The fact that pagan philosophy and life were forbidden fruit no doubt whetted his appetite. He secured initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, and while remaining outwardly a Christian was really an enthusiastic pagan.

In 356 he was made a Cæsar by Constantius, and soon won renown as a general in the Gallic wars. Jealous of his popularity Constantius sought to recall a large part of his army. The troops refused to leave their general and proclaimed him Augustus. He now declared his hostility to Christianity and was zealous in reopening and rehabilitating the heathen temples that had been closed by Constantius. Constantius died in Cilicia just as Julian was approaching Constantinople. His cause was won without a battle.

He proceeded at once to restore the temples and their sacrificial services and to reinstate the mystagogues and priests in all their ancient privileges, and withdrew from the Christian clergy the privileges and immunities that had been conferred upon them by Constantine and his sons. He borrowed from Christianity whatever he thought likely to add to the attractiveness of the pagan public services (popular preaching by purple-robed priests, music, hymnology, etc.). He prohibited Christians from teaching classical literature, wishing no doubt to reduce Christianity to a despised and illiterate sect. To discredit the Christian prophecies regarding the destruction

of Jerusalem and to encourage the inveterate enemies of Christianity, he attempted to restore the Jewish temple at Jerusalem. He favored Donatists and Arians in comparison with Catholics.

It does not appear to have been Julian's intention to persecute Christians; but the collisions that occurred between the Christians and the officials in the restoration to pagan purposes of property long used for Christian purposes, the rigorous enforcement of pagan practices in the army, and the necessity of punishing deeds of outlawry committed, or supposed to have been committed, by Christians, involved much hardship that could scarcely be distinguished from persecution.

After reigning less than two years Julian was slain in battle with the Persians. It is by no means certain that after receiving the mortal spear-thrust he cried out: "Galilean, thou hast conquered."

Christianity was tried, but not cast down, by this short-lived attempt to galvanize into life moribund paganism.[1]

6. *Theodosius the Great* (378–395). The immediate successors of Julian did little more than remove the restrictions that had been placed upon the progress of Christianity and gradually restore to the churches the privileges they had enjoyed under Constantine and his sons. Gratian (375–383) refused the title of Pontifex Maximus, prohibited the superstitious consulting of victims, abolished the privileges of the vestal virgins, had the much-prized altar of Victory removed from its place near the Curia of the Senate, and sought in every way to break the power of Roman paganism. These measures were carried out under the advice of the great soldier and statesman Theodosius, who became joint-emperor with Gratian (378) and sole emperor (394).

Theodosius is commonly regarded as the first orthodox emperor and the first to make orthodox Christianity the exclusive religion of the State. He secured from the Roman Senate an acknowledgment that the religion of Christ was true. He prohibited sacrifices and even visits to pagan temples, prostration before idols, the worship of household gods, and all other idolatrous practices.

[1] For Julian's own statement of his philosophical and religious views, see his works, ed. Hertlein, Leipzig, 1875–76.

Theodosius died soon afterward and divine honors were paid to him by the still pagan Romans in the usual style. Many pagan temples were destroyed at this time by fanatical bands of Christians, with the approval of bishops and emperor. The desecration of the temple of Serapis in Alexandria so infuriated the pagans of the city that a massacre of Christians resulted. The temple was destroyed by imperial command, and the famous idol, on whose preservation the rising of the Nile was supposed to depend, was smitten down. The Nile is said to have risen higher than usual that year.

Lactantius in the time of Constantine wrote: "Religion cannot be compelled; nothing is so voluntary as religion." Ambrose and Augustine now advocated the forcible suppression of paganism and heresy. Many bishops led their people in their violent onslaughts on pagan sanctuaries and did not shrink even from bloodshed in the accomplishment of their purposes. Paganism made a desperate struggle for existence, but it did not possess the religious enthusiasm that enabled early Christianity to survive persecution. It had its revenge in the almost complete paganization of the churches that speedily followed the enforced conversion of its unwilling adherents.

II. THE STATE CHURCH.

While it is undeniable that great evil resulted to Christianity from its adoption by the State, we must not close our eyes to the (temporarily) beneficent results of this adoption.

That Christianity should become predominant was, of course, highly desirable. We may say that it ought to have spread its influence by purely spiritual means, until its teachings should have pervaded society in all its elements; that the State ought to have become Christian, but that it ought to have manifested its Christianity simply by putting into practice the spirit of Christianity. But while such is our ideal, we could scarcely expect the Christians of the fourth century to foresee what we, with the experience of more than fifteen hundred years of the effects of State patronage and control of religion, are just beginning to see.

1. *Beneficent Results of the Adoption of Christianity as the State Religion.*

(1) An immensely larger number of people was thus brought somewhat under the influence of Christianity than would otherwise have been possible. That men were induced to abandon idolatry and attach themselves even outwardly to Christianity was, in a sense, a gain.

(2) Christianity had a much more direct and powerful effect upon the legislation of the Roman empire than would otherwise have been possible. The most fundamental thing in the Roman political system was the all-importance of the State and consequent indifference to the rights of the individual. Christianity gave to legislation a high sense of the value of human life; of the rights of all human beings, slaves, foreigners, and barbarians included. We have ample proof of the beneficent effect of Christianity on Roman legislation in the Theodosian Code (424–438), which contains the legislation of Constantine and his successors; and in the Justinian Code, which contains the legislation from Hadrian to Justinian (527).

The position of women was greatly elevated. Constantine gave to women the right to control their own property. Marriage was made free by the abolition of the old penalties against celibacy and childlessness. Marriage of near relations was restricted; divorce was rendered difficult.

Concubinage was forbidden, and adultery was punished as one of the greatest of crimes. The absolute power of parents over children, extending to freedom and life, was abolished, and child murder was rendered criminal.

While slavery was still allowed, its evils were lessened, and the manumission of slaves was encouraged.

Gladiatorial shows, against which Christians had striven from the beginning of the second century, were gradually and partially abolished.

(3) Christianity exerted a beneficent effect on morality. This is involved in its influence on legislation. The tone of morals could, of course, be raised only very gradually; but undoubtedly the change soon became perceptible.

2. *Evils that Christianity Suffered in Consequence of the Union.*

The points in which Constantine and his followers favored Christianity may also be regarded as involving evils. When he put restrictions on idolatry, he fostered a spirit of intolerance in Christians, and led them to trust in physical power rather than in the power of the truth. When he enjoined the universal observance of Sunday, it ceased to be a spiritual, and became a legal festival. When he legalized Christian corporations,—a thing right in itself,—he presented a great temptation to Christian bishops to devote themselves largely to the enrichment of the churches, which they frequently accomplished by the most unfair means. When he offered temporal inducements to the profession of Christianity, he not only brought multitudes of unregenerate people into the churches, but he also aided in making it a part of public opinion to regard the profession of Christianity as a mere form, and to attach a magical significance to the ordinances. His efforts for church unity greatly interfered with freedom of thought, and fostered the spirit of intolerance in the favored party. The favors that he bestowed upon the bishops increased their pride and worldliness, and caused an unchristian striving for important bishoprics.

We may particularize as follows:

(1) Christianity was secularized. The doors of the church were thrown open so wide, that the distinction between Christianity and the world was obliterated.

Christian churches assumed the magnificence of heathen temples. In imitating the pomp, Christians were sure to imitate the practices of heathenism, especially as the most influential Christians were now men that had been brought up pagans, and had adopted Christianity chiefly because it was the fashion.

Many Christian preachers rebuked this worldliness most vehemently; but the example of the imperial court was more influential with the rank and file.

(2) As pagans had been accustomed to worship a host of gods and goddesses, they felt the need, after becoming Christians, of numerous objects of adoration. The most honored characters of the early apostolic and suc-

ceeding times were, of course, selected, such as Mary, the mother of Christ, the apostles, and other martyrs.

(3) As pagans had been accustomed to worship their gods under the form of images, the new converts naturally required images of the saints, and the churches were soon filled with these objects. That pagans so readily gave up their religion and embraced Christianity can be accounted for only by the fact that Christianity adapted itself so entirely to their ideas as to make the change little more than nominal.

(4) Hierarchical development was stimulated. Bishops, who had already in great measure gained supremacy over presbyters, became more uniformly and entirely supreme after the union.

The ecclesiastical hierarchy was made a counterpart of the civil government. Constantine divided the empire into four prætorian prefectures—two in the East and two in the West.

The East, with Antioch as its capital, embraced five dioceses: Syria; Egypt (capital Alexandria); Pontus (capital Cæsarea); Asia (capital Ephesus); Thrace, Hæmiontis, Moesia, and Scythia (capital Constantinople).

The Illyrian prefecture comprised Macedonia and Dacia. The Italian prefecture was divided into two vicariates: Rome (embracing Southern Italy and the Mediterranean islands); the Italian vicariate (Lombardy, and territory south of the Danube, capital Milan). To this was added Western Africa (capital Carthage) and Western Illyricum.

The fourth prefecture was Gaul (France, Spain, and Britain).

As bishops of the capitals of the provinces had for some time exercised a moral influence superior to that of bishops of less important cities, they were now endued by a decree of the Council of Nicæa, enforced by imperial power, with authority over all the bishops of their respective provinces. The bishops highest in authority were those of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and Jerusalem. These bishoprics magnified their natural importance by their tradition of apostolic foundation, and were afterward distinguished (along with that of Constantinople) as patriarchates.

As Rome was the chief city of the West, and the seat of government for the entire West, the Council of Nicæa gave to the bishop of Rome authority over all bishops in the West (including Western Africa, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, etc.); and this authority being so much more extensive than that of the other patriarchates, naturally tended to encourage the Roman bishops to the assertion of absolute supremacy over all the churches. Yet, when Constantinople became the seat of the Empire, the patriarchate of Constantinople became a rival to the Roman, although it had no apostolic origin to boast.

(5) The church became a persecuting power, making use of the civil authority for the suppression of dissent and paganism. There had been bigotry and intolerance enough before, but they had expressed themselves only morally. Now they exhibited their true character. It will not seem so strange to us that this secularized Christianity should have persecuted, if we consider the following facts:

a. The Old Testament, with the majority of Christians, was of equal authority with the New Testament, and was looked upon as containing a model of church polity. Now the Old Testament abounds in narrations in which the persecuting zeal of rulers is represented as highly pleasing to God. Special praise is accorded to those who slaughtered multitudes of heathen, and destroyed their places and objects of worship. Christian rulers felt that they were glorifying themselves and God in emulating such examples; and Christian preachers felt that they were filling the place of Old Testament prophets when they incited the rulers to the violent extermination of paganism and heresy.

b. By this time it had come to be pretty generally believed that out of the church there is no salvation. The idea of the church was limited to those who adhered to apostolic unity as represented by the dominant party. By persecution some would be brought back into the church (whether honestly or not, was a minor consideration). If some were slain, they were only made to meet their inevitable fate a little sooner. It was a question of saving some, or letting all go together to perdition. Moreover, by the slaying of the incorrigible,

others would be saved from their corrupting influence, and still others would be deterred through fear of a like fate. Our Lord's injunction, "Compel them to come in," was interpreted literally, and regarded as a sanction for the employment of force, even by Augustine.

c. Alongside of these more honest grounds for persecution must be placed personal considerations. Those who were particularly annoyed by the presence of heretics or pagans, were greatly tempted to seek their extermination.

d. Add to these the political need of the unity of religious belief and practice, so strongly felt by the rulers of a great empire, and the encouragement these gave to Christian intolerance, and persecution by Christians appears as a matter of course. The church has persecuted Christians far more cruelly, and has destroyed vastly more Christians than pagans have done. The Diocletian persecution is as nothing when compared with the work of the "Holy Office."

(6) Reaction against worldliness, resulting in the excesses of asceticism. Monasticism is not peculiar to Christianity, but seems naturally to occur under favorable circumstances in connection with almost any system of religion. It existed in the most exaggerated forms among Brahmins and Buddhists long before the Christian era. The Essenes and the Therapeutæ, at and before the time of Christ, were ascetics. It is probable that Christian asceticism was historically connected with the Oriental theosophy, though not very directly or consciously derived from it.

So long as Christianity was persecuted, Christians of an ascetic turn of mind usually found opportunity enough for self-denial in enduring hardships for the faith. We see the ascetic spirit manifested in Montanists, Novatians, and Donatists, and in the multitudes that were always ready to deliver themselves to death. In Gnosticism and Manichæism it had a thoroughly perverse development.

From the true Christian idea that the flesh must be crucified and the lusts thereof, that those who would come after Christ must deny themselves, etc., Christians soon came to look upon suffering in connection with re-

ligion as meritorious in itself, and were willing to endure the greatest physical agonies for the peace of conscience thence derivable. The New Testament opposition between spirit and flesh, was laid hold of and perverted.

Now this ascetic spirit continued to exist in many after persecution had ceased. Nay, it was intensified by the increase of worldliness in the Christian churches. Such spirits came to feel that it was impossible to live a truly Christian life in the worldly churches. How was the ascetic spirit, the desire for self-sacrifice, to find vent? The ascetics withdrew from society and retired into waste places, where they spent their time in fasting and prayer, and in making the spirit triumph over the flesh. The greater the rigor of their self-discipline, the greater the merit; so endless means of self-torture were devised, which amounted, in many instances, to suicide. Insanity, in various degrees, almost always resulted from such austerities. (This refers to the earlier stages of hermit life.) We may distinguish four stages in the development of Monasticism:

a. The asceticism that prevailed in the churches themselves, varying in its austerity.

b. Hermit life or Anchoretism. This form of asceticism may have arisen about the middle of the third century, but it became common only after the union of Church and State. Jerome's romantic account of Paul of Thebes, and Antony of Alexandria, are mainly fabulous, as is also much in the life of Antony attributed to Athanasius. But these and like narratives may have had a basis of fact, and they exhibit in concrete form the ideals that prevailed in the latter half of the fourth century. The following sketch of Antony, without the fables, may be in the main correct:

Born about 251, he became in early manhood an enthusiastic ascetic, sold his large estate, and gave the proceeds to the poor, committing his sister, whose guardian he was, to a body of virgins. He strove to detach himself from the world, and to eradicate all human sensibilities and desires. His efforts to banish evil thoughts seemed only to intensify them. In order to make his separation from the world more complete, he removed some miles from his native village, and occupied a cleft in a rock. His imagination was rendered so fervid by his austerities, that he supposed himself to be assaulted by the powers of darkness.

He then resorted to a still more secluded place, where he remained twenty years. But his fame had now spread, so that large numbers came to him for spiritual guidance, many adopting the same mode of life. He desired to escape from men, and sought a still more retired place; but he was still pursued, being reputed to possess superhuman sanctity and the power of working miracles.

Only on the rarest occasions did he visit Alexandria, as in 311, in the time of the Diocletian persecution, for the purpose of encouraging the Christians, and in 352 to counteract the spread of Arianism.

Antony's food was bread and salt, never tasted until after sunset. He often fasted entirely for two or three days. He watched and prayed all night, sleeping only a little time on the ground. He rejected the practice of bathing, and is said never to have seen himself nude. Many of his followers far surpassed Antony in self-mortification.

From Egypt hermit life spread into Syria and other parts of the empire.

c. Cœnobitic or cloister life. This too originated in Egypt, probably from the example of the Essenes and Therapeutæ. The hermits had become numerous. Here, as always, extensiveness decreased intensity. The feeling arose that the true interests of ascetics would be better subserved by association with kindred spirits. Moreover, there was a tendency for large numbers of younger hermits to flock to those who had attained to great celebrity for instruction. Such was true even in the case of Antony, and he himself was said to have encouraged the association of ascetics.

The anchoretic life was not at all adapted to females. Even in the time of Tertullian "virgins" had begun to live together at the expense of the churches.

The association of monks was at first informal. When the number became great it was necessary to adopt rules for the government of the society and to fix terms for admission.

The first rules of importance were those of Pachomius. Near the beginning of the fourth century Pachomius, a young soldier, obtained release from military service and attached himself to an old hermit, with whom he lived twelve years. He was not satisfied with a life of idle devotion, but felt a strong impulse to do good to his brethren. Accordingly he organized a society of monks on an island in the Nile, which during his lifetime reached a membership of three thousand. The entire body of

monks was divided into twenty-four classes, according to the letters of the alphabet. The gradations were those of spiritual advancement. Over each class was a presiding officer, Pachomius himself being the abbot or father of all. They supported themselves by various kinds of labor: agriculture, ship-building, tanning, basket making, etc. No one had anything of his own, but all earnings went to the common treasury, from which all were supported. Particular duties were assigned to each by his superior, and special hours of devotion were appointed for all.

This form of ascetic life became popular. Multitudes of all classes of society flocked to the cloisters. Many monks, losing their first enthusiasm, were tormented in spirit and became insane. Many became vicious. Many entered the monasteries to escape military service and other hardships, which the declining empire put upon its subjects.

d. The founding of monastic orders, *i. e.*, the organization under the same rule and name, of monastic bodies in various regions. Under this form medieval Monasticism for the most part existed.

REMARK.—While we have here classed Monasticism in general among the evil results of the union of Church and State, we must beware of regarding it as only evil. In its favor it may be said (*a*) that it made strong resistance to worldliness; (*b*) it was a powerful means of attracting pagans to Christianity; (*c*) in many instances it promoted theological study; (*d*) it afforded a refuge and means of reformation for those that were cast out from society.

On the other hand: (*a*) it withdrew large numbers of good men from active service in Christ's cause; (*b*) it fostered spiritual pride and hypocrisy; (*c*) it filled Christendom with radically wrong ideas of religion and morality; (*d*) it brutalized many men; (*e*) it was a most influential factor in the development of hierarchy.[1]

[1] Literature on early Monasticism: Socrates, "*H. E.*," Bk. IV., Chap. 23; Sozomen, "*H. E.*," Bk. I., Chap. 12-14; Palladius, "*Historia Lausiaca*"; Theodoret, "*Historia Religiosa seu Ascetica Vivendi Ratio*"; Nilus, "*De Vita Ascetica*," "*De Exercitatione Monastica*," etc.; Rufinus, "*Historia Eremitica*"; Sulpicius Severus, "*Dialogi Tres*"; Cassianus, "*Institutiones Cœnobiales*"; Athanasius, "*Vita Antonii*"; Jerome, "*Vita S. Pauli Eremitæ*," "*Vita S. Hilarionis*," "*Vita Malchi*," "*Regula S. Pachomii*," "*Adv. Jovinianum*," "*Adv. Vigilantium*," "*Epistolæ*"; Augustine, "*De Sancta Virginitate*," "*De Opere Monachorum*," "*Confessiones*," etc.; Chrysostom, "*Opera*," *passim*; Bollandus, "*Acta Sanctorum*"; Montalambert, "The Monks of the West"; Gibbon, Chap. 37; Schaff, "C. H.," Vol. II., p. 147, *seq.*, and in "*Jahrbücher f. Deutsche Theol.*," 1861; Neander, Vol. II., p. 262, *seq.*; Möhler, "*Gesch. des Mönchthums*"; I. Taylor, "Anct. Christianity"; Lea, "Sacerdotal Celibacy"; Zöckler, "*Krit. Gesch. der Askese*"; Harnack, "*Das Mönchthum, seine Idealen u. s. Geschichte*"; Weingarten, "*Ursprung d. Mönchthums*"; Marin, "*Les Moines de Constantinople*," 1897.

CHAPTER II

CONTROVERSIES IN THE CHURCH

IT was doubtless hoped by many that when organized Christianity had gained power to enforce its decisions there would be an end of controversy. Yet never had controversy raged so fiercely as in the fourth and following centuries. The parties that were already in existence now came forward with a great increase of polemical energy, and new parties arose.

Persecution of the less powerful by the dominant parties was employed without scruple, but to little avail. It seems to be an established principle that persecution, if not carried to the point of extermination, and if not carried on so constantly and severely as to destroy the spirit of the persecuted, really promotes their spread.

We may divide the controversies of the period into seven classes: (1) On ecclesiastical polity; (2) on the relations of the godhead; (3) on the teaching of Origen; (4) on the doctrine of the person of Christ; (5) on anthropology; (6) controversies involving protests against the paganizing of Christianity.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY—THE DONATIST CONTROVERSY.

We left the Donatists in the other period when the schism had just been completed. A brief sketch of the efforts to heal the schism must here be given:

1. *Their Appeal to Constantine.* Constantine having expressly excepted the Donatists from the privileges conferred on Christians at the beginning of his reign, they appealed to him (then in Gaul) to name judges in that country to inquire into the nature of the divisions in Carthage (313). Constantine referred the matter to Melchiades, bishop of Rome, and five Gallic bishops, before whom the accused Cæcilian and ten African bishops from each side were summoned. A hasty decision in favor of Cæcilian resulted.

The Donatists complained that their cause had not been fully heard, and Constantine ordered a second investigation at Arles (314), expressing himself against the Donatists.

A large conference was called, to be composed of bishops of both parties from various parts of the empire. This body was packed, the great majority of the bishops being from Gaul and Italy. The decision was on the whole favorable to Cæcilian, yet it was enacted that traditors who could be proved to be such from public documents—not from mere rumor—should be removed from the ministry. The Donatists failed to prove from public documents that either Mensurius or Cæcilian or Felix of Aptunga, who had ordained Cæcilian, was a *traditor*.

The investigations conducted by the imperial commissioners had reference chiefly to the conduct of Felix, whose traditorship was supposed by the Donatists to have vitiated the ordination of Cæcilian.

From this decision the Donatists appealed to the emperor himself. He decided against them in 316, and threatened the banishment of their bishops and the confiscation of their property in case they should refuse to yield.

2. *Persecution of the Donatists.* Constantine's threat was soon executed. Donatists were deprived of their churches and harassed in various ways. This persecution had the effect of driving many of them already inclined to fanaticism to deeds of violence. In 317 Constantine exhorted the Catholics to abstain from retaliation. In 321 the Donatists sent a petition to the emperor, saying that they would submit to anything rather than affiliate with the rascally Bishop Cæcilian. Constantine thought further measures useless and granted them full liberty of conscience.

3. *Efforts of the Emperor Constans to Bribe the Donatists, and the Succeeding Persecution.* In 340 Constans made an effort, under the pretence of alms, to use money for conciliating the Donatists. The Donatist bishops were exasperated, and again there was a resort to force. They were once more deprived of their churches and their assemblies were broken up by armed troops.

Those that resisted were in many instances slain. The Donatists were now led to declare boldly their opposition to civil interference in matters of religion. This was henceforth one of the fundamental principles of the party.

4. *The Donatists and the Emperor Julian.* Julian attempted to restore paganism, and of course withdrew the privileges that had been bestowed upon the dominant form of organized Christianity by his predecessors. The Donatists appealed to him, and he issued an edict annulling whatever had been undertaken against them and restoring to them their churches.

5. *The Donatists and Augustine.* The Donatist schism was still unabated at the beginning of the fifth century. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, was impelled, not only by his high idea of church unity, but also by the annoyance that the schism caused him personally, to write against them and to seek to compass their overthrow. The leading points on which Augustine bases his attacks are:

(1) Their persistent *separation* from the church, which led them to refuse to enter even into social relations with the Catholics.

(2) Their insistence on the *rebaptism* of the Catholics as a condition of communion with them. This offered the greatest obstacle to union, necessitating a complete surrender on the part of the Catholics in order thereunto.

(3) He rebuts their charges of persecution on the part of the Catholics by setting forth the *intolerance* of Donatists themselves, citing as instances the refusal of Donatists in a town in which they were predominant to sell bread to Catholics, and the forcible manner in which in a schism in a Donatist church, led by Maximianus, the stronger party had seized the church property. The fact that the schism was afterward healed without requirement of rebaptism on either side he uses against the Donatists to show their inconsistency in requiring rebaptism of Catholics. The deeds of the fanatical Circumcelliones are also used to show the intolerant, persecuting spirit of the Donatists.

6. *The Donatists and the Carthaginian Council* (A. D. 411). A great effort having been made (395 onw.) to conciliate the Donatists by allowing their clergy to retain their dignity and by making an amicable adjustment of

claims to church property, etc., with little success, the emperor, Theodosius II., issued an edict (411) commanding the Donatist bishops of Africa to meet the Catholic bishops at Carthage in a great conference.

The Donatist bishops went much against their inclination, having no confidence in such measures. They were indignant that an imperial commissioner should preside. The Donatists were sullen, the Catholics imperious, and the discussion amounted to nothing.

Of the Catholic bishops of Proconsular Africa two hundred and eighty-six were present, of the Donatists two hundred and seventy-nine. It is evident that the dioceses were small and that Catholic and Donatist congregations existed side by side in nearly every community.

The Donatists were condemned and a fierce persecution ensued. The Vandals, however, put an end to party strife, persecuting Catholics and Donatists alike, and introducing Arianism (429 onw.). The Donatists declined from the middle of the fifth century, but maintained themselves as a distinct party until the sixth century or later.

II. ON THE RELATIONS OF THE GODHEAD—THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY.

LITERATURE: Athanasius, "*Orat. Contra Arianos*," "*De Decretis Synodæ Nicænæ*," "*De Sententia Dionysii*," "*Apologia contr. Arianos*," "*Historia Arianorum*," etc.; Basil, "*Adv. Eunomium*"; Greg. Naz., "*Orationes Theologicæ*"; Greg. Nys., "*Contra Eunomium*"; Hilary, "*De Trinitate*"; Ambrose, "*De Fide*"; Augustine, "*De Trinitate Contra Maximinum Arianum*"; Epiphanius, "*Ancoratus*"; Hardouin and Mansi, "*Concilia*"; "*Fragmenta Arianorum*," in Mai's "*Scriptorum Vet. Nov. Coll.*," Vol. III.; Dorner, "Person of Christ," Div. I., Vol. II.; Neander, Vol. II., p. 403, *seq.*, Schaff, Vol. II., pp. 616–698; Baur, "*Gesch. d. Lehre der Dreieinigkeit*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 306–825, and "*Dogmengeschichte*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 133–282; Kölling, "*Gesch. d. Arianischen Häresie*," 1874; works on the history of doctrine, by Harnack, Loofs, Seeberg, Thomasius, Hagenbach, Shedd, Sheldon, and Fisher; Hefele, "Hist. of Councils," Vol. I.; De Broglie, "*L'Eglise et l'Empire*"; Voigt, "*Die Lehre d. Athanasius*"; Newman, "The Arians of the Fourth Century"; Gibbon, "Dec. and Fall," Chap. 21; Stanley, "Eastern Church," Lect. II.–VII.; Gwatkin, "Studies of Arianism" and "The Arian Controversy"; articles on Arius (Arianism), Athanasius, Eusebius, Eunomius, etc., in Smith and Wace, Hauck-Herzog, Wetzer u. Welte, Lichtenberger, and McClintock and Strong.

1. *Preliminary Observations.*

It was the doctrine of the pre-existent Logos that more than any other had agitated the world of theological thought during the second and third centuries. We have seen that the Christians were driven to the expression of definite views on this subject by the pressure of Gnosticism on the one hand, with its emanation theory, and of Ebionism on the other, with its utter rejection of Christ's deity. We have seen that an influential part of the church, represented by Noëtus, Praxeas, Sabellius, and Beryl, had, with a view to obviating the Gnostic and Ebionitic conclusions, striven to identify Father and Son absolutely. This involved either Patripassianism (the maintenance that the birth and sufferings of the Son can be attributed equally to the Father) or Docetism (the incarnation and the sufferings of the Son being regarded as merely phenomenal). Patripassianism was, from the first, repugnant to the Christian consciousness in general, and its success in gaining adherents may have been due, in part, to the laxity of discipline with which it appears to have been commonly associated.

The problem now forced itself upon the minds of Christian thinkers, of distinguishing between Father and Son, without denying either the humanity or the absolute deity of the latter. We have seen how Tertullian, by his "Economy," and Origen, by his "Eternal Generation," attempted to meet the case. Dionysius of Alexandria, in controversy with the Sabellians (about 260), declared that the "Son of God is a work and a creature, not appertaining to him by nature, but as regards his essence as foreign to the Father as is the husbandman to the vine. . . For, as a creature, he did not exist before he was produced." These expressions awakened vigorous opposition, and the matter was laid before Dionysius, bishop of Rome, who called a synod for the consideration of the question. Dionysius of Alexandria afterward disowned the opinions mentioned, and in the Arian controversy his authority was claimed by both parties.

Dionysius of Rome (with the concurrence of the synod)

rejected the expressions of his Alexandrian namesake, together with anything that would imply that there was a time when the Son was not. He held that the Son was always in the Father as his Power and Wisdom. "It is necessary for the divine Logos to be united with the God of the universe, and in God the Holy Spirit, also, must be embosomed and dwell. And now it is altogether necessary that the divine Triad be summed up and brought together into a head, as it were—I mean in God, the creator of the universe."

During the closing years of the third century and the opening of the fourth, theological thought was focused upon this great question. There was still a constant vacillation between subordinationism and Sabellianism. In the nature of things, such a state of vacillation on a question that profoundly agitated men's minds could not long continue. The time had come when Christian thinkers must decide either that the Son is a creature, and hence, not eternal, and not in the highest sense divine; or, that he is uncreated, eternal, truly God, of the same essence with the Father, yet with a personality distinct from that of the Father.

By the beginning of the fourth century, the idea of the absoluteness of the Christian religion had taken strong hold upon the Christian consciousness. This pre-supposed, Christianity could not long remain content with any statement that involved the subordination of its head. If Christianity is the absolute religion, the Christ must be regarded as absolutely divine. It was, therefore, no accident that the Nicene-Athanasian formulæ of the relations of the Godhead should have finally prevailed, and should have become part and parcel of the Christianity of the subsequent ages.

We observe here, as we shall constantly have occasion to observe, the speculative character of Oriental theology, as contrasted with the practical tendency of the Occidental. Western Christians saw clearly the practical need of asserting the absolute deity of Christ, and were somewhat indifferent to minute distinctions. Eastern Christians, on the other hand, often spent their energies in fruitless hair-splitting.

The Arian controversy was widespread, violent, and

prolonged. For nearly a century it absorbed a large share of the energies of almost the entire Christian brotherhood. It was the occasion of innumerable scenes of bloodshed and violence, and it rent asunder whole sections of Christendom.

2. *Rise of the Controversy.*

We have seen that from the time of Origen Oriental Christendom was constantly agitating the question of the relations of the Godhead. Arius, a presbyter of the Alexandrian church, had received his religious training at Antioch, under Lucian. In opposition to the allegorical interpretation which prevailed at Alexandria, Arius had learned to interpret the Bible grammatically and historically. He seems to have been almost destitute of the intuitive faculty for which Alexandrian theologians were distinguished, and his mind demanded an entirely clear and rational statement of the doctrine that was agitating the churches. Origen's theory of the eternal generation of the Logos had no meaning for him. "We must either suppose two divine original essences, without beginning and independent of each other, we must substitute a dyarchy for a monarchy, or we must not shrink from asserting that the Logos had a beginning of his existence —that there was when he was not."

Arius was a man of pure and ascetical life, and his influence in Alexandria soon began to be felt. In 321 Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, called a synod, which deposed him from the presbyterate and excluded him from the communion of the church. The result was a schism in the Alexandrian church which soon spread far and wide.

3. *The Three Parties in the Controversy.*

(1) *The Arian.* This party during the early stages of the controversy was not strong. Comparatively few were willing to accept, without qualification, Arius' statements with regard to the Logos. But a very large number, who had always, after the example of Origen, held to a subordination of the Logos, protested against the intolerance of Alexander, and hence were practically defenders of Arianism.

We may sum up the strict Arian view as follows:

a. The Son was created out of nothing; hence, he is *different in essence* (ἑτεροούσιος) from the Father; that he is Logos, Wisdom, Son of God, is only of grace. He is not so in himself.

b. There was, when he was not; *i. e.*, he is a finite being.

c. He was created before everything else, and through him the universe was created and is administered.

d. In the historical Christ the human element is merely the material; the soul is the Logos. The historical Christ, therefore, had no human soul, and the human elements that appear so prominently in the Gospels, are attributed to the Logos. This is one of the favorite arguments of the Arians for the finiteness and imperfection of the Logos. The earlier theologians, with the exception of Origen, had made no distinction between the divine and the human in Christ, and the orthodox theologians were not able to meet this telling argument of the Arians by making such distinction.

e. The Arians held, that although the incarnate Logos is finite, and hence not God, he is to be worshiped, as being unspeakably exalted above all other creatures, the immediate Creator and Governor of the universe, and the Redeemer of man.

f. The Arians adhered to the Scriptures, and were willing to employ as their own any scriptural statements of doctrine.

(2) *The Athanasian Party.* This party was driven to the rigorous definition of the relations of the Godhead by the harsh polemical statements of the Arians. The Origenistic representation was too metaphysical and was a constant occasion of theological agitation. The needs of the case were: to utterly repudiate the hypothesis of any sort of subordination on the part of the Son; to hold fast to the absolute deity of the historical Christ; and to obviate Patripassianism.

According to the Arian theory, which was thought to be the logical outgrowth of the Origenistic, the Son does not even know the Father perfectly. If the Son does not know the Father perfectly, then Christianity is not the absolute religion. But Christianity is the absolute

religion, therefore the Son must have made a perfect revelation, *i. e.*, must be absolutely divine. This absolutely divine Son was, as a matter of course, identified with the historical Christ.

Patripassianism never had a very strong hold upon the Christian consciousness, and was by this time looked upon as blasphemous. Hence, a distinction of personalities in the Godhead must be made, if the life and the death of the historical Christ were real, which was not doubted.

We may summarize the Athanasian view of the person of Christ as follows:

a. The Son was begotten, not by the will of the Father, as Origen supposed, but by a necessity of the Father's nature. As God is unchangeable, there never was when he was not Father. Just as God is good and merciful, not by an exercise of will, but by nature, so he is paternal. Nature goes before all willing. The distinction of Father and Son is, therefore, an *eternal* distinction.

b. The Son is *identical in substance* (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father. His deity is identical with the deity of the Father. Athanasius and his party discarded the Platonic exaltation of God above all relations to the universe, which Origen, Arius, etc., adhered to. Creation was the work of the Son, but not because it was beneath the dignity of the Father. The Arian view, it was held, in denying the absolute deity of Christ, destroys the possibility of the union of man with God. If Christ is not God there is no true redemption for man.

c. Athanasius emphasized the *personality* of the Son just as much as his identity in essence with the Father. Personality is involved in Athanasius' idea of Sonship. The Son is not a mere attribute or mode of manifestation of the Father, but an independent personal subsistence. Yet Athanasius would not allow anything that involves a partition of the divine essence. He illustrates his idea of the relation of Father and Son by the relation of light and its reflection, thus really subordinating the Son to the Father.

Athanasius thus set forth with great clearness the two elements of the doctrine—the sameness of essence and the distinction of personality of Father and Son. Later

theologians, such as Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen, attempted to reconcile the two propositions of Athanasius, *i. e.*, to make clear wherein the oneness and wherein the trinity consists.

(3) *The Semi-Arian or Eusebian Party.* We may regard this large and influential party as, on the one hand, a continuation of the Ante-Nicene Origenistic party, and on the other hand as a mediation between Arianism and Athanasianism. Most of the early defenders of Arius were not willing, with Arius, to deny absolutely the deity of Christ, yet they were just as loth to accept the, to them, self-contradictory representation of Athanasius.

The creed of the Semi-Arians may be summed up as follows:

a. They rejected the *Arian* view that the Son was created out of nothing, and hence is different in essence from the Father; that "there was when the Son was not"; that the Son is a creature or a birth in the sense in which other things are created and born.

b. On the other hand, they declared that the Son was begotten of the Father, *before all time*, God of God, entire of entire, only of the only, perfect of the perfect, image of the deity, the essence, the will, the power, and the glory of the Father. Yet they denied the Athanasian *sameness of essence*, holding only to *likeness as to essence* (ὁμοιούσιος).

REMARK.—This party appears in history chiefly in an apologetic way, and most of its members were probably nearer to the Arians than to the Athanasians.

4. *The Arians and the Nicene Council.*

The chief object of the Nicene Council was to settle the Arian controversy, which so seriously imperiled the unity of organized Christianity that Constantine had much at heart. In the council were three distinct parties, the Arian, the Semi-Arian or Origenistic, and the Athanasian. At the opening of the council the Arians proposed a creed, signed by eighteen names. This was indignantly rejected and torn in pieces. All the signers, except Arius and two bishops, now abandoned the cause of the Arians.

Eusebius of Cæsarea then proposed an ancient Palestinian creed, which acknowledged the divine nature of Christ in general biblical terms. The emperor had already expressed a favorable opinion of this creed. The Arians were willing to subscribe to it, but this latter fact made the Athanasian party suspicious. They wanted a creed that no Arian could subscribe, and insisted on inserting the term meaning *identical in substance* (ὁμοούσιος).

The Nicene Creed in nearly its present form was then proposed, and the emperor having decided to support the Athanasian party, subscription to this was required of all the bishops. The Semi-Arian bishops, who maintained that the Son was not *identical* in essence with the Father, but was of a *similar essence* (ὁμοιούσιος), after considerable hesitation signed the document for the sake of peace, explaining, by way of protest, their precise position.

Two Egyptian bishops, Theonas and Secundus, persistently refused to sign it, and together with Arius were banished to Illyria. Thus the Athanasian party was for a time victorious, and the Arians were suppressed as far as possible by imperial force.

Athanasius, at this time a young man, soon became the acknowledged leader of the Nicene party, and used his great dialectic powers in writing and preaching against Arianism.

5. *Arian and Semi-Arian Reaction.*

It is probable that Constantine himself, so far as he had any convictions on the subject, was from the first inclined to Semi-Arianism. Soon after the closing of the council the Semi-Arians began to assail the Nicene creed and to insist upon the *similarity* over against the *sameness* of essence.

Constantine, through the influence of Eusebius, recalled Arius and his party from exile (328). In 330 he required Athanasius, now bishop of Alexandria, to restore Arius to his office, and on his refusing was on the point of deposing him, but was awed by the personality of Athanasius. The influence of the Eusebian party was increasing, and in 335 an Arian Synod was convoked at Tyre which condemned the Athanasian

party. The emperor banished Athanasius to Treves, and Arius was about to be restored to his position in the Alexandrian church when he died suddenly, aged eighty.

After the death of Constantine (337) Constantius reigned in the East and Constantine II. in the West. The former was an Arian, the latter an adherent of the Nicene creed. The Western church was all along predominantly orthodox, the Eastern predominantly Arian or Semi-Arian. Constantine II. restored Athanasius, but he was deposed again after the death of this emperor (340). Constantius restored Athanasius a third time (346), but after the death of Constans (350) he was driven from Alexandria by Constantius with an armed force.

Constantius, now sole emperor, introduced Arianism into the West. The orthodox bishop of Rome was dethroned and an Arian put in his place, but the former was restored after the death of the latter on signing Arian articles. Even Hosius of Cordova, who had been foremost in the Nicene Council, was at last induced to subscribe Arian articles.

For some years before the authoritative introduction of Arianism into the West the Arians had been zealously prosecuting mission work among the Goths and other barbarians. Ulfilas, the great apostle of the Goths, translated the Bible into Gothic about 350. Arianism gained a strong hold upon these nations that were becoming every year a more important element in the politics and civilization of Europe.

6. *Victory of the Athanasian Party.*

Constantius died in 361. Julian was indifferent to Christian parties. The Athanasian party, when freedom was again allowed, rapidly regained their power in the West and made progress in the East. The Emperor Valens (364–378) persecuted the Athanasians with fanatical zeal. Theodosius the Great (392–395) completed the victory of orthodoxy in the Roman Empire, yet Arianism continued for a long time to prevail among the barbarians. The conversion to orthodoxy of Clovis, king of the Franks (496), was followed by a rapid decline of Arianism among the Teutonic peoples.

III. THE ORIGENISTIC CONTROVERSIES.

LITERATURE: A large body of important matter is published in connection with the Migne edition of Origen's works. See also the pertinent sections in the works on the history of doctrine; in Dorner's "The Person of Christ"; in Hefele's "History of Councils"; in the general works on church history and in the encyclopedias of Smith and Wace, Wetzer u. Welte, Herzog-Hauck, and Lichtenberger.

Controversies regarding many aspects of his teachings arose during the lifetime of Origen and were perpetuated until the middle of the sixth century. Methodius, bishop of Patara (Asia Minor), about the beginning of the present period assailed with great bitterness Origen's teachings regarding the creation, the relation of soul and body, the resurrection, free will, etc. Methodius denied the eternity of the creative process, the fall of the soul in a pre-existent state and its probationary imprisonment in the body, the spirituality of the resurrection (involving denial of the resurrection of the body), and the inability of man to repel evil thoughts with the temptations involved. A number of zealous defenders of the great master were promptly in the arena, among them Eusebius of Cæsarea and Pamphilus, his friend. The following are the more important of the phases of the controversy that fall within the present period:

1. *In Relation to the Arian Controversy.*

At first there was a disposition on both sides of the Arian controversy to ignore the teachings of Origen. But some of the aspects of Arianism were so manifestly in accord with Origen's teachings that the Athanasians began to stigmatize him as "the father of Arianism." The Arians naturally were glad to claim the support of so great a name.

Eusebius of Cæsarea and the Semi-Arians zealously defended the reputation of Origen, while Pachomius, the founder of monasticism, who had adopted anthropomorphite views, regarded the spiritualistic teachings of the Origenists with the utmost disfavor, supposing that such views polluted the bodies as well as the souls of those who accepted them.

Athanasius, while recognizing the errors of Origen,

defended him against the fanatical assaults of the anthropomorphites. During the course of the century, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa, sought to save the reputation of Origen for orthodoxy, while Epiphanius reiterated the charges of Methodius and assailed his allegorical method of interpreting the Scriptures.

The controversies of this time were almost purely literary and did not enter the realm of ecclesiastical politics.

2. *Politico-Ecclesiastical Strife in Palestine and in Egypt* (A. D. 390 onward).

(1) *Jerome, Aterbius, Epiphanius, and Rufinus.* Palestine, where Origen had spent the latter half of his life, had always been devoted to his memory and faithful to his teachings. At this time Jerome and his devoted friend Paula from Italy were presiding over monastic institutions at Bethlehem, while Rufinus and Melania, likewise from Italy, had established religious houses on the mount of Olives. Without accepting all his teachings, Jerome and Rufinus were both earnest students of Origen's works and were disposed to guard his reputation from unjust imputations.

In 392 Aterbius, an Egyptian anthropomorphite monk, came to Jerusalem and attacked Jerome and Rufinus as Origenists. Jerome repudiated Origen's errors, but sought to minimize them. John, bishop of Jerusalem, and Rufinus, stanchly defended Origen.

In 394 Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, came to Palestine with the avowed object of crushing Origenism. Jerome was ready by this time to co-operate with him in his onslaught against John and Rufinus. Epiphanius undertook to excommunicate John and to install in his place Paulinianus, a brother of Jerome.

Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, was appealed to by John and sought to reconcile the contending factions. Though Origenistic in his sympathies, he was finally led to ally himself with Jerome.

Rufinus made peace with Jerome and soon afterward returned to Italy, where he translated into Latin the defense of Origen by Pamphilus and Origen's great

work on "First Principles." He rejected some of the more objectionable expressions in Origen's works as interpolations and professed his aversion to the characteristic errors of Origen; but Jerome's polemical zeal was aroused afresh and he insisted that Rufinus could not escape personal responsibility for such views of Origen as he had put forth in the translation. Jerome succeeded in inducing the Roman bishop, Anastasius, who was profoundly ignorant of Origen's works, to condemn them, and the Emperor Honorius to prohibit their use (A. D. 400).

(2) *Theophilus and the Anthropomorphite Monks.* In 399 Theophilus aroused the anthropomorphite monks to a murderous fury by an unhappy expression in an Easter letter. To escape their vengeance he disclaimed sympathy with Origenistic teaching and made use of language which they interpreted in an anthropomorphic sense. The Origenistic monks (the "Tall Brethren") now turned against their bishop. He determined to crush Origenism, and secured the co-operation of Epiphanius of Cyprus, Anastasius of Rome, and of a synod in Jerusalem. Theophilus now put forth in a synodal letter a catalogue of the heresies of Origen's "First Principles," including his teaching regarding the ultimate restoration to divine favor of evil men and angels and of Satan himself, and denounced Origen as "the hydra of all heresies." He drove three hundred of the Origenistic monks from the Nitrian desert, who with others took refuge in Constantinople and sought the protection of Chrysostom, the patriarch.

The Emperor Arcadius was led by the reports of Theophilus' cruelties to summon him to the capital. Epiphanius went in advance to explain matters, and on Theophilus' arrival he found little difficulty in vindicating himself and in procuring the condemnation of Chrysostom by a small council for the favor he had shown to the Origenistic monks (403).

(3) *Justinian's Repressive Measure* (*c.* 542). The Nestorian and the Eutychian controversies were already raging, and controversy on the teachings of Origen came little into notice until about 520 when trouble arose in the Palestinian Laura. The expulsion of four

Origenistic monks by the head of the institution and their secret restoration some time afterward by his successor led to an appeal to Constantinople. Avowed Origenism rapidly spread throughout Palestine. After much controversy Justinian was led to issue an edict for the suppression of Origenism throughout the empire (*c.* 542). It was crushed to rise no more as a distinct party, though Origen's peculiar views have rarely been without their zealous supporters.

IV. ON CHRISTOLOGY—THE NESTORIAN, EUTYCHIAN, AND MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSIES, ETC.

1. *Preliminary Observations.*

Very little effort had been made during the first three centuries to analyze the person of Christ. Whether he had a complete human and a complete divine nature was not an agitated question. Origen was probably the first to say distinctly that Christ had a human soul, this being in accord with his theory that Christ became a man to save men, an angel to save angels.

Arius expressly denied that Christ had a human soul, and this view was admirably adapted to his polemical purpose, viz, that of showing the imperfection of the Logos.

Athanasius did not, as he might have been expected to do, answer Arius with the assertion of the complete divinity and the complete humanity of Christ and ascribe what seemed unsuitable to deity in the New Testament representation to Christ's human nature. But he answered him with the assertion that when Christ spoke or acted in a manner inconsistent with deity (as, *e. g.*, when he said: "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?") he spoke in our name, because he had put himself into our place and had taken upon himself our guilt and abasement, or else he spoke by way of accommodation to the ignorance of his disciples.

Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa adopted and developed the Origenistic doctrine that the Logos united himself with the sensuous nature by the mediation of a rational human soul. They held that the

divine Logos took all parts of human nature into fellowship with himself and pervaded them. This permeation of the human by the divine was potential from Christ's birth, but was fully realized only after the resurrection and ascension.

Apollinaris (about 370) first took up the question in a polemical way. In accordance with the Platonic trichotomy (body, soul, and spirit), he maintained that Christ had a human body and soul, but that the divine Logos took the place of the human spirit. His aim was to maintain the complete union of the divine and human in Christ. He thought it absurd to speak of Christ as wholly God and wholly man. He is rather a mixture of God and man. This view he illustrated, without irreverent intent, by the case of hybrid animals. There exists then in Christ *only one personality*. Apollinaris laid so much stress upon the complete fusion of the divine and the human in Christ that he did not hesitate to say "God died," "God was born," etc.

This theory once clearly stated aroused opposition among the churches. Athanasius himself was now led to declare the complete humanity as well as the complete deity of Christ. Gregory Nazianzen and also Gregory of Nyssa wrote against Apollinaris. This doctrine was condemned in several minor synods, and finally in the Second Constantinopolitan Council (381).

But it was in the Antiochian school that Apollinaris found his most formidable opponents, viz, Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. These writers insisted on the completeness and the persistent integrity of the humanity of Christ. Theodore fully elaborated the theory known in the history of doctrine as Nestorianism.

2. *The Nestorian Controversy.*

LITERATURE: Homilies of Nestorius, in Migne's Patrology, Vol. XLVIII. (Lat. trans.); "*Acta Conc. Eph.*," in Hardouin and Mansi; Theodoret, writings against Cyril; Theodore of Mopsuestia, Fragments; Evagrius, "*H. E.*," Bk. I., Chap. 2–7, Socrates, "*H. E.*," Bk. VII., Chap. 29–35; Cyril, writings against Nestorius; Neander, Vol. II., p. 505, *seq.*; Schaff, Vol. II., p. 714, *seq.*; Milman, "Latin Christianity," Vol. I., p. 195, *seq.*; Gieseler, Vol. I., p. 343, *seq.*; Baur, "*Lehre von d. Dreieinigkeit*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 693, *seq.*; Dorner, "Person of Christ," Div. II., Vol.

I., p. 51, *seq.*, etc.; works on the history of doctrine, referred to above; and articles on "Nestorius," "Cyril," "John of Antioch," "Leo the Great," "Theodoret," the Councils of "Ephesus," and "Chalcedon," etc., in the encyclopedias, especially Smith and Wace and Herzog-Hauck.

(*1*) *Rise of the Nestorian Controversy.*

We have seen the rise and progress of two modes of thought with regard to the person of Christ: the one insisting upon the completeness of both natures and yet not able to show clearly the consistency of this representation with unity of personality; the other emphasizing the unity of personality in the incarnate Christ and denying the completeness of his humanity from its supposed inconsistency with such unity. The former view prevailed among the Antiochian theologians, who, by reason of their grammatico-historical interpretation of Scripture, naturally tended to emphasize the human side of Christ's nature; the latter, among the Alexandrian.

Nestorius, a devout, learned, and eloquent monk, was presbyter of the church of Antioch, and in 428 was made patriarch of Constantinople. At Constantinople he found many erroneous expressions and modes of thought current in the church. Especially offensive to him was the term, "mother of God" (θεοτόκος), applied to Mary. He declared that if this representation were true, the heathen were right in representing their gods as having mothers. Mary did not bear God, but the man (Jesus) who is the organ of the deity. Opposition was aroused at Constantinople, but Nestorius found his fiercest antagonist in Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria.

(*2*) *Statement of the Opposing Views in the Controversy.*

a. Nestorius' View of the Relations of the Human and Divine in Christ. Nestorius as an Antiochian and as a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia, in whom the Antiochian humanism may be said to have culminated, held to the following views:

(*a*) That in Christ the two natures remained distinct, yet are closely joined together and are harmonious in will.

(*b*) That only by accommodation can Mary be spoken of as the mother of God (θεοτόκος). We may venerate

the human on account of its close connection with the divine, but we must beware of confounding it with the divine.

(*c*) Nestorius explained by this theory all those passages in the Gospels in which Christ is represented as being subject to temptations, wants, sufferings, etc. In fact, the method of interpreting Scripture that prevailed in Antioch lay at the foundation of this extremely humanistic view of the historical Christ.

b. Cyril's Opposing Views. Cyril of Alexandria was one of the most violent polemicists of that polemical age, and into this controversy, as well as that with the Neo-Platonists, he entered with fanatical zeal.

Apart from dogmatical considerations, he was probably glad of an opportunity to humiliate the patriarchates of Constantinople and Antioch, and to this end he did not scruple to employ the ready instrumentality of court intrigue.

After some correspondence with Nestorius he presented twelve propositions, with anathemas attached, for his acceptance. They are for substance as follows:

(*a*) God is in truth Immanuel, and on this account the holy virgin is mother of God, for she brought forth carnally the Word of [proceeding from] God become flesh.

(*b*) The Word [proceeding] from God the Father is in the flesh one in essence, and Christ with his own flesh is one and evidently at the same time God and man.

(*c*) Hence, after the union, the natures in the one Christ are not to be distinguished, nor is it to be said that they are merely joined together in dignity or power. Rather they have come together according to natural (*φυσικός*) unity.

(*d*) The application of certain facts and expressions in the New Testament to the human as unworthy of the divine nature, and of others to the divine as too exalted for the human, is condemned.

(*e*) Christ is not to be called a theophoric (God-bearing) man, but rather God in truth, as one Son by nature.

(*f*) Neither is it to be said that the Word, which is from God the Father, is God or Master of Christ, but rather that he is at the same time God and man.

(*g*) It must not be said that Jesus as a man was energized by the Word of God, and that the dignity of the only begotten was bestowed, as being another apart from himself.

(*h*) It must not be said that the man having been assumed is to be worshiped and glorified together with God the Word, and is to be called God in a sense not involving a recognition of him as Immanuel.

(*i*) It must not be said that the one Lord Jesus Christ was glorified by the Spirit, using through him (the Spirit) a power foreign to himself, but rather that the Holy Spirit is his very own and is used by him.

(*k*) The Word of God actually became flesh according to the Scripture, and he offered up himself not for himself, but rather for us alone.

(*l*) The flesh of the Lord is life-giving, as being an integral part of the Word of God himself.

(*m*) God the Word suffered in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, tasted death in the flesh.

The favorite text of Cyril was: "The Word became flesh." The purport of this series of propositions, in which Cyril meant to exclude every phase of the Antiochian view, is: That the Incarnate Word is absolutely one; is at the same time absolutely divine and absolutely human.

Whatever is said about Christ Jesus in the New Testament, is said about this one divine-human being. Such expressions as were regarded as unsuitable to Deity were sometimes explained by this party docetically, *i. e.*, were represented as a mere accommodation to the ignorance of the disciples, etc.

(3) *Progress of the Controversy.*

a. The Appeal to the Bishop of Rome, and Agitation by Cyril. After some correspondence between Nestorius and Cyril, both parties laid their views before Coelestin, bishop of Rome. The fact that Nestorius had recently shown some favor to the Pelagians, predisposed the Roman bishop against him; and in a Roman synod (430) Nestorius' views were condemned, and he was commanded to recant on pain of excommunication. To Cyril was entrusted the office of making known the decree to Nestorius. The Constantinopolitans and the Oriental bishops were warned against the errors of Nestorius.

Cyril had from the beginning of the controversy made the fullest use of all the means at his disposal for arousing hostility to Nestorius: the fanatical monks; clergy, whose vanity had been injured by the appointment of a foreigner rather than one of themselves to the patriarchate; the corrupt and powerful Pulcheria, the emperor's sister; the bishop of Rome, who was glad of any opportunity to get his judicial prerogatives recognized.

b. The Council of Ephesus (431). The emperor, Theodosius II., was suspicious of Cyril, and reproached him for trying to meddle with the affairs of the imperial court, and with the patriarchate of Constantinople.

When Cyril had issued his twelve propositions for the acceptance of Nestorius, the controversy ceased to be a private one between Cyril and Nestorius.

John, Patriarch of Antioch, had advised Nestorius to allow the use of the expression "Mother of God," in a modified sense. Cyril's propositions showed that it was no longer a question of the employment or rejection of a word. Cyril had attacked the Antiochian theology, and in such a way to leave no room for evasion. The controversy now became general between the Antiochians and the Alexandrians.

Nestorius issued counter-propositions and anathemas, and Theodoret of Cyrus, one of the foremost scholars and thinkers of the age, now entered the field of controversy as a representative of the Antiochian theology. Neither party understood, nor cared to understand, the position of the other. Each sadly misrepresented the other, and by stating its own views and those of its opponents in the extremest form made the breach as wide as possible.

The emperor saw no other way of restoring peace than by calling a General Council. It was his intention to have both sides fairly represented, to secure an impartial investigation of the matters in dispute, and thus to have the truth prevail.

The bishop of Ephesus, Memnon, was a friend of Cyril, and as a metropolitan, may have been jealous of the supremacy of the patriarch of the Eastern capital. A large body of fanatical monks were present, ready to carry out any riotous measures that Cyril and Memnon might sug-

gest. John of Antioch was delayed by the prevalence of famine at Antioch, by stormy weather, etc., so that he did not reach Ephesus until many days after the appointed time.

Neither did the deputies of the Roman bishop arrive promptly. It was never the intention of Cyril to overcome his opponents by fair means. With the support of Memnon and his followers, together with that of the large body of subservient clergy whom he had brought from Alexandria, he was sure of an easy victory over Nestorius.

Nestorius was pressed to sit in council with this fanatical mob, but he persistently refused. The imperial commissioner tried in vain to preserve order, and refused to give the imperial sanction to the *ex parte* council of Cyril. Cyril and Memnon, with their dependents, met notwithstanding the imperial prohibition, deposed Nestorius, and anathematized his doctrines. Cyril thus put himself in direct opposition to the imperial will. He had now before him the task of winning over the court to his support.

Some days after these transactions, John of Antioch, with his subordinates, arrived. The imperial commissioners endeavored in vain to get the two parties to unite in a deliberative assembly. John, with his own thirty bishops and a few others, met together in council, and excommunicated Cyril and Memnon for their illegal proceedings.

Both parties were strictly prohibited from visiting Constantinople. Cyril, however, sent an agent under the guise of a beggar, with a letter to Dalmatius, an aged monk of great influence, who had lived in solitude for forty-eight years. Dalmatius had long since warned the people against Nestorius, and was aroused to fanaticism by the representations of Cyril. At Dalmatius' summons the monks and abbots left their cloisters, and forming an immense torchlight procession, marched to the imperial palace. Multitudes of the people joined in the procession. Dalmatius was admitted to the imperial presence, and gave vigorous expression to his sense of the guilt of Nestorius, and of the wrong done by the emperor to the party of Cyril.

(4) Triumph of the Alexandrian Party and the Retirement of Nestorius.

This was the turning point in favor of Cyril. The agents of Cyril were freely admitted to the imperial presence. By bribery and other means all influential parties in Constantinople were conciliated.

The emperor saw that the popular feeling was too strong to admit of Nestorius' continuance in the patriarchate, and he was permitted to retire to his cloister.

Cyril had thus, while acting in the face of law and order, triumphed over Nestorius and gained the imperial acquiescence. But he was held responsible for the prevailing turmoil in ecclesiastical affairs; and he felt that his triumph would be more complete and lasting if he could gain the acquiescence of the Antiochians in the proceedings of the council.

In 433, accordingly, after considerable negotiation to this end, Cyril agreed to sign a creed in which "Mother of God" was applied to Mary in a limited sense, while John acquiesced in the condemnation of Nestorius, and sanctioned the appointment under Cyrilian influence of Maximianus as his successor. This compromise was effected under imperial pressure.

It was hoped that harmony would be thus restored. But the friends of Cyril were dissatisfied with his concessions to the Antiochians. The Antiochians, on the other hand, were still averse to the Alexandrian doctrine, regarding it as leading logically to Apollinarianism. Controversy, therefore, continued, and was revived in an intensified form, about 444, in the Eutychian controversy.

3. *The Eutychian Controversy.*

LITERATURE: "*Synodicon adversus Trogœdiam Irenæi*"; the Acts of the Councils of Constantinople, Ephesus II., Chalcedon; epistles of Leo the Great. These and other documents are to be found in Mansi, "*Concilia*," V., VI., VII., IX. and in Hardouin, "*Conc.*" I. and II.; Theodoret, "*Opera*," Vol. IV.; Evagrius, "*H. E.*," Bk. I., Chap. 9, *seq.*; Neander, Vol. II., p. 560, *seq.*; Dorner, "Person of Christ," Div. II., Vol. I., p. 79, *seq.*; Baur, "*Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 890, *seq.*; Gieseler, "*Commentatio qua Monophysitarum veterum variae de Christi Persona . . . illustrantur*"; Walch, "*Hist. d. Ketzereien*," *Bd.* VI., *Seit.* 3, *seq.*; Herzog, "*Abriss d. Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 305, *seq.*; Mœller, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. I., p. 419, *seq.*; Perry, "The Second Synod of Ephesus" (contains

the "Syriac Acts of the Robber Synod," with English Translation); Krüger, "*Monophys. Streitigkeiten*"; works on the history of doctrine, especially those of Baur, Harnack, and Loofs, and encyclopedia articles on the men, councils, etc., referred to in this section.

(*1*) *Rise of the Controversy.*

We have seen that the tendency of the Nestorian controversy was to drive both parties to extremes. The compromise between the Antiochian and the Alexandrian schools really effected nothing; for though Cyril subscribed to an Antiochian creed, he never abandoned his twelve propositions and anathemas.

The fact that Cyril should have regarded it as expedient to sign such a creed shows that a reaction had set in, or at all events that the emperor was no longer willing to support him in his extreme dogmatizing.

The learned Theodoret had assumed the leadership of the Antiochian party, and his dialectic power was only equaled by his wonderful tact. In 448 he published his "*Eranistes*," or "Beggar," in which he set forth in the strongest light the logical tendencies of Monophysitism. He maintained that Monophysitism cannot escape representing God as subject to suffering and change; that in a heathenish way it confounds the human and divine. He did not direct his arguments against Cyril personally, but rather against Apollinaris and his followers. In this he showed great tact. His method was, not to confine himself to the express doctrinal statements of his opponents in their proper connection, but to put the most objectionable construction on every statement, and then to deduce the worst possible consequences from such constructions.

Cyril had died in 444, and had been succeeded by Dioscurus, a man of worse character and far less ability than Cyril. Dioscurus was Cyril's ecclesiastical successor, but his theological successor was the venerable monk, Eutyches, archimandrite of a cloister in Constantinople.

In 448, a synod, held at Constantinople, took substantially the same ground that Theodoret had taken in opposition to Monophysitism. Eutyches was charged with holding to extreme Monophysite views, and refusing to

admit a duality of natures in the incarnate Christ, and the sameness in essence of Christ's body with our own, was deposed.

(2) *Statement of the Opposing Views.*

a. Eutyches' View of the Person of Christ. Eutyches carried Cyril's doctrine of the complete fusion of the natures to its logical result. He held:

(*a*) That the body of Christ was not the body of a man (*σῶμα ἀνθρώπου*), but a human body (*σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον*).

(*b*) That the body of Christ was not the same in essence with our bodies (*ὁμοούσιον*).

(*c*) That before the union our Lord was born of two natures; after the union there was only one nature distinguishable.

Eutyches is said to have illustrated his view of the divine and the human in Christ by the case of a drop of honey in the ocean. The human remains in some sense, but is so overwhelmed by the divine infinity as to be practically annihilated.

b. Opposing Views. Theodoret did not make any essential innovation upon the views of Theodore and Nestorius.

(*a*) In opposition to Eutyches' denial of the sameness of essence of Christ's body with our own, he maintained this sameness.

(*b*) He held that a union of the two natures had occurred; hence he confessed one Christ, one Son, one Lord.

(*c*) According to this view of the *unmingled* (*ἀσύγχυτος*) union, he confessed that the holy virgin was the "mother of God."

c. Substance of Leo's Letter to Flavian. The occasion and the historical importance of this epoch-making document will be discussed hereafter. It is characteristic of Western theology by reason of its practical character and its lack of delicate distinctions. It is an attempt to recognize the elements of truth in both Nestorianism and Eutychianism, without following either to its extreme consequences. Leo maintains, therefore:

(*a*) The true humanity of Christ. He supposes that the teachings of the New Testament are unequivocal on

this point. He regards it as essential to Christ's redemptive work that he should have truly taken our nature. Hence, he rejects unconditionally the Eutychian view which reduced the humanity of Christ, after the union of the two natures, to an infinitesimal.

(*b*) The true divinity of the incarnate Word. This he maintained in common with both parties in the controversy.

(*c*) While each nature and substance maintained its own properties unimpaired, the two came together *in one personality*.

By reason of his human nature Christ was able to die; by reason of his divine nature he was not able to die. He assumed the form of a servant without the contamination of sin, augmenting the human, not diminishing the divine. As God is not changed by the compassion, so man is not consumed by the dignity. Each form does with the communion of the other what is proper to it; the Word, namely, operating what belongs to it; the flesh executing what belongs to the flesh. The one gleams with miracles; the other succumbs to injuries.

Leo's position was essentially that of the Antiochians. His chief merit here consists in the fact that he adhered rigidly to the Scriptures, allowing full weight to the humanistic as well as to the theistic representations of the incarnate Christ.

The new element that he introduced was the theory of *two complete natures in one person*. Yet he did not give any satisfactory explanation of this point.

He uses the term person somewhat vaguely. What he means by two complete natures in one person seems to be this: the divine Word and the man Jesus united, as they are, form Jesus Christ. Of this complex being we have in the New Testament representations which are only applicable to his human nature: suffering, dying, etc.; and representations which are applicable only to his divine nature: oneness with the Father, the performance of miracles, etc.

It was greatly to the advantage of the Roman See that this formula of the union of two perfect natures in one person, which has from that time been a leading article of Christian faith, though crudely developed and imper-

fectly apprehended, should have proceeded from a Roman bishop.

The adoption of Leo's view by the Council of Chalcedon, was an important victory for the papacy.

(3) *The Second Council of Ephesus, or the "Robber Synod"* (449).

The condemnation of Eutyches in the Constantinopolitan synod had aroused the most bitter enmity of the monks of Constantinople, Ephesus, Alexandria, etc., against Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople. Dioscurus was in constant communication with the imperial court, and brought all his influence to bear against Flavian and his party. Both parties wrote to Leo, bishop of Rome. Leo addressed to Flavian the celebrated epistle treated above, the drift of which was entirely adverse to Eutychianism. Through the influence of Dioscurus and Eutyches, the emperor was induced to call a council for the adjustment of the matter. From the first there was no intention of allowing a free discussion of the doctrinal points involved. Theodoret, the great theologian of the Antiochian party, was excluded from the council. Dioscurus was appointed president of the council by the emperor, and the friends of Dioscurus were made assessors. Flavian and his supporters were allowed to attend not as judges or voters, but to learn the decision of the council. Troops of ferocious monks were introduced into the assembly room for the purpose of intimidating such as might be inclined to oppose the proceedings of Dioscurus. Leo had sent deputies to the council with instructions to secure the reading and recognition of his doctrinal letter. But Dioscurus would not even allow the letter to be read. Some that refused to join in the condemnation of Flavian and his party were shut up in the assembly room, and were forced by threats and blows to subscribe to the decrees of Dioscurus. Flavian received bodily injuries which are thought to have resulted in his death. Such proceedings as these were sure to lead to a reaction in favor of the condemned party, especially as the indefatigable Leo was committed alike by his letter to Flavian, and by his sense of official dignity which had been grossly offended by the above-mentioned proceedings, to the support of the opposite party.

(4) *The Council of Chalcedon* (451).

Flavian, after the adjournment of the "Robber Synod," had lodged with the deputies of the Roman bishop an appeal to another council to be held in Italy. For such a council Leo labored most strenuously, bringing his influence to bear upon Valentinian, the western emperor, and upon Theophilus and Pulcheria. During the lifetime of Theophilus he met with little encouragement, but he had gained the good will of Pulcheria; and when (450) Pulcheria ascended the throne and associated with herself Marcian, the plans of Leo seemed likely to be realized. In accordance with his wishes, the deposed bishops were restored, and assurances were given to Leo of co-operation in his plans.

But the unsettled condition of the West, resulting from barbarian invasion, made an Italian council impracticable, and Leo was at last obliged to relinquish his plan and to content himself with the hope of controlling a general council in the East.

In 451, in accordance with the imperial summons, six hundred and thirty bishops met at Nicæa; but for certain reasons the emperor transferred the council to Chalcedon. The council was disorderly and tumultuous. Dioscurus, after a somewhat dignified defense of his proceedings at Ephesus, and a persistent refusal to subscribe Leo's doctrinal epistle, was deposed. Much opposition was at first manifested in the council by Alexandrians and by Antiochians alike, to the acceptance of the epistle of Leo. The Roman deputies declared that if the epistle was rejected, another council would be held in the West, and the Emperor Marcian, who had determined upon the ratification of the epistle, fortified this threat with his own authority. The epistle was finally ratified, and a Confession of Faith embodying its substance was accepted.

Besides accepting Leo's epistle, the council recognized the orthodoxy of the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the father of Nestorianism, of Theodoret, its ablest defender, and of Ibas, a Persian bishop, who in a letter to Maris had expounded the Nestorian views. This action of the council proved fruitful of trouble.

(5) *Substance of the Chalcedonian Symbol.*

The Chalcedonian is one of the most important of the ancient ecclesiastical symbols. Its Christology, based upon that of Leo's epistle, set forth as it is in a series of simple propositions, has been from that time to this the Christology of the great majority of Christians.

a. Our Lord Jesus Christ is declared to be perfect in deity and perfect in humanity.

b. He is consubstantial with the Father, and consubstantial with us.

c. He was born of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God.

d. This one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, is to be acknowledged in two natures, inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably; the distinction of the natures being by no means taken away through the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one person and one subsistence.

(6) *Persistence of the Controversy.*

Ten Egyptian bishops refused to anathematize the doctrines of Eutyches and to subscribe the letter of Leo. In Egypt and Alexandria the controversy, led by fanatical monks, soon raged more fiercely than ever before. The Eutychians came to be commonly known as Monophysites (because of their insistence on the *oneness of nature* in the person of Christ). They had their stronghold in Egypt and Abyssinia, but were numerous throughout the East.

(7) *Justinian and the "Three Chapters."*

Justinian was an earnest adherent to the symbol of Chalcedon, but the notorious Theodora, his wife, favored the Monophysites.

By her intrigues, Theodora managed to secure the election of the unprincipled Vigilius as bishop of Rome, who, in turn, recognized the orthodoxy of Theodora's Monophysite favorites in the East. Justinian was anxious for ecclesiastical unity, and was willing to this end to make concessions to the Monophysites.

The Monophysite leaders objected to the Chalcedonian symbol on the ground that avowed favorers of Nesto-

rianism had been participants in the council, and their writings recognized as orthodox. They objected especially to the recognition of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Ibas. They agreed to submit to the authority of the Council of Chalcedon on condition that Theodore and his writings, Theodoret's writings against Cyril and in defense of Nestorius, and Ibas' letter to Maris, should be anathematized by imperial edict, and that these writings or the recognition of their orthodoxy should be expunged from the acts of the council. To this Justinian agreed, and he issued such an edict, anathematizing at the same time any that should, with these exceptions, reject the authority of the Chalcedonian council.

This, of course, aroused far more strife than it allayed. Especially in the North African and the Illyrian churches was the opposition to the condemnation of the "Three Chapters" manifested. Vigilius, the unprincipled Roman bishop, was caressed and imprisoned and excommunicated in turn. He was induced to take oaths to use his influence against the "Three Chapters," which oaths, when freed from restraint, he persistently violated. Bishops in Northern Africa and in Illyria were deposed by imperial command, and others set up in their places, not without much shedding of blood.

At length in 553, having long and earnestly endeavored to allay the strife, Justinian called a council at Constantinople which condemned Theodore but vindicated Theodoret and Ibas.

But even this did not end the controversy.

4. *The Monothelite Controversy.*

LITERATURE: Documents and Acts of Councils, in Mansi, "*Conc.*" X., XI., and in Hardouin, "*Conc.*" III.; Nicephori, "*Breviarium Historiæ*"; Combesisii, "*Historia Hæresis Monotheletarum*"; Dorner, "Person of Christ," Div. II., Vol. I., p. 155, *seq.*; Neander, Vol. III., p. 175, *seq.*; Baur, "*Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit*," *Bd.* II., "*Dogmengeschichte*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 88, *seq.*; pertinent sections in the works on the history of doctrines; Herzog-Hauck, and Wetzer u. Welter, Art. "*Monotheleten.*"

(*1*) *Rise of the Controversy.*

From the time of Justinian the doctrine of the two natures may be said to have been supreme in the Roman

empire, both eastern and western. The Monophysites, being no longer tolerated in the established church, now became a schismatical party, with church organization, bishops, and patriarchs of their own. In the East, chiefly under the leadership of James, bishop of Edessa, a great missionary activity was developed, and the Monophysites spread into Armenia and Persia. Antioch, which had been the birthplace and the chief nursery of Nestorianism (Dyophysitism), became the chief center of Monothelitism and has continued to the present day to be the residence of the patriarchs of the party that adopted the name of James ("Jacobites"). In Egypt, by the beginning of the seventh century, the Monophysites had come to outnumber those in the communion of the established church ten to one; and from Egypt they spread into Abyssinia, where also they still constitute a strong party.

Probably in the fifth century, there appeared among the Monophysites that strange body of writings purporting to have been composed by Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted under Paul's preaching at Athens. The transcendental character of these writings, resulting from the mixture of Platonism with Christianity, was in entire accord with the Monophysite ideas of the relations of the human and the divine in Christ. This writing was very popular among the Monophysites, and afterward among the Catholics. Through this work and through other instrumentalities, Monophysitic conceptions had become widespread outside of Monophysitism. A favorite argument with the Monophysites against the doctrine of the two natures was the fact that two natures required the supposition of two wills. This they regarded as contradictory to the fact, and maintained that there remained in Christ after the union one nature, and hence, one will.

The question as to the human will of Christ was not brought out distinctly either by the Antiochians, or by Leo the Great, or by the Council of Chalcedon. Maintaining, as they did, the persistent integrity of Christ's human nature, they may be supposed to have held implicitly to the persistence of the human will, side by side with the divine, and in perfect harmony therewith.

In 614 the Persians invaded Syria and Palestine, and

plundered Jerusalem. Afterward they laid waste Northern Africa, as far as Carthage. In 621 the Persian army was threatening Constantinople. The encroachments of the Persians led the Emperor Heraclius to make use of all available means for self-defense. A large proportion of his subjects were alienated from him on account of the Monophysite schism, and these seemed likely to throw themselves into the arms of the Persians, and thus to prove an element of weakness to the empire. It occurred to Heraclius and his advisers that something ought to be done for the conciliation of the Monophysites. As before remarked, a strong Monophysite tendency, as opposed to the extreme Dyophysite interpretation of the Chalcedonian Symbol, had become diffused throughout the churches. Dionysius the Areopagite had employed the expression, "divine-human energy" (*θεάνδρικη ἐνέργεια*), as descriptive of Christ's activity. Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, thought that by the confession of two natures and *one energy* in Christ, the Monophysites might be conciliated without sacrificing entirely the Chalcedonian Symbol.

In 626 the emperor had a conference with Cyrus, bishop of Phasis, and by means of arguments and promises of promotion, made of him a zealous advocate of the compromise measure. Cyrus became patriarch of Alexandria in 630.

In 629 the emperor won over to his position Athanasius, the leader of the Syrian Monophysites, and made him patriarch of Antioch. There were now three Monothelite patriarchs. Cyrus took measures at once for carrying out the imperial scheme of union, and drew up a series of articles to be submitted to the Monophysites. In the seventh article the divine and the human phenomena in the life of Christ are declared to be the result of *one divine-human energy*.

The Monophysites of Egypt, Thebes, and Libya, readily accepted the terms of conciliation, rejoicing that the established church had at last come substantially to their own position. But Sophronius, a learned monk, objected to these proceedings, and after he became patriarch of Jerusalem (634) wrote most violently against the Monothelites, and secured their condemnation in a synod of

his own bishops. Sergius, seeing that his most earnest efforts to prevent the breaking out of controversy were futile, now wrote to Pope Honorius, representing to him the good service that had been accomplished by the compromise in uniting to the church the great body of Monophysites, and the evil that was likely to flow from the controversy that Sophronius was about to stir up. Honorius sympathized heartily with Heraclius, Sergius, and Cyrus in their efforts to re-unite the church; and spoke contemptuously of the useless subtleties of Sophronius. The controversy now became general.

(2) *Statement of Opposing Views.*

a. The Views of Sergius, Honorius, and the Monothelites. During the early stages of the controversy the term *energy*, and not *will*, was chiefly employed. The shibboleth of Sergius and his party was: "One is the energy of Christ," and this one energy was defined as a "divine-human energy." The employment of the term "energy" was somewhat ambiguous, in that it might mean either the volition or the effects of a volition. This ambiguity was favorable to the irenical purposes of Sergius and Cyrus, inasmuch as all would admit the use of the word in the latter sense. Honorius, having been appealed to by Sergius, entered warmly into the controversy with the distinct assertion of two natures, each working in its own way, but *one will*, which he assigned to the one personality, recognized by Leo and the Council of Chalcedon.[1]

At a later time Honorius advised a discontinuance of the employment of the term "one energy" or "operation," and the substitution of the term "one operator Christ, who works by means of both natures."

Heraclius now issued his "*Ecthesis*" in which the unity of the *will* in Christ is expressly taught, and in which disputes about the unity or the duality of the *energies* are strictly forbidden.[2] In 643 the Emperor Constans finding that the "*Ecthesis*" had failed of its purpose, substituted for it the "*Typos*," in which all controversy with regard either to the energies or the will is prohibited. The unity of will was not given up, but the

[1] Hardouin, Vol. III., p. 1319, *seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, p. 791, *seq.*

emperor was weary of controversy, and attempted to repress it by the severest legislation.

b. The Views of Sophronius and the other Dyothelites. Sophronius was the first to oppose the Monothelitic compromise. He insisted that Christ was perfect in deity and perfect in humanity; that he was consubstantial with the Father as God, and consubstantial with his mother and with us as man. These two natures are unconfusedly but inseparably united in one person. This divine-human person, accomplished through the medium of the divine and the human natures the things that belong to deity, and the things that belong to humanity. While maintaining, therefore, the persistent integrity of the divine and the human natures (he does not assert the existence of two *wills*), he practically makes the human nature a passive instrument of the divine-human personality.

The successors of Pope Honorius, John IV., Theodore, and Martin V., repudiated the Monothelitic view of Honorius, and united Northern Africa, Libya, etc., in a politico-religious opposition to the Eastern Empire and to Monothelitism. In 649 a council was held at the Lateran, in which the "*Ecthesis*," the "*Typos*," Sergius, and his successors were anathematized, and the doctrine of *two wills* was distinctly asserted.[1] The ablest defender of the doctrine of the two wills was Maximus, a monk, who was a member of the Lateran Council. In reply to the objections of the Monothelites, that to say that there are two wills is to presuppose that there are two who will, Maximus answered, that the will pertains to the nature and not to the personality, since otherwise there would be three wills in the Holy Trinity. But duality of wills does not involve antagonism; for antagonism could only arise from evil, and there was no evil in Christ. Free-will, or self-determination, Maximus held, is an essential part of human nature. If Christ's human nature had not an independent will, Christ was an imperfect man.

In most of Christ's actions, the two wills, while working independently, arrived at the same results. In some instances we see the working of the divine will alone;

[1] Hardouin, Vol. III., p. 687, *seq.*

in others the working of the human will alone, though never antagonistic the one to the other.

The duality of wills in Christ was proved by the Dyothelites from such expressions of Christ, as: "I came from heaven not to do my own will, but the will of the Father which sent me"; "not as I will, but as thou wilt"; "my meat is to do the will of him that sent me," etc.

The third Constantinopolitan Council (680–681), convoked by the Emperor Constantinus Pagonatus, with a view to reuniting the church, and especially to conciliating the Roman See, was directed chiefly by Pope Agathon, whose letter on the person of Christ, addressed to the council, was substantially adopted. The council amended the Symbol of Chalcedon so as to teach explicitly two natural wills, not opposed to each other, but the human will following the divine will, and in subjection thereto. In the one hypostasis of Christ may be discerned his two natures, and by this personality he both performed his miracles and endured his sufferings in such a manner that each of his two natures willed and worked what was proper to it, in conjunction with the other.[1]

(*3*) *Concluding Remarks.*

a. Thus Dyothelitism triumphed chiefly through the influence of the Roman See, notwithstanding the fact, that Honorius, a Roman pope, was a Monothelite; that a long line of emperors had sustained Monothelitism by argument and by the employment of outward force; that the incumbents of the great Patriarchal Sees of the East were almost all Monothelites; that a Roman pope and the great theologian of the Dyothelites had died as martyrs in banishment; and that thousands of others had suffered for their Dyothelitism.

b. The reasons for the triumph of Dyophysitism were probably the following:

(*a*) The fact that the Christian consciousness required in Christ a perfect manhood. This had been asserted in the earlier controversies; but the existence of two wills, which is involved in the assertion of perfect manhood and perfect deity, had not been explained.

[1] Hardouin, Vol. III., p. 1043, *seq.*

(*b*) The Monothelites were, from the beginning, actuated by motives of civil and ecclesiastical policy rather than by a desire to arrive at the truth. The Dyothelites seem to have had more at heart the interests of the truth.

(*c*) The persecuting measures of the Monothelite emperors tended to unite the whole West and a large part of the East in common opposition to tyranny and false doctrine. The cause of the Roman party from the time of the "*Ecthesis*" and the "*Typos*," and especially after the Lateran Synod (649), was the gaining cause.

Thus after four hundred years of controversy on the person of Christ, a formula was arrived at which the great majority of Christians from that time to this have recognized as correct and in accordance with the Scriptures.

5. *The Adoptionist Controversies.*

LITERATURE: Conybeare, "The Key of Truth," 1898 (Introduction and Appendices); writings of the Adoptionists, Elipandus and Felix, in Migne's "*Patrologia Latina*," Vol. XCVI.; writings of the chief opponents of the Western Adoptionists, Beatus, Heterius, Alcuin, Agobardus, and Paulinus, in Migne's "*Patrol. Lat.*," Vols, XCVI., XCIX., C., CI., and CIV.; Walch, "*Hist. Adoptianorum*," 1755; Dorner, "Person of Christ," Div. II., Vol. I., p. 248, *seq.*, Vol. II., p. 338, *seq.*, Vol. III., p. 301, *seq.*; Gams, "*Kirchengesch. von Spanien*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 261, *seq.*; Baudissin, "*Eulogius u. Alvar*," *Seit.* 61, *seq.*; Harnack, "*Dogmengesch.*," *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 248, *seq.*; Hauck, "*Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 256, *seq.*; Grössler, "*Die Ausrottung d. Adoptianismus im Reiche Karls d. Gr.*"; pertinent sections and articles in the manuals of church history and doctrine history, and in the encyclopedias.

(*1*) *Preliminary Remarks.*

In the preceding period reference was made to the wide diffusion, during the second and third centuries, of Adoptionist views of the person of Christ. In many cases, no doubt, the use of Adoptionist language by otherwise orthodox teachers was due to the fact that the doctrine of the person of Christ had not yet been made the subject of exhaustive study, and the logical consequences of such language were not understood; but in other cases (as in that of Theodotus and his followers) Adoptionism was maintained polemically against those who were asserting the absolute deity of Christ.

Reference was also made to the fact that this type of

Christianity was widely propagated in Persia and Armenia through the disciples of Paul of Samosata and otherwise, and that the adherents of this type of teaching in Armenia resisted the intrusion of the teachings of the Greek Church, and when the influence of the latter became dominant persisted as a persecuted party during the Middle Ages, and even to modern times, under the name of "Paulicians." "The Key of Truth," an Armenian writing found in the possession of the modern Paulicians of Thondrak, that embodies the doctrines and practices of the party, contains a most interesting statement of the Adoptionist Christology in a form that Conybeare attributes to the present period. Our Lord Jesus Christ is here represented as first receiving at his baptism the priesthood, the kingdom, and the office of Chief Shepherd.

> Moreover, he was then chosen, then he won lordship, then he became resplendent, then he was strengthened, then he was revered, then he was appointed to guard us, then he was glorified, then he was made glad, then he shone forth, . . then he became chief of beings heavenly and earthly, then he became the light of the world, then he became the way, the truth, and the life. Then he became the door of heaven; then he became the rock impregnable at the gate of hell; then he became the foundation of our faith; then he became Saviour of us sinners; then he became filled with the Godhead; then he was sealed, then anointed; then he was called by the voice; then he became the loved one; then he came to be guarded by angels; then to be the Lamb without blemish. Furthermore, he then put on the primal raiment of light, which Adam lost in the garden. Then, accordingly, was it that he was invited by the Spirit of God to converse with the Heavenly Father; yea, then also was he ordained King of beings in heaven and on earth and under the earth.

This view was held in connection with the acceptance of the supernatural birth of Christ, and involved a recognition of his exaltation to the highest conceivable dignity, glory, and authority.

(2) *The Spanish Controversy.*

a. Source of the Spanish Adoptionism of the Eighth Century. To what extent the Adoptionism of Elipandus, bishop of Toledo (*c.* 780) and his followers was influenced by Mohammedan thought and a desire to present Christianity in a form as acceptable as possible to the

cultured Saracens that ruled the country, is a question on which scholars are divided. It is certainly a remarkable fact that Adoptionism in the East (Paulicians) as well as in the West was in very close contact with Mohammedanism, and it is not improbable that in both cases Christian thought was consciously or unconsciously influenced by the enthusiastic monotheism of the Saracens. But it is certain, as already intimated, that Adoptionist modes of expression were widely current in the early Christian centuries, and its persistence till after the Mohammedan conquests is by no means improbable. It may be that the enthusiastic propagandism of Adoptionist views in the eighth century was due to a kindling of the surviving Adoptionism of the older type by contact with the fiercely aggressive monotheistic teaching of the Saracens.

b. Statement of the Adoptionist View. The Spanish Adoptionists of the eighth century, appealing in support of their views to the authority of Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Augustine,[1] and Isidore of Seville, maintained (*a*) That the eternal Son of God is to be distinguished from the man Jesus of Nazareth. "Jesus Christ is adoptive in his humanity and by no means adoptive in his divinity." According to his divine nature, he is the true and proper Son of God, and could with propriety say, "I and the Father are one." According to his humanity he is the Son of God, "not by generation, but by adoption; not by nature, but by grace." (*b*) That this adoption of Christ as man sustained a close and necessary relation to the adoption of believers as sons of God. According to his deity he is the "only begotten," according to his humanity he is "the first born among many brethren." Believers are "adoptive with the adoptive one—Christ with Christ." Christ is "a God among gods" (*i. e.*, believers, *cf.* John 10 : 34, *seq.*). The "adoptive members" must have "an adoptive head." (*c*) Great stress is laid upon the baptism of Jesus (as by the Paulicians) as the occasion or means of his adoption, and as absolutely necessary to his mediatorial work.

[1] Augustine was at one stage of his development a thorough-going Adoptionist; but he was able to extricate himself from this as from many other erroneous modes of thought.

The Redeemer according to his humanity comprehended in himself two births: "the first, that is to say, which he received from the Virgin by being born, the second, indeed, which he initiated in the bath, by rising from the dead." This coupling of baptism and the resurrection seems to indicate that the process of adoption begun in baptism was consummated in the resurrection. A close connection was supposed between Christ's birth in baptism and the regeneration of believers in baptism.

c. Polemics against the Adoptionists. Among the most important opponents of Adoptionism was Alcuin, the great British prelate and educator. The Adoptionists were charged with Nestorianism, inasmuch as they separated the humanity from the deity of Christ so as to postulate two sonships. Christ is not "man" but "the God-man." He is "not in *everything* like us apart from sin," but "in *many things*"—in most things and the most important things he is unlike us. Alcuin even went so far as to deny that Christ prayed for himself or for his disciples. As God-man he could have no need to pray for himself and he was abundantly able to bestow every needed blessing on his disciples; he had no occasion to pray for them. What seem to be prayers were merely for effect. It was insisted that the God-man, as such, is Son of God, not by adoption or by grace, but eternally and by nature.

This controversy extended far into the Middle Ages and may have persisted in some of the sects until the time of the Reformation and later. It is probable that the Christology of the Antiochian school was directly or indirectly influential in the Adoptionist Christology.

IV. ON ANTHROPOLOGY: THE PELAGIAN AND SEMI-PELAGIAN CONTROVERSIES.

LITERATURE: Works of Augustine, Pelagius, Jerome, Marius Mercator, Paulus Orosius, Cassianus, Prosper, Fulgentius, in Migne's "*Patrologia*"; English translation of Augustine's "Anti-Pelagian Writings," with elaborate Introductory Essay by Warfield, in "Nic. and Post-Nic. Fathers," Ser. I., Vol. V.; older modern works by Vossius, Garnier, Norisius, Jansenius, Sirmond, Tillemont, Walch, and Geffken; Wiggers, "*Versuch einer pragmat. Darstellung d. Augustinismus u. Pelagianismus*," 1821–1833 (Eng. trans. of Part I., Andover, 1840); Cunningham, "S. Austin and his Place in the History of Christian Thought," 1886; Bindemann, "*Der heilige*

Augustinus," 1844–1869; Dorner, "*Augustinus, sein Theol. System u. seine Religionsphilosophische Anschauung*," 1873; Warfield, "Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy," 1897; Reuter, "*Augustinische Studien*," 1887; pertinent sections in the works on the history of doctrine and in the encyclopedias.

1. *Antecedents of Augustinianism and Pelagianism.*

Before the beginning of the fifth century the attention of Christian thinkers had never been focused on the great anthropological questions that figure in the Pelagian controversy. Many expressions regarding the original and actual condition of man can be found in the ante-Nicene and the fourth century writings; but they were employed without dogmatic or polemical purpose and are significant as showing the trend of thought rather than as expressing the well-reasoned convictions of the writers.

(1) Writers like *Justin*, *Irenæus*, and *Hippolytus*, in combating Gnostic fatalism were careful to vindicate the freedom of man to obey the divine precepts and to avail himself of the means of salvation graciously provided, and his responsibility for the use or the neglect of the means of grace. They were careful to guard against the Gnostic supposition that the world, including man, is the creature of an imperfect or malignant demiurge, and to insist upon the original goodness of the work of the good Creator; yet they regarded imperfection as inhering in the finiteness of created beings. Because of his limitations man was subject to temptation and liable to fall. Free from evil, but without experience, and susceptible to temptation because of their sensuous nature, our first parents yielded to the solicitations of the tempter. If they had persisted in obedience to God, they would have attained to communion with God and to eternal life. By disobedience they became involved in evil, yet retained freedom of will, the indelible image of God in man.

(2) *Tertullian*, who was inclined to regard the fall as a fearful catastrophe, still insisted most earnestly on freedom of will as an inalienable element of human nature and as constituting in man ability to appropriate the provisions of divine grace. Yet he regarded divine grace as absolutely necessary to man's salvation. He was probably the first to set forth clearly the propagation of

souls together with their good and evil qualities (Traducianism).

(3) *Clement of Alexandria* looked upon the fall as a far less momentous event. Man was created in an infantile state, with his sensuous nature far better developed than his moral and intellectual. By yielding to sensuality he became involved in disobedience to God. Sin consists chiefly in subjection to sensuality. The effect of Adam's sin upon the race was chiefly that of example. Inherited tendency to sin is recognized, but sin as guilt inherent in human nature finds no place in his system. The example and the precepts of Christ he regarded as divinely provided helps whereby man is able to overcome sensuality and to attain to exaltation of character; but not, apparently, as absolutely indispensable to man's salvation.

(4) *Origen* also maintained the freedom of the will and the power of every man to avail himself of the salvation of Christ; yet he accounted for the sinful condition of human souls by the supposition of a fall in a previous state of existence. He seems to have had a somewhat more adequate conception of the sinfulness of human nature and the need of atonement than did Clement; but he laid chief stress on the moral influence of Christ's life and death in the plan of salvation.

(5) *Paul of Samosata* is said to have magnified man's natural ability and to have made little of the special grace of God as a factor in man's salvation. In this as in other respects Arius followed in Paul's footsteps. Regarding Christ as a result of the union of the divine Logos (a created being) with a human body, and supposing that he had attained to his present exalted position by the choice of good when a contrary choice was possible, it was natural for him to lay undue stress on man's ability to follow Christ in this respect. Athanasius understood him to make the higher divine character of Christ dependent on his purely human activity. It was inevitable, therefore, that Arianism should develop a superficial view of sin, redemption, and divine grace. Athanasius was justified in charging Arius with robbing humanity of grace by his separation of the Word from the Father as regards essence and dignity.

(6) *Apollinaris* was almost Manichæan in his conception of the essential evil of human nature. He would not admit that Christ had a complete human nature, for he could not understand how he could in that case have escaped the contagion of sin. As the divine Logos took the place of the human spirit in Christ, so the salvation of believers consists in their likeness to Christ and their imitation of him and not in renewal and restoration (first-fruits). Here also we have an inadequate view of grace in redemption. The appropriation of Christ's salvation is represented as a subjective process of imitation and assimilation, dependent wholly on the will of the individual.

(7) The cordiality with which Pelagians were received in *Antiochian circles* during the early stages of the Pelagian controversy shows the close affinity between the Pelagian and the Antiochian (Nestorian) modes of thought. The emphasis laid by the Nestorians on the persistent integrity of Christ's humanity, including freedom of will, and their utter aversion to any view of Christ's humanity that savored of Docetism, involved a relatively favorable view of the condition of human nature as such. The Augustinian view of man's depravity, lack of freedom, and absolute dependence on special divine grace for deliverance, was distasteful to them ; and while they were not prepared to accept the extreme statements of the Pelagian anthropology, it was easy for a shrewd apologist like Julian or Cœlestius to win the approval of men like Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius.

2. *Augustine and Pelagius.*

The temperaments and the experiences of the two protagonists in this controversy no doubt had much to do with the radical differences of their conceptions regarding nature and grace.

(1) *Augustine's* was a tempestuous, passionate nature. Despite his wonderful intellectual power it was with the utmost difficulty that he could keep his body under. The excesses and irregularities of his youth and early manhood were to him a lifelong subject of regret, almost of remorse. His ideas of human depravity were derived from the correspondence of his own experience with

Paul's representation of the antagonism between the flesh and the spirit, between the law of the mind and the law of the members (Rom. 7). His "Confessions" constitutes one of the most remarkable psychological disclosures in all literature and should be read by every one who wishes to sound the depths of human experience in relation to the religious life. His connection with the Manichæans for nine years accustomed him to regarding human nature as fundamentally evil and human freedom as a delusion. Delivered from the thraldom of Manichæism through the medium of Neo-Platonism (Plotinus), he was perilously near to exchanging Manichæan dualism for semi-pantheism, and by contemplating God in his absoluteness to lose sight of the relative freedom of man. Yet, in contending with the Manichæans, he went so far in his assertion of human freedom as greatly to embarrass him in his controversy with the Pelagians.

(2) *Pelagius*, on the other hand, was a learned monk of cold, even temperament, and of abstemious life. To him it seemed easy to live uprightly. He was conscious of freedom to perform the dictates of his higher nature. He saw no need of supposing that Adam's posterity had inherited his guilt. To him man seemed fully equipped by nature for living a life of righteousness by the use of such helps as have been graciously provided by God and are available in some measure to all.

The early tradition that Pelagius was born in Britain and that his views of Christianity were tinctured with the naturalism of the Druids may rest on a foundation of fact. Yet we find him perfectly at home among the Latin theologians of Italy, North Africa, and Gaul, and among the Greek theologians of the East. It seems probable that he had resided for many years in these regions before we meet him in Rome, about 400. It is difficult to conceive that a man brought up in Britain and reaching middle life there should have been so completely at home in the great centers of Christian life as he seems at that time to have been. He enjoyed the friendship of Paulinus of Nola, and of Sulpicius Severus, the great promoters of ascetic life, and for a time that of Jerome. He was highly honored because of his learning and the purity of his life.

3. *Rise of the Controversy.*

Pelagius was strongly averse to controversy. It was his more aggressive disciple Cœlestius, a Roman lawyer

of noble birth, who having been won over by him to the ascetic life, presented his teaching in polemical form and precipitated the great conflict with Augustine. Pelagius and Cœlestius had taken refuge in North Africa at the time of Alaric's invasion of Italy (411), and Pelagius had formed a pleasant acquaintance with Augustine, bishop of Hippo. Cœlestius sought admission to the Carthaginian ministry. From Italy the Carthaginians were warned of his doctrinal unsoundness. In a Carthaginian synod he defended the Pelagian teachings. That which awakened most opposition was the implication that infant baptism was unnecessary to salvation. This view was involved in his denial of original or hereditary sin. He sought to satisfy his opponents by allowing that infant baptism admitted to the kingdom of God, though eternal life did not depend upon it. The controversy thus begun soon spread throughout Christendom.

4. *Statement of the Views of the Contending Parties.*

(1) *The Views of the Pelagians.* Pelagius and his chief coadjutors, Cœlestius and Julian, did not always express themselves consistently. Their extreme desire to vindicate their orthodoxy often led them to make partial, compromising statements. There has been considerable diversity of opinion among modern writers as to which point of Pelagius' teaching is to be regarded as fundamental. Some give the primacy to the doctrine of free will, others to denial of original sin, others to the denial of the necessity of infant baptism, others to the maintenance of the natural necessity of physical death, others still to the superficial view of sin. The fact is, that from either of these positions all the rest of the features of the system can be logically derived. If we must choose one principle as most fundamental, that of the freedom of the will seems to have the advantage.

a. Freedom of the Will. Pelagius maintained that man was created with perfect freedom to choose between good and evil, and that this freedom inheres in every man at all times.

> We contradict the Lord when we say "it is hard," "it is difficult," "we cannot," "we are men," "we are encompassed with mortal flesh." Oh, blind nonsense! Oh, unholy audacity! We

charge God with a two-fold ignorance: that he does not seem to know what he has made, nor what he has commanded; just as if he, forgetting the human weakness of which himself is the author, has imposed laws on man which he cannot endure.[1] In this capacity for a two-fold choice . . . lies the superiority of the rational soul. In this consists the honor of our nature; in this its dignity.[2] The rational creature has the advantage over all others in this, that while the latter have only a goodness of condition and of necessity, the former alone has it of will.[3] Sin that is necessary is not sin at all. Man is neither good nor evil because he is free; but neither could he be good or evil unless he were free.[4] It is easier to avoid parricide and sacrilege and adultery, or like things, than to commit them.[5] Free will after sins have been committed is just as complete as it was before.[6]

b. Sin. Closely connected with the doctrine of free will was the Pelagians' doctrine of sin. Sin is purely a matter of will. Adam sinned by the exercise of his free will. Most of his posterity have sinned after his example, but not all. To assert the heredity of sin involved, in their opinion, the acceptance of the theory of the propagation of the soul (Traducianism), which they regarded as materialistic and horrible. Each soul is created pure and has as perfect freedom to do good or evil as Adam had. If sin is a man's own, it is voluntary; if it is voluntary, it can be avoided.

"What then is sin?" wrote Julian. "It is the appetency of free will for what justice prohibits . . . the will to do what justice forbids and what there is freedom to abstain from. . . Does God impute what he knows cannot be avoided?[7] God . . . does not make evil: a little child before the decision of his own will has nothing save what God made in him. Naturally, therefore, there can be in him no sin."[8] Sin is represented by Julian as having its origin in one's own appetite.[9]

c. Infant Baptism. As remarked above, the implied needlessness of infant baptism was at first the chief ground on which Pelagius and his disciples were attacked. Denying hereditary sin they were unable to find any adequate justification for this practice. Yet they were not sufficiently interested in anti-pedobaptism to be willing to make it a plank in their platform.

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[1] "*Ep. ad Demetr.*," Chap. 19. [2] *Ibid.*, Chap. 2. [3] *Ibid.*, Chap. 3.
[4] Augustine, "*Op. Imp.*," Bk. V., Chap. 57.
[5] Julian, in "*Op. Imp.*," Bk. III., Chap. 111. [6] *Ibid.*, Bk. I., Chap. 91.
[7] Augustine, "*Op. Imp.*," Bk. V., Chap. 28.
[8] Julian, in "*Op. Imp.*," Bk. V., Chap. 63. [9] "*Op. Imp.*," Bk. I., Chap. 44, *seq.*

Pelagians admitted that baptism might properly be administered to infants with the use of the regular ritual for older people. Pelagius went so far as to denounce the refusal of baptism to infants as godlessness. He had heard one heretic so wicked as to deny that infants should be baptized.[1] Infants answer truly through their sponsors that they believe in the forgiveness of sins, meaning the sins of those who are guilty. Julian insisted that "the grace of baptism" was "useful to all ages," and "would smite with an eternal anathema all who do not think it necessary even for little children."[2] He thought that by the grace of baptism "a sinner from a wicked becomes a perfectly good man; but an innocent person who has no evil of his own will, becomes from a good a better person, that is, the best. Both indeed become members of Christ by baptism; only the one had before led a wicked life, the other was of an uncorrupted nature." By baptism, he maintained, we become children of God and members of his kingdom.[3] Pelagius distinguished between *eternal life*, which belongs to unbaptized infants, and the *kingdom of heaven* in which only the baptized participate.

d. Divine Grace. Pelagius and his followers used the expression "divine grace" to include the fact of our creation, of our being alive, of our being rational, of our being in the image of God, of our possessing free will, of our enjoying God's unceasing beneficence, of our having the divine law given us in the Old Testament, and above all the fact of our enjoyment of the teachings, the example, and the sufferings of the incarnate Son.[4] They maintained that salvation is possible without law or gospel and was attained by some before the giving of the law; that it was easier to attain under the law; and that the gospel dispensation greatly facilitates its attainment.

(2) *Augustine's Views.* Augustine's position in this controversy was exceedingly embarrassing. In opposition to Manichæan fatalism he felt obliged to insist upon such a degree of freedom as would furnish a basis for human responsibility, and over against the Manichæan doctrine of the absolute and essential evil of human nature he felt obliged to maintain that it was not utterly corrupt. He held with Pelagius, against the Manichæans, that all nature is good, because it proceeds from God.

a. Man's Original State and His Possibilities. Man came from the hand of his Maker faultless. He possessed

[1] "*De Gratia Christi*," Chap. 32; "*De Pec. Orig.*," Chap. 18.
[2] "*Op. Imp.*," Bk. I., Chap. 53, *seq.* [3] *Ibid.*, Bk. V., Chap. 9.
[4] "*Op. Imp.*," Bk. II., Chap. 94; I., 146.

freedom to do good, reason to know God, and the grace of God. By the latter he means that supernatural assistance whereby alone men and angels could have persevered in goodness. To man, as a moral being, the possibility of sinning was necessary, but sinning only possible. If he had persevered in obedience he would have attained to a state in which sinning would have been impossible. His bodily nature, mortal in itself, would thus have become immortal.

b. The Fall. This consisted in the fact that the original possibility of sinning became by willful disobedience a reality. Augustine attributes the fall to the seductive influence of the serpent, who inspired pride and self-seeking first in the woman as the weaker. The sin was committed before the fruit was eaten. The consequences of the fall are: loss of freedom of choice (in matters pertaining to salvation), a beclouding of the mind, loss of the grace of God for performing the good that his freedom willed, loss of paradise, subjection to concupiscence (including all sensuous obstacles to the dominance of the spirit), and physical death.

c. Hereditary Sin. Augustine maintained that the condition of Adam after the fall is the condition of the race. To the end of his life he was greatly perplexed regarding the origin of the soul. The Traducian theory, with which the Pelagians never wearied of reproaching him, claiming as they did that it was logically involved in his doctrine of hereditary guilt, seemed too materialistic to harmonize with his Platonizing mode of thinking. The Creation theory seemed, as was insisted upon in season and out of season by the Pelagians, irreconcilable with his doctrine of original sin, or else with the goodness of God. In his "Retractations" he confessed his ignorance on this point, but insisted that Adam was the representative and the progenitor of the race, and that in Adam all sinned. He felt the need of Traducianism, but could not bring himself openly to adopt it.

d. Baptism. By baptism the guilt of this original sin is taken away, but not sin itself. Unconscious infants dying without baptism are damned by virtue of their inherited guilt. The sinful nature remains after baptism and with the dawn of moral consciousness actual sin ap-

pears in the choice of evil through the dominance of concupiscence. This post-baptismal sin will inevitably lead to eternal perdition if it be not healed by penance, by good works, and by the intercession of the glorified Saviour. The real conversion of the will by divine grace, so that it becomes free for goodness, is independent of baptism and usually comes long after the latter has been received. In such conversion of the will grace manifests itself in revelation and teaching and in the inbreathing of the divine love.

e. Divine Grace. Augustine maintained that special divine grace was freely given to our first parents in such measure as would have enabled them to persevere in obedience. To fallen man it is absolutely necessary to his willing or doing good, it is unmerited, and it is irresistible. He conceived of all mankind as, on account of Adam's fall, "a certain mass of sin (or of corruption), amenable to the divine and supreme justice; whether this punishment is exacted or remitted, no injustice is done." Out of this indistinguishable mass God brings some to salvation and allows others to become reprobates. The very willing to secure salvation is a gift of God withheld from some, whom he makes "vessels of contumely"; not that he is the author of sin, but those from whom grace is withheld become vessels of dishonor and contribute to the harmony of the divine system.

f. Predestination, Election, Perseverance, and Reprobation. Augustine taught that with fallen humanity in mind God "justly predestined to punishment" (or death) a part of the race, while some "he benignantly predestined to grace, not because we were holy, but that we might be." He maintained the final perseverance of the elect, but admitted that election could be known in individual cases only from observation of perseverance to the end. He did not distinctly teach that God determined to create man in order that all the race might become involved in sin and that he might save some by his grace and damn others for the manifestation of his justice (Supralapsarianism), though he comes perilously near to this conception in making the existence and the punishment of evil beings essential to the harmony of the divine scheme.

4. *Proceedings Against the Pelagians.*

(1) *Synods at Jerusalem and Diospolis.* After his condemnation by a Carthaginian synod (412) Pelagius visited Palestine, where he won the confidence of Bishop John of Jerusalem. Jerome, the opponent of John (see Origenistic controversies above), who had been informed by Augustine, through the presbyter Orosius, of Pelagius' errors, wrote a sharp polemic against him. Pelagius succeeded in stating his views in a Jerusalem synod to the satisfaction of John, who bade Pelagius keep quiet until the bishop of Rome could be heard from on the matter. Further attacks from the West led to a fresh investigation in a synod at Diospolis (Lydda) under Bishop Eulogius of Cæsarea. On this occasion Pelagius declined to be held responsible for the teachings of Cœlestius and by sophistical modes of statement gained the recognition of the body.

(2) *Popes Innocent I. and Zosimus.* At the instance of the African bishops, Innocent I. condemned Pelagius (416). Innocent's death occurring shortly afterward, Cœlestius was able to convince his successor of the orthodoxy of the Pelagians. Zosimus rebuked the Africans for listening to slanderous reports against these excellent men. The African bishops declined to withdraw their condemnation until Pelagius and Cœlestius should unequivocally assert "that the grace of God by Jesus Christ assists us not only to the knowledge, but also to the exercise, of righteousness in every single act, so that without it we should be able to think, to say, or to perform nothing truly pious or holy."

In 418 a General Council of the African churches condemned the chief positions of the Pelagians, and Zosimus of Rome felt constrained to withdraw his support and caused their condemnation in a Roman synod. Julian, bishop of Eclanum, refused to accept the decision of the synod and was henceforth by far the most acute and courageous defender of Pelagian principles. It was in controversy with him that Augustine wrote his most important anti-Pelagian works. In these are incorporated Julian's statements and arguments that would otherwise have perished. This controversy with Julian was the

occasion of Augustine's working out with great fullness his doctrines of freedom of will, sin, grace, predestination, etc.

(3) *Pelagians and Nestorians.* Pelagius seems to have remained in the East and is soon lost sight of. Julian and Cœlestius again sought and won the support of such Oriental bishops as Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius. The fall of Nestorius (see Nestorian controversy above) rendered his approval worse than useless, and they were condemned along with him by the Synod of Ephesus (431).

5. *The Semi-Pelagians.*

(1) *Jerome, Prosper, Vincentius, and Cassianus.* The Pelagians had failed signally to win Christendom to the acceptance of their views. Augustine and his adherents had industriously discredited them wherever they sought to introduce their teachings.

But neither was Augustinianism to be the dominant theology of the age. As it was radically different from the theology of the past, so it was out of accord with the dominant tendencies of the immediately succeeding time. Luther and Calvin were the true successors of Augustine. His own age was not ripe for his teachings. He laid too much stress on the inner Christian life and too little stress on external ceremonies to suit the spirit of the age. While he held that baptism destroys the guilt of original sin, he repudiated the thought that, apart from special divine grace working a change in the direction of the will and producing righteous character, salvation is possible to those that reach moral consciousness. He was an earnest advocate of asceticism, but he denied that the mere torture of the flesh, apart from the transformation of the life into Christlikeness, avails anything. He regarded the Supper as a "communion of the body of Christ," yet he did not admit that the mere eating and drinking of the elements were of any benefit apart from the faith of the partaker. He taught the perseverance of the saints, but he denied that any one could be assured of the possession of the gift of perseverance until the end of life. His teachings were radically opposed to the sacramentalism and to the idea of salvation by external

works that more and more dominated the Christian thought of the time.

Even Jerome, who joined with Augustine in condemning the Pelagians, was far from being an Augustinian. Prosper of Aquitania and Hilary of Arles remonstrated with Augustine regarding the rigor of his predestinarianism. Vincentius of Lerins (434) put forth a vigorous, though covert, attack on Augustine's teachings, laying stress on ecclesiastical traditionalism and insisting that the greatest care should be taken that "we hold fast to what has been believed everywhere, always, and by all" (*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*). These Gallic opponents of Augustine insisted on the recognition of such a degree of free will as would make each man's salvation dependent on himself. "All who perish, perish against the will of God" (Cassianus).

(2) *The "Prædestinatus" and Faustus of Lerins.* About 450 appeared an anonymous work called "*Prædestinatus*," in which the doctrine of predestination was set forth with the utmost harshness. "Those whom God has once predestinated to life, even if they are negligent, even if they sin, even if they are unwilling, yet unwillingly are conducted to life; but those whom he has predestinated to death, even if they run, even if they hasten, labor in vain." The immoral and almost blasphemous teachings of this book aroused the polemical zeal of many earnest Christian thinkers.

Faustus, abbot of Lerins, who represented the moderate anti-Augustinianism of the Gallic monks, attacked extreme Augustinianism with great vigor. He denounced "the error of predestination," defended "the free choice of the human mind," and identified the current predestinarian doctrine with pagan and Manichæan fatalism. He does not attack Augustine, but aims his blows at the later somewhat exaggerated Augustinianism. While admitting that holiness cannot be attained without divine grace, he made great claims for the efficacy of asceticism in elevating character.

(3) *The Scythian Monks and Fulgentius.* About 519 some Scythian monks residing in Constantinople began to agitate in favor of Augustinianism and pressed upon Pope Hormisdas the utter inconsistency of his recognizing

both Augustine and Faustus as orthodox. One or the other must be a heretic. This led Fulgentius, an African theologian, to defend the doctrine of predestination against Faustus' assaults; yet he rejected the idea of predestination to sin (reprobation).

(4) *Mediæval Orthodoxy as fixed by Gregory the Great.* After much controversy Semi-Pelagianism was seemingly vanquished, but the dominant type of Roman Catholic theology, as embodied in the works of Pope Gregory the Great (590–604), was not Augustinianism, although much of the language of Augustine was freely used; but rather the ascetic theology of Jerome, modified by the deepening asceticism and formalism of the fully developed hierarchical church.

V. CONTROVERSIES OCCASIONED BY PROTESTS AGAINST THE PROGRESSIVE PAGANIZATION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AS SEEN IN ASCETICISM, THE VENERATION OF SAINTS AND RELICS, ETC.

Long before the close of the fourth century the ascetical view of Christian life, already aggressive at the beginning of the present period, had become dominant. The religious life was identified with asceticism. The perfection of Christian character could be approximated only by voluntary celibacy, poverty, and withdrawal from secular life.

Martin of Tours (d. *c.* 400) established a monastery at Poictiers (*c.* 367), where he practised the most rigorous asceticism and acquired the reputation of being a miracle worker. Sulpicius Severus, a Gallic nobleman of character and culture, became his enthusiastic disciple and biographer. He attributed to his master the raising of the dead (several cases), the stopping of a falling tree, the arrest of the progress of a fire, the healing of demoniacs and lepers, etc. As bishop of Tours he founded a multitude of churches and greatly extended the influence of Christianity in Gaul. Sulpicius employed the revenues of his great estates and his personal influence in the promotion of ascetical Christianity.

Paulinus of Nola, an Italian noble of enormous wealth and elegant culture (he has been designated "the Christian Cicero"), became a Christian and adopted the as-

cetical life (*c.* 379). He devoted his income to charity and the founding of a church and a monastery in which relics and images of saints and martyrs were collected and where a truly pagan cult was established. He spent much of his time prostrate before the image of St. Felix, his patron saint, and every year wrote a birthday poem in his honor,—bestowing on him epithets suitable only for Deity, attributing to his favor the blessings of life, and imploring his good offices for the future. The influence of Martin, Sulpicius, and Paulinus, was widespread. Christian churches became assimilated to pagan temples and the ascetical life grew apace.

Jerome (*c.* 341–420), the greatest scholar of his age, was mastered by the ascetical spirit (*c.* 372), and to escape hell and expiate his sins betook himself to the deserts of Syria, where he lived a life of incredible austerity, waging meantime the fiercest battle with his passions. After four years of the most rigorous hermit life and a brief residence at Antioch, he returned to Rome, where (*c.* 382) he found the church in the most shameful disorder on account of a disputed succession to the episcopal chair. Here he promoted ascetical life, especially among women of rank, and established such intimate relations with two young widows, Paula and Marcella, as to awaken grave, but probably unjust, suspicions. In 385 he left Rome, which he now called "Babylon," to take up his abode in Bethlehem, where he prepared his edition of the Latin Bible (Vulgate) and wrote many of his controversial and other works. He was a fanatic of the most pronounced type and was one of the most violent and unscrupulous polemicists of the age. He composed fabulous lives of early ascetics (Antony, Paul, Malchus, and Hilarion), in which he drew freely upon the erotic pagan romances of the earlier time and thought only of exalting the most extreme forms of asceticism. He carried on an extensive correspondence with the leading Christians of all parts of the world and exerted a profound influence in favor of world-flight and celibacy.

A milder and more rational type of asceticism was represented and fostered in Syria and Asia Minor by Basil (d. 379), Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa,

Diodorus (d. 394), Chrysostom (d. 407), Nestorius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, etc., and in Italy and Africa by Ambrose (d. 397) and Augustine (d. 430). From the writings of these latter it is evident that the ascetical spirit had become dominant, and they were concerned to guard against its abuses and to insist upon the possibility and the duty of true Christian morality in secular life.

Closely connected with the growth of asceticism was the rapid development of the most groveling idolatry—worship of saints, relics, images, holy places, etc.

It was against the corrupt practices and corrupting tendencies indicated above that the protests occasioning the following controversies were uttered.

1. *The Aërian Controversy.*

LITERATURE: Epiphanius, "*Panarion*" ("*Haeres.*," 75), Walch, "*Hist. d. Ketzereien*," *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 321, *seq.*; Neander, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 342, *seq.*; encyclopedia articles.

Aërius, presbyter and superintendent of a Christian almshouse at Sebaste, Asia Minor, was intimately associated with Eustathius, who became bishop *c.* 355. Controversy regarding the administration of the institution arose between Aërius and the bishop, and the former was obliged to resign his position *c.* 360. A large number of the constituents of the diocese supported Aërius, who vigorously attacked not only the personal administration of Eustathius, but the corruptions in doctrine and practice that were coming to prevail in that region. He accused Eustathius of being too much concerned about the acquisition of property, insisted upon the equality of presbyters and bishops on scriptural grounds, denounced the practice of seeking the intercession of departed saints and of celebrating the Supper as an offering for the dead, opposed the laws regulating fasts (fixed seasons), and especially the celebration of the Passover, which he regarded as a Judaizing practice out of place in a Christian church. He charged the dominant form of Christianity with substituting the bondage of Jewish legalism for the liberty of the gospel.

Driven from the churches and severely persecuted,

Aërius and his followers were soon widely scattered. They were obliged to hold their meetings in fields, forests, and in mountainous retreats. They were soon lost sight of as a distinct party; but it is probable that the spirit of their protest persisted in Paulicianism, or rather that it formed part of the early evangelical movement which became prominent in Paulicianism at a later date.

2. *The Jovinianist Controversy.*

LITERATURE: Jerome, "*Adversus Jovinianum*" (Eng. tr. in "Nic. and Post-Nic. Fathers," Ser. 2, Vol. VI.); Augustine, "*Haeres.*," 82, "*De Bono Conjugali*," and "*De Virginitate*"; Lindner, "*De Joviniano et Vigilantio Purioris Doctrinæ Antesignanis*," 1839; Schaff, "Ch. Hist." Vol. III., p. 226, *seq.*; Neander, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 269, *seq.*; Walch, "*Hist. der Ketzereien*," *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 635, *seq.*; Zöckler, "*Hieronymus*," *Seit.* 194, *seq.*; Comba, "*I Nostri Protestanti*," Vol. I., pp. 85–114; Belling, "*Ueber Jovinian*" (in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*," *Bd.* IX., *Seit.* 391, *seq.*); encyclopedia articles.

(1) *Rise of the Controversy.* Jovinianus, whom Neander calls "the Protestant of his time," a well-educated Roman monk, began (*c.* 378) to assail the ascetical teachings and practices represented by Jerome and his party. Up to this time he had practised a rigorous asceticism. Jerome represents him as allowing himself more liberty henceforth and even hints at Epicurean indulgence; but there seems no reason to believe that he exceeded the limits of sane Christian living. Augustine finds no fault with his life, but accuses him of Stoicism in putting all sins on a parity and of denying the perpetual virginity of Mary. In this last particular Jovinian followed in the footsteps of Helvidius, whom Jerome had a few years before (*c.* 383) elaborately confuted ("*Adv. Helvidium*").

(2) *Points at Issue.* We are indebted for most of our information regarding the protest of Jovinianus to Jerome, who ascribes to him, apparently in his own language, four "venomous" propositions in which he hears "the hissing of the serpent." These are as follows:

a. That "virgins, widows, and married women, who have been once washed in Christ, if they do not differ in respect to other works, are of the same merit."

b. That "those who have been baptized cannot be tempted (elsewhere "subverted") by the devil." He

defined his meaning by saying: "But those who have been tempted are shown to have been baptized by water only and not by the Spirit, as we read in the case of Simon Magus." Jerome further states Jovinian's position thus: "He denies that those who with full faith have obtained baptism can thenceforth sin." Elsewhere[1] Jerome represents Jovinianus as saying: "That those who with full faith have obtained baptism cannot be tempted; nay, in other words, that a baptized man, if he be unwilling to sin, sins no further." That he did not mean to teach that the truly regenerate man is of necessity absolutely sinless is evident from the statement attributed to him by Jerome: "Between that brother who had always been with the Father, and him who as a penitent was afterward received, there is no diversity." It is probable that he meant simply to teach that sufficient divine grace is bestowed upon the truly regenerate man to enable him to resist the temptations of the evil one, and that such a one will inevitably persevere to the end.

Jovinianus seems to have attached no importance to mere water baptism, and to have regarded baptism as the outward symbol of the inner transformation wrought through faith. Like the Christian writers of the second century, he probably regarded it as the completion of the process of regeneration conditioning the remission of sins.

c. That "there is no difference between those that abstain from foods and those that partake of them with thanksgiving." He argued that "all things were created to serve for the use of mortal men," and appealed to the example of Christ, who was called a "winebibber and a glutton." He repudiated the idea that starvation conduces to holiness.

d. That "to all who shall have preserved their baptism (*i. e.*, have been baptized on a profession of saving faith and hence do not fall away) there is one remuneration in the kingdom of heaven." He insisted that "Christ dwells in all equally and is in us without any difference of degrees. . . So also we are in Christ without degrees." Believers are "a temple of God, not temples."

[1] "*Dial. cum Pelagianis*," Bk. II., chap. 24.

He divided mankind rigorously into two classes, the saved and the unsaved, and refused to allow that there is any distinction to be made among the saved. Salvation being of grace and not of merit, all who are saved are saved absolutely. In these statements Jovinianus was protesting against the current teaching regarding works of supererogation, whereby saints and martyrs were supposed to be able efficaciously to intercede for sinners.

Jerome devotes the first half of his treatise to the refutation of the first proposition, insisting that in the parable of the sower the thirty-fold, sixty-fold, and hundred-fold fruitage of the seed sown in good ground indicates the relative merit of married life, voluntary widowhood, and virginity. Marriage is recommended by Paul not because it is good, but because it is less bad than consuming lust. He is able to quote much Scripture in favor of his contention that there are among Christians differences in spiritual attainment, and that the rewards of the saved and the sufferings of the lost are graded according to desert. If Jovinianus is correctly represented by Jerome and Augustine, he was certainly at fault in insisting upon absolute equality as regards rewards and punishments, which his opponents were probably right in attributing to the Stoic philosophy.

(3) *Proceedings and Results.* That the protest of Jovinianus awakened great interest and received influential support is evident from the excited polemics of Jerome, and from the public proceedings that were instituted against him in Rome and Milan. In 390 a Roman synod under Bishop Siricius condemned him, along with seven of his adherents, and notified other bishops of the fact. A Milanese synod under Ambrose excommunicated the Jovinianists shortly afterward. Jerome in his writing against Vigilantius (406) refers to the death of Jovinianus. An edict of the Emperor Honorius (412) condemns one Jovinianus, who had been holding unauthorized conventicles in the neighborhood of Rome, to scourging and banishment; but if Jerome's statement and the dates of both documents are correct another Jovinianus must be supposed. The persistence of the influence of Jovinianus is seen in the movement led by Vigilantius. It is not unlikely that followers of Jovinianus took refuge in the Alpine Valleys, and there kept alive the evangelical teaching that was to reappear with vigor in the twelfth century (Arnoldists, Petrobrusians, Henricians, etc.).

3. *The Vigilantian Controversy.*

LITERATURE: Jerome, "*Ep. ad Vigilantium*" and "*Adv. Vigilantium*" (Eng. tr. in "Nicene and Post-Nic. Fathers," Ser. 2., Vol. VI.); Lindner, "*De Joviniano et Vigilantio*"; Schmidt, "*Vigilantius, sein Verhältnis zum heil. Hieronymus*," 1860; Zöckler, "*Hieronymus*," *Seit.* 303, *seq.*; Lea, "Sacerdotal Celibacy," 2d ed., p. 70, *seq.*; Gilly, "Vig. and his Times"; Neander, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 313, *seq.*; 373, *seq.*; Schaff, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. III., p. 226, *seq.*; encyclopedia articles.

(1) *Sketch of Vigilantius.* Vigilantius was a native of Gaul and was a dependent of Sulpicius Severus, who discerning his capabilities liberated and educated him. He was ordained presbyter about 390. Four years later he was sent by his patron to visit the great ascetics of Italy and the East. He spent some time with Paulinus of Nola (see above), who received him with the utmost kindness, and became warmly attached to him. He seems from the first to have been somewhat shocked by the introduction of so much of paganism into Christian worship as he saw at Nola. A visit to Jerome at Bethlehem intensified his aversion to the excesses of asceticism, and he felt constrained to argue the matter with this impetuous and intolerant ascetic. He journeyed thence to Egypt, and became familiar with the most repulsive features of monastic life through contact with the swarms of ascetics who inhabited the Nitrian desert. The fact that in Palestine and in Egypt the Origenistic controversy was raging so furiously at the time no doubt contributed to his dislike for asceticism. It is probable that he had already become familiar with the protest of Jovinianus through the reading of Jerome's polemic or otherwise. On his homeward journey he seems to have visited Milan and Alpine Italy, and no doubt came into direct touch with the Jovinianist movement.

By this time he had become thoroughly convinced that asceticism and idolatrous practices of every kind are foreign to the spirit of Christianity, and he returned to Gaul full of zeal for the restoration of apostolic doctrine and practice. His reforming views found much acceptance, Sulpicius Severus and the bishop of Toulouse at first expressing approval. Jerome, however, was soon in the field with a most virulent and scurrilous polemic,

and the forces of the hierarchy were soon arrayed against him.

(2) *Views of Vigilantius.* In general they were identical with those of Jovinianus; but he did not concern himself with doctrinal matters so much as with the moral results of the ascetical and idolatrous practices that were coming to dominate the churches. From Jerome's exaggerated statement we can best ascertain where the emphasis was placed in his protest:

He charges him with denying "that religious reverence is to be paid to the tombs of the martyrs. Vigils, he says, are to be condemned; *Alleluia* must never be sung except at Easter; continence is a heresy; chastity a hotbed of lust." He spoke contemptuously of relics of the martyrs as "the mysterious something or other which you (Jerome and the ascetics) carry about in a little vessel and worship," and as "a bit of powder wrapped up in a costly cloth in a tiny vessel." Jerome insists that so long as the devil and demons wander freely through the world martyrs are not to be kept shut up in a coffin. Vigilantius maintained that "so long as we are alive we can pray for one another; but once we die, the prayer of no person for another can be heard." Jerome insists that apostles and martyrs can intercede more efficaciously now than when they were encumbered with the flesh and their own sufferings. Vigilantius charged that the vigils at the tombs of saints were the occasion of the grossest immorality on the part of the men and women who participated in them. Jerome admits the fact, but denies that a good thing should be disused because of abuses. He denounced indiscriminate almsgiving, especially for the support of idle monks. He regarded world-flight as cowardly: "This is not to fight, but to run away. Stand in line of battle, put on your armor and resist your foes, so that, having overcome, you may wear the crown." Jerome confesses his cowardice: "I would not fight in the hope of victory, lest some time or other I lose the victory. If I flee, I avoid the sword; if I stand, I must either overcome or fall. But what need is there to let go certainties and follow after uncertainties? . . . You who fight may either be overcome or may overcome. I who fly do not

overcome, inasmuch as I fly; but I fly to make sure that I may not be overcome."

(3) *Fate of the Movement.* The movement was lost in the invasion of the Alans and Vandals; but as we find early in the Middle Ages evangelical bodies of Christians in Southern Gaul, it is somewhat probable that the influence of Vigilantius persisted to some extent during the intervening time.

4. *The Paulician Controversy.*

LITERATURE: Peter Siculus, "*Historia Manichæorum*"; Photius, "*Adversus Recentiores Manichæos*" (in Wolf's "*Anec. Gr.*," Vol. I., II.); also numerous casual notices in "*Bibliotheca Scr. Byzantinorum*," ed. Niebuhr; Gieseler, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 21, *seq.*, 231, *seq.*, 611, *seq.*, 622, and "*Studien u. Kritiken*," 1829; Neander, Vol. III., pp. 244–267 and 587; Gibbon, "Dec. and Fall," Chap. 54; Finlay, "Hist. of Greece," Vol. II., pp. 168, 243–245, Vol. III., pp. 47, 64, *seq.*, 83; Herzog, "*Kirchengesch.*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 22, *seq.*; Hergenröther, *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 524, *seq.*; Joh. Ozniensis, "*Opera*," ed. Aucher, 1834; Gelzer, "*Die Anfänge der Armenischen Kirche*," 1895; Friedrich, "*Bericht über d. Paulikianer*" (*Sitzungsberichte d. k. b. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu München*, 1896). The above works, valuable as regards the external history of the movement, have been almost superseded by the following in respect to the doctrines and practices of the body: Karapet Ter-Mkrttschian, "*Die Paulikianer im Byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte Erscheinungen in Armenien*," 1893, and Conybeare, "The Key of Truth. A Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia. The Armenian Text, Edited and Translated with Illustrative Documents and Introduction," 1898. The former of these scholars, an Armenian priest educated in Germany, has thoroughly discredited the accounts of the Paulicians given by Peter Siculus and Photius, and by the monk Georgius, without being able to reach any important positive results; the latter, the foremost English authority on Armenian church history, has brought to light the manual of the ancient Paulician Christians, which has continued in use to recent times, and has given in his Introduction and Appendices much important documentary material not hitherto available.

(1) *Rise of the Paulicians.* The representation of the monkish chronicler Georgius, Peter Siculus, and Photius, that the Paulicians arose in the latter half of the seventh century and had for their founder one Constantine, who having received a copy of the New Testament from a Christian returning from captivity among the Saracens, was greatly interested by the Pauline Epistles and resolved as far as in him lay to secure a restoration of Christianity to its primitive Pauline form, may have

had a basis of fact in the reforming labors of an evangelical leader of that time. But the efforts of these writers to fasten upon the Paulicians the stigma of Manichæan (or Marcionitic) dualism were doubtless due to the unscrupulous polemical methods of the time, in accordance with which the most damaging heresies might legitimately be attributed to theological opponents. A careful comparison of the "Key of Truth," which contains an account of the doctrines and practices of the Paulicians from about the eighth century onward, with the Adoptionist literature of the second century, seems to establish the fact that Paulicianism is a perpetuation of the form of Christianity that was first introduced into Armenia and represents a very early type of doctrine and practice. Reference has already been made in another section to the Adoptionist Christology of the "Key of Truth" and to the fact that Adoptionism is known to have been the prevailing type of Christology in Persia and Armenia during the early centuries. Paulicianism was not so much an attempt to introduce in Armenia a new form of Christianity as a struggle against the encroachments of the Greek Christology, with its accompanying Mariolatry, saint-worship, iconolatry, asceticism, intolerance, and moral corruption.

The name *Pauliciani* was probably derived not from Paul the apostle, but from Paul of Samosata, deposed from the bishopric of Antioch by a synod for teaching Adoptionist Christology in 269 and forced to relinquish his charge by the Emperor Aurelian in 272. This is the representation of Gregory Magistros (eleventh century) and of the Escurial Fragment, from which Photius, Peter Siculus, etc., drew their materials. This document represents Paul's mother as a Manichæan and thus accounts for the supposed Manichæan features of Paulicianism. But even if we could be sure of this derivation of the name, this would constitute no proof that the form of Christianity that came to be thus stigmatized had its origin at this late date.

Conybeare is probably justified in asserting that "the Paulician Church was not the national church of a particular race, but an old form of the apostolic church, and that it included within itself Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, Africans, Latins, and various other

races. Finding refuge in southeastern Armenia, when it was nearly extirpated in the Roman Empire, it there nursed its forces in comparative security under the protection of the Persians and Arabs, and prepared itself for that magnificent career of missionary enterprise in the Greek world, which the sources relate with so much bitterness."

It was the "huge recess or circular dam" formed by the Taurus mountain range that furnished a comparatively secure abiding place for this ancient form of Christianity, when the Græco-Roman form of Christianity, supported by the imperial authority, was gradually making its influence felt throughout the more exposed parts of Armenia. But the peculiarities of Armenian life and thought were never obliterated, and from the fifth century onward the Græco-Roman influence was largely counteracted by the Persian and later by the Saracen (Mohammedan). Under these influences, which also had much to do with the uprising against image worship in the Byzantine Empire, there was a widespread revival of the old faith in Armenia in the eighth century. It is to this aggressive and uncompromising hostility to the Christianity of the empire, that the term "Paulician" is commonly applied.

Leo the Isaurian (717–741), the iconoclastic emperor, was virtually a Paulician, and it has been maintained that his successor, Constantine Copronymus (741–775), was "a pure Paulician."[1] As the imperial influence, with its Græco-Roman type of Christianity, declined in Armenia, the dominant form of Christianity (Gregorian) in this region became, it would seem, more shamelessly corrupt than before. Bishops were at the heads of clans and ecclesiastical offices came to be hereditary. Infant baptism had been introduced, contrary to the spirit of the old Adoptionist Christology, as a concomitant of this political form of Christianity. Blood-offerings had been instituted, in accord with the old pagan practice, to expiate for the sins of the dead. Crosses had been set up as objects of superstitious reverence.

(2) *Paulician Doctrines and Practices.* From the "Key of Truth," compared with other sources of information,

[1] Conybeare, on the authority of Theophanes. See "Key of Truth," Introd., p. cxvi.

the position of the Paulicians at about the close of this period, and presumably from the early time, may be summarized as follows: *a*. They did not call themselves "Paulicians" or "Thondrakians" (a name commonly applied to them because the movement had, during the mediæval time, Thondrak for its center), but rather "the holy, universal, and apostolic church." The Roman, Greek, and Armenian churches are regarded as absolutely evil and Satanic, and are on every occasion denounced in the bitterest way. This was no doubt due to the terrible persecutions suffered by the Paulicians at the hands of the dominant bodies. The ascription of acts of these bodies to Satanic agency by the Paulicians may have given color to the charge of Manichæan dualism so constantly preferred against them by their adversaries. Satan occupies a very prominent place in the "Key of Truth," as he does in Luther's writings.

b. The Adoptionist Christology, that forms so prominent a feature of the Paulician system, has been fully set forth in an earlier section. This did not involve any lack of reverence for Christ or any depreciation of his absoluteness as Saviour and Lord.

c. The Paulicians were uncompromisingly opposed to infant baptism. The arguments of those who "baptize the unbelieving, the reasonless, and the unrepentant" are declared to be "deceitful," and those that thus pervert Christ's ordinance are declared to be "utterly false and full of the deceit of demons,"[1] are said to "lie under the ban of the Lord and of the holy apostles," and to be prompted in this "by the spirit of the adversary of the Father."[2]

> Therefore, according to the word of the Lord, we must first bring them unto the faith, and then give it (baptism) unto them.[3] As the holy, universal, and apostolic catholic church having learned from our Lord Jesus Christ did proceed; so also must ye after them do. For they first taught; secondly, asked for faith; thirdly, induced to repent; and after that, granted holy baptism to those who were of full age, and in particular were cognizant of their original sin. Again ye, the elect ones, must observe the utmost care that they receive before baptism instruction and training, both of body and soul, as St. Paul saith: "Practise thyself in godliness." So must ye without delay bring those who come unto faith, hope, love, and

[1] "Key of Truth," Chap. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, Chap. 2. [3] *Ibid.*, Chap. 3.

repentance, and with extreme care and testing practise them, no matter who they be, lest peradventure any one should be an impostor, or deceitful, or a wizard like Simon. . . Whether men or women, you must not at once baptize them nor communicate them until they have been completely tested.[1]

In one passage it seems to be implied that as Jesus was not baptized until he was thirty years old, so believers should postpone baptism until this age is reached; but it is probable that only maturity and full testing were insisted upon.

A somewhat elaborate baptismal ritual is given, but the manuscript is incomplete and some portions are obscure. The candidate is required to "come on his knees into the midst of the water," and "with great love and tears" to make a solemn profession of his faith. Trine affusion follows. It is the opinion of Conybeare that this affusion was followed by trine immersion, as was the practice of the orthodox Armenian Church, and as we should expect from the fact that the candidate is required to go naked on his knees into the midst of the water. But immersion is not explicitly required in the document as it has been preserved.

d. The Supper is called "the mystery of salvation." The "blessed" bread and wine are said to be "changed into his (Christ's) body and blood." "False popes" "with bread cajole all men and make that their own flesh and blood, and not Christ's. . . Whosoever shall make any water, any mere bread, or any moistened morsel, and distribute deceitfully to the simple people, it is their own flesh and blood and not Christ's." These statements might seem to imply a doctrine of real presence; but it is to be noticed that wicked priests are represented as changing the elements into their own flesh and blood. It is probable that the writer meant to teach only the spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Christ by the believer. Undoubtedly this ordinance, like baptism, was celebrated with the utmost solemnity. It is probable that the Paulicians attached undue importance to both these ordinances.

e. Ministers of the gospel were selected with the utmost care. The positive and negative qualifications are

[1] "Key of Truth," Chap. 18.

like those prescribed in the New Testament, but more detailed and explicit. Much importance was attached to the solemn setting apart of the "elect ones" with the laying-on of hands. "It is necessary for that man to be on all sides free from blemish, before we give him authority of priesthood, of episcopate, of doctorate, of apostleship, of presidency, and of election. For all these are one and the same thing; nor are they one greater or lesser than another. But they are on an entire level." The graded ministry of the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians is explicitly condemned. "Authority is one, and is not greater or less. For one was the Holy Spirit which came down upon the universal apostles and made them the universal and apostolic catholic holy church."[1]

It seems that their church order was connectional and that a general superintendent presided over the entire body. Language is used in some instances which would seem to imply undue reverence for the "elect ones."

f. Consecrated places and objects and idolatrous practices of every kind were rejected with the utmost decision. A beautiful form of consecration to be administered in the home by the "elect one" seven days after the birth of the child is given in the "Key."

(3) *Sketch of the Movement.* Most of the history of the Paulicians as a distinct and organized form of Christianity falls in the succeeding period; but it seems best to give a brief outline here. The Paulicians suffered severe persecution at the hands of the Emperors Constantine Pogonatus and Justinian II. (684 and 690), many of them dying at the stake. The then leader of the movement, Gegnæsius (715–745), was brought to Constantinople for trial before the patriarch by order of Leo the Isaurian. The Byzantine accounts represent him as having cleared himself by dissimulation; but it is probable that Leo, as an iconoclast, was predisposed in his favor. During the reign of Leo the Isaurian (714–741) and Constantine Copronymus (741–775) the Paulician body had a remarkable growth and spread over Armenia and into many other parts of Asia Minor. Under Con-

[1] "Key of Truth," Chap. 22.

stantine VI. and Irene (*c.* 780) they suffered terrible persecution. From this time they allied themselves more or less closely with the Saracens and, aroused to almost fanatical zeal by the persecutions suffered, devastated the portions of the Eastern empire within their reach. Sergius was their great leader (801–835) and was almost worshiped by his people. Under the Empress Theodora, a hundred thousand of the Paulicians are said to have been massacred (*c.* 844). Tephrike, their stronghold, was captured in 873 and their power was broken. The destruction of this great Protestant organization in the East was the death-knell of Oriental Christianity. The Paulicians formed a mighty barrier against Mohammedanism so long as they were tolerated. But because of the persecutions directed against them they were forced at last, as a means of self-preservation, to cooperate with the enemies of Christianity in overthrowing the Christian empire. Their struggle was a heroic one, and they have well been called "Christian Maccabæans."

Constantine Copronymus had encouraged a large body of Paulicians to settle in Thrace. The colony flourished and their principles were disseminated in eastern Europe. During the ninth century the Paulicians of the Taurus, according to Peter Siculus, who spent some months at Tephrike, sent forth zealous missionaries to evangelize Bulgaria. About 970 the Emperor Tzimiskes, himself an Armenian, sent a hundred thousand Paulicians to the lower Danubian region. That this great body of evangelical Christians should have leavened eastern Europe with their teachings might have been expected. The historical connection between the Paulicians and the widespread and highly influential evangelical movement in central and western Europe from the eleventh century onward cannot at present be accurately traced, but is no less certain.

Though greatly depressed in the Taurus region by continuous persecution, the Paulicians have survived to the present century in the neighborhood of Thondrak, and it was among a party of refugees, who, after the Russo-Turkish War (1828–1829), had settled in a portion of Armenia acquired by Russia, that the "Key of Truth"

was discovered and, by an inquisitorial process, much interesting information was brought to light.[1]

5. *The Iconoclastic Controversy.*

LITERATURE: Documents in Hardouin, "*Conc.*," Vol. IV., and Mansi, "*Conc.*," Vol. XII.–XIV.; Goldast, "*Imperialia Decreta de cultu Imaginum in utroque Imperio*"; John of Damascus, "*De Imaginibus*," etc.; Nicephorus, "*Breviarium Historiæ*"; Theophanes Confessor, "*Chronographia*"; Hefele, "*Conciliengesch.*," *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 366, *seq.*; Gieseler, *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 14, *seq.*; Neander, Vol. III., p. 198, *seq.*; Alzog, Vol. II., p. 206, *seq.*; Milman, "Latin Christianity," Vol. II.; Greenwood, "*Cathedra Petri*," Vol. II., p. 463, *seq.*; p. 532, *seq.*; Hergenröther, "*Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 528, *seq.* (Roman Catholic, but remarkably satisfactory); Herzog, "*Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 10, *seq.*; Schwarzlose, "*Der Bilderstreit, ein Kampf d. Gr. Kirche um ihre Eigenart u. ihre Freiheit*"; Herzog-Hauck, 3d. ed., art. "*Bilderstreitigkeiten und Bilderverehrung*"; Smith and Cheetham, "Dic. of Chr. Antiq.," art. "Images."

(*1*) *Preliminary.*

a. Introduction of Image Worship into the Christian Churches. During the first, second, and third centuries, Christians rejected with abhorrence anything like a veneration of images. They were reproached by the pagans as atheists, from the fact that they carefully abstained from anything savoring of idolatry.

When the pagans replied to the charge of image worship preferred by Christians against them, that they worshiped, not the images, but the gods that the images represent, Christians asked them why then they did not turn their eyes toward heaven.[2] The Synod of Elvira (305) decreed that "pictures ought not to be in the churches," the reason assigned being the danger lest the painting or image be worshiped or adored. This decree is evidence of the fact that pictures were already beginning to be venerated. From the time of Constantine onward this practice developed rapidly.

b. Causes of the Prevalence of Image Worship. (*a*) To a very great extent it was transferred immediately from paganism. Men of influence came from paganism to Christianity with little change of views. Such men were in many cases appointed to high offices in the

[1] See Conybeare's edition of the "Key of Truth," Introd., p. 23, *seq.*
[2] Lactantius, "*Inst. Div.*," Bk. II., Chap. 2.

churches, and they devoted their energies to the assimilation of Christian churches to heathen temples. (*b*) It was not at first intended that the pictures should be actually worshiped. The aim was rather to instruct the uneducated in Christian truth. (*c*) The monastic system, with its perversion of the imagination, was very favorable to an entire perversion of the use of images to actual idolatry.

c. Images in the East and in the West. Oriental and Occidental Christians, as they differed widely in other respects, so also in the use of images. As monasticism had its most perverse and extreme development in the East, so the use of images was sure to lead to the worst results there. It seems that the Oriental mind is so constituted as to be incapable of using images at all in connection with religion, without making them actual objects of worship. The worship of images had, by the seventh century, become so marked that Christians were reproached by Jews and Mohammedans as idolaters.

(2) *Rise of the Controversy.*

The Saracens had by the eighth century established themselves firmly in Palestine, Syria, Armenia, etc., and were still aggressive. In 723 the Caliph Jezid had commanded the removal of all pictures from Christian churches within his realm. The agitation of the subject in the Saracen regions extended into Asia Minor. From the beginning of the eighth century several bishops—Constantine of Nicolia, in Phrygia, Theodosius of Ephesus, Thomas of Claudiopolis, etc.—had opposed image worship. These men had great influence with the Emperor Leo the Isaurian (718–741), who may also have imbibed his aversion to image worship from his dealings with the Saracens. Leo looked upon image worship not only as an abomination in itself, but also as a chief obstacle to the conversion of the Jews and the Saracens. He had repelled a great Saracen invasion, and he now desired to lay the foundation of a permanent peace with this aggressive power. He thought that the extirpation of image worship would not only increase the unity of his empire and promote peaceable relations with the Saracens, but would also greatly promote the enlight-

enment of his people. A volcanic eruption (726) led him to take still more decisive ground against image worship. He now issued an edict prohibiting prostration before images, and directing that images be put so high that the people could not kiss them. The execution of this decree met with much opposition, and was the occasion of many bloody riots. The monks, especially, who were much given to idolatry and who were engaged to a great extent in the painting of religious pictures, were chiefly instrumental in fomenting insurrection. The patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus, opposed the iconoclastic measures and was deposed from his office (730).

(3) *Statement of Opposing Views.*

a. Views of Pope Gregory II. and other Advocates of the Veneration of Images. The arguments in favor of images are: (*a*) That God commanded cherubim and seraphim to be made. (*b*) That pictures of Christ, alive and dead, and pictures of the apostles and martyrs, were taken by spectators to be looked upon by those that should come after. (*c*) That Christ himself sent his own picture to King Abgarus, at Edessa. (*d*) The commandment not to make graven images, etc., was necessary at the time to preserve the Israelites from heathenish idolatry; but circumstances are different now. God was invisible then and could not be represented. In Christ he became visible and capable of representation. (*e*) Those that venerate images are not to be called idolaters. Rather the memory is thereby aroused; the inexperienced and ignorant mind is erected and borne on high through those whose names, whose appellations, whose images these are.

It was attempted to make a distinction between προσκύνησις (adoration or prostration before images) and λατρεία (worship in the highest sense). The latter must be rendered to God alone; the former may be rendered to pictures of Christ and the saints.

b. Views of the Iconoclasts. The grounds which the Iconoclasts urged in favor of their position are: (*a*) That image worship is prohibited by the Old and the New Testaments (Deut. 5 : 4, 8; John 4 : 24; Rom. 23 : 25) and by the Fathers of the early church. (*b*) That it consists

in the application of a heathenish art to purposes of religion, which is an abomination, and which is dishonoring to Christ and the saints whom it is sought thus to represent. (*c*) That Christ having established the Supper indicated thereby, that under the form of bread and wine alone he desired to be represented. (*d*) The veneration of images involves either Eutychianism or Nestorianism; that is to say, such a union of the humanity and deity in Christ that only the deity is perceptible (in this case the image would represent the divine), or such a distinction of the natures that the humanity can be represented separately. The hypostatical union of the divine and the human in Christ is inconceivable, and hence cannot be represented pictorially.

(*4*) *Progress of the Controversy.*

a. Pope Gregory II. Opposes Leo. Pope Gregory II. wrote a denunciatory letter to Leo (*c.* 730) reproaching him for placing stumbling-blocks before the weak ones of Christ, urging him to trust to the judgment of the councils and the Fathers in the matter of images rather than to his own ignorance, and setting forth the grounds mentioned above in favor of the veneration of images.

b. Leo's Reply to Pope Gregory II. Leo was not a man to be turned aside from his purpose by the denunciations of a pope. The purport of his reply is: (*a*) That the six general councils had said nothing about images. (*b*) He declared that he himself was at the same time emperor and bishop, *i. e.*, was supreme in civil and ecclesiastical matters. (*c*) He threatened to destroy the image of St. Peter at Rome and to imprison the pope.

c. Roman Synod against Iconoclasm under Gregory III. In 731 at a synod of ninety-three bishops, called by Gregory III., a decree of excommunication was passed against whomsoever should thenceforth remove, destroy, or injure images of Mary, Christ, or the saints.

d. Leo's Retaliation. Leo retaliated by cutting off the papal revenues in Sicily and Calabria, and by annexing the churches of Illyria to the patriarchate of Constantinople.

e. Constantine V. and Iconoclasm. Constantine was not less averse to image worship than his father had been.

From 743 to 775 he carried on an exterminating war against image worship. All public officials, and all ecclesiastics and monks were required to abjure image worship, and those that refused were ruthlessly slaughtered. He seemed bent upon the utter extermination of the monks. In 754 he called a council, in which image worship was stigmatized as Satan's poison in the church, and it was declared that God had raised up the emperor for its extirpation. The grounds against image worship mentioned above were set forth on this occasion. The religious pictures were now almost all destroyed—some burned, some concealed by whitewashing the walls, and in their places were put, in some instances, landscape and hunting scenes. Few fiercer persecutions are recorded in history than those of Constantine Copronymus.

f. Leo IV. and Iconoclasm. His successor, Leo IV., was also an Iconoclast, but was weak of purpose. His wife, Irene, was a favorer of image worship. Leo IV. died 780, and was succeeded by Constantine VI., a boy nine years of age.

g. Irene and the Second Council of Nicæa (787). Irene was now practically empress, and she at once set about devising plans for the restoration of image worship. The army, which had received its training from Constantine Copronymus, was known to be decidedly averse to images. The ecclesiastics throughout the empire had taken oaths against images, as a condition of their installation. Irene began by appointing monks to the most important ecclesiastical offices. She opened the way for all ranks of her subjects to become monks. The patriarch of Constantinople, Paulus, who had been a zealous Iconoclast, was induced to lay down the patriarchal dignity and to recommend for the position Tarasius, first Secretary of State, who was known to be entirely subservient to the will of Irene. In accordance with a preconcerted plan, Tarasius declined to accept the proffered dignity, except on condition that measures be taken for restoring the Eastern Church to fellowship with the rest of Christendom. He insisted on calling an œcumenical council for the purpose of reuniting the church. To this end he entered into a correspondence with Pope Hadrian I., setting forth his own orthodoxy, and requesting Ha-

drian to send delegates to a council to meet at Constantinople. Hadrian was satisfied with Tarasius' orthodoxy, and agreed in this case to overlook the irregularity of his elevation to the patriarchal dignity. It was designed to make this council œcumenical, *i. e.*, to have represented in it all the patriarchates of the East and the West. Alexandria and Antioch were under the dominion of the Saracens, and it was impracticable for them to send representatives. But to secure the semblance where the reality was wanting some monks were introduced to represent these patriarchates. The council was convened at Constantinople in 786, but the imperial troops, abetted probably by a large faction of the bishops, besieged the church where it was to be held, and by their threats dispersed the gathered prelates. Irene yielded for the time, but took measures for securing a guard on which she could rely, and in 787 convened a council at Nicæa. By this time the bishops, who were for the most part men of no moral or intellectual force, had all made up their minds to yield to the will of Irene. They came to the council ready to confess their sins, and professing to have become convinced by the declarations of Scripture and the Fathers that the use of images was in accordance with apostolic tradition.

The council laid down the distinction mentioned above, between *bowing down before* or *kissing*, and *worshiping*. The former may be bestowed upon images; the latter, upon God alone. Image worship was thus once more established in the East.

h. Opposition to the Second Nicene Council by Charlemagne. Charlemagne, aided by his theologians, published the "Four Caroline Books" against the Second Nicene Council. In this he condemns alike the Iconoclasts and the image worshipers. Images are useful for the ornamentation of the churches, and for the perpetuation of holy deeds. The idea that images are *necessary* for perpetuating the memory of holy things is scouted. The image worshipers, it is maintained, acknowledge themselves incapable of looking beyond the sensible into the spiritual. Christians having fellowship with Christ, ought to have him always present in their hearts. The Scriptures, and not images, are the proper outward means for

gaining acquaintance with Christ. This writing of Charlemagne is a remarkably clear and evangelical discussion of the whole question.

At a Frankish Council at Frankfort-on-the-Main, called by Charlemagne in 794, the "adoration and service of images" was condemned. It is probable that the worship of images had never gone to the same extreme in the Frankish Church as in the East. The general enlightenment, moreover, that was introduced and fostered by Charlemagne, could not fail to bring out truer views with regard to images.

i. Iconoclastic Reaction in the East. The Iconoclasts had been suppressed, but not exterminated. In the army especially, the iconoclastic spirit prevailed, and a large proportion of the subjects of the Eastern emperor were ready, on the slightest encouragement, to renew the struggle against images. In 813, Leo the Armenian, a soldier and an Iconoclast, became emperor. He intended to proceed cautiously, but the iconoclastic spirit of the army could not be restrained, and in 814 he issued an edict against image worship. In 815 the decrees of the Second Nicene Council were declared null and void by a synod held in Constantinople. Persecution followed, but by no means so fierce as that under Leo the Isaurian and Constantine Copronymus.

k. Final Victory of the Image Worshipers in the East. After image worship had been opposed with varying energy by several emperors the decrees of the Second Nicene Council were re-enacted under the regency of Theodora (842–867), images were restored to the churches, and the Iconoclasts were persecuted with great severity.

The Eastern Church has restricted its images to pictures and mosaics, conformed rigorously to traditional and conventional models. The Roman Catholic Church has given the freest scope to religious art, encouraging sculpture as well as painting, and allowing each artist to depict Christ and the saints according to his own ideals. The image worship of the East is probably more degrading than that of the West.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE PAPAL POWER

LITERATURE: Works of leading popes in Migne's "*Patrologia Latina*"; collections of Canons of Councils by Mansi, Hardouin, and Hefele; Jaffé, "*Regesta Pont. Rom.*"; Greenwood, "*Cathedra Petri*"; Milman, "Lat. Christianity"; Pennington, "Epochs of the Papacy"; Lea, "Studies in Ch. Hist."; Bryce, "The Holy Roman Empire"; Gibbon, "Dec. and Fall"; Langen, "*Gesch. d. Röm. Kirche*"; Guizot, "Hist. of Civilization"; "The Fathers for Eng. Readers" ("Leo the Great" and "Gregory the Great"); Alzog, "Univ. Ch. Hist." (R. Cath.), Sec. 87, 125–131, 161–166; Guizot, "Hist. of France," Vol. I.; Bright, "The Roman See in the Early Church," 1896; works on ch. hist. and encyclopedia articles on the various popes and emperors involved. For an admirable summary of the history of the relations between Church and State from Constantine to Charlemagne, see Greenwood, Vol. II., pp. 5–52.

I. PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

1. *Claims of Rome as to Early Pre-eminence.*

WE have seen that from the beginning of the second century the position of the Roman church was a highly honorable one, and that it was often appealed to by contending factions in other churches. But of such appeals it may be said, first, that Rome had no monopoly of them, as every church of influence and repute was frequently asked for advice and moral support; and secondly, that the rescripts carried no authority with them beyond what naturally grew out of the good repute of the church. This remark would apply fully to the transactions of provincial churches with Rome in the time of Cyprian. Cyprian could speak in the most extravagant way of the authority of Rome when it suited his purpose to do so; but when Rome failed to sustain him, no man could rebuke the bishop of Rome more severely. As one of the great metropolitan churches that could boast of apostolic foundation, Rome occupied an influential position side by side with Alexandria, Antioch, etc.

During the first three centuries the Roman church

did little in the way of theological advancement. Hippolytus and Novatian are the only important writers produced, and of these the former was completely out of harmony with the church and denounced its bishops in the most unsparing manner, while the latter felt himself obliged to lead a schism and become head of a sect. But what Rome lacked in literary and theological ability was more than counterbalanced by its practical wisdom and its organizing ability. In some respects the absence of the speculative and systematizing spirit was advantageous to Rome in the struggle for ascendency, for it served to prevent such doctrinal strife as kept the Oriental churches in perpetual turmoil, enabled it to maintain a high reputation for orthodoxy, and so favored its influential interference during the great doctrinal controversies of the East. Besides, the church was thereby left free to devote itself to practical questions, and was enabled to be on the alert for opportunities of aggrandizement.

The interference of the Arian Emperor Constantius with the government of the Roman church, the expulsion of Bishop Liberius, and the effort to secure the recognition of Felix, proved unsuccessful, as the Roman people adhered to Liberius. A most unseemly struggle, accompanied by bloodshed, occurred (366) between Damasus and Ursinus, rival claimants of the Roman bishopric. Damasus triumphed. Siricius (384–399) set forth claims of universal jurisdiction somewhat like those of later popes. From this time onward Rome pursued an aggressive career.

2. *The Relative Position Accorded to Rome by the Nicene Council.*

The sixth canon of the Nicene Council gives to the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome a certain authority over the bishops of the great divisions of the empire of which these cities were centers, but there is no hint of according a primacy to Rome. In fact, both the other patriarchates are mentioned quite as prominently as Rome. The canon reads, according to the Greek text:

Let the ancient usages which exist in Egypt, and Libya, and Pentapolis, remain in force, to the effect that the bishop of Alexandria should have authority over all these, since this [the exercise of authority over the provincial churches of the West] is customary also for the bishop who is in Rome; and similarly, both as to Antioch and in the other provinces, let the churches have their privileges secured to them.

A clause was interpolated into this canon in the interest of the Roman primacy as follows: "Rome has always held the primacy." This interpolation was first used, so far as we know, by the representatives of Leo the Great at the council of Chalcedon (451).

3. *Relation of Constantinople to Rome in the Struggle for Supremacy.*

Constantinople was virtually a new city founded by the Emperor Constantine as the imperial capital. The church of Byzantium had no claim to apostolic foundation, but was subject to the bishop of Heraclea in Thrace. The Eastern emperors naturally sought to give to their capital a primacy in ecclesiastical matters, and inasmuch as apostolic foundation was thought to be essential to ecclesiastical dignity, the Heraclean foundation, by a sort of legal fiction, was transferred to Constantinople. Constantinople was dependent on Antioch and Alexandria for an educated clergy, and we have seen how great was the rivalry between these two centers in regard to the theological control of the capital. The immediate surveillance of the imperial government left little opportunity to the patriarchs of Constantinople to develop independent power. Their attitude toward Rome at any time was determined wholly by imperial policy. When the Eastern empire was flourishing there was a disposition to exalt the patriarchate of Constantinople. When an important political end could be subserved by asserting the superior dignity of the Roman See, the emperors did not as a rule hesitate to recognize the pretensions of Rome.

4. *The Relations of Imperial to Patriarchal and Papal Authority.*

The Eastern emperors from Constantine onward regarded themselves as supreme rulers of the Church as

well as of the State. In fact they regarded the hierarchy simply as a part of the political machinery, and they bestowed care and money and dignity on the church simply as a means to the promotion of civil order and unity. Constantine regarded himself as a bishop of bishops. He called the Nicene Council and presided over it, occupied himself with the suppression of heresy, and legislated freely for the church. His successors followed in his footsteps in this particular. The legislation of the empire from Constantine to Justinian as embodied in the "*Corpus Juris Civilis*," compiled under the direction of the latter, makes the foregoing statement abundantly evident. There was during this age no thought in the imperial mind of a Church independent of or superior to the State.

5. *Circumstances that Favored the Growth of the Papal Power.*

(1) The supposed Petrine foundation and the supposed primacy accorded by Christ to Peter.

(2) Rome early enjoyed a recognized supremacy in the West and was free from local rivalry. In the East Constantinople had Alexandria and Antioch to contend against, and these were often willing to recognize the supremacy of Rome afar off, in view of the moral support that Rome could render, rather than that of Constantinople which was nearer at hand and often oppressive.

(3) The transference of the imperial capital from Rome to Constantinople and the feebleness of the Western emperors after the division of the empire gave free scope to the bishops of Rome. They soon came to be looked upon as the most important personages in the West, and Eastern emperors who wished to gain advantages in the West were glad to avail themselves of papal influence. This they could do only by recognizing the high claims of the popes.

(4) The barbarian invasions, with the setting up of a number of rival governments in Southern Europe, gave to the popes many opportunities to form advantageous alliances, and so great was the political sagacity of the Roman See that these opportunities were usually made the most of.

(5) The growth of Christianity from the fifth century onward was almost entirely in the West. In the East Christendom was rent asunder by doctrinal controversies, and the Persian and Mohammedan powers soon began to encroach upon Christian territory. In the West the barbarian tribes, many of whom had been evangelized by the Arians, were speedily brought to a nominal orthodoxy, their rulers being glad to enjoy the moral support of Rome in their efforts to extend and confirm their dominions. Rome had the advantage, therefore, of occupying the center of influence in the part of the world where Christianity was to make its greatest conquests.

(6) The great doctrinal conflicts in the East and the mutual jealousies of patriarchs and metropolitans caused frequent appeals to be made to Rome, and gave to Rome many opportunities for advantageous interference.

(7) The almost unsullied orthodoxy of the Roman Church during the Arian and succeeding controversies greatly added to the prestige of Rome.

II. LEO THE GREAT AND THE PAPACY (440–461).

LITERATURE: Greenwood, Vol. I., p. 343, *seq.*; Milman, Vol. I., p. 253, *seq.*; Tillemont, "Mem.," XV., p. 414, *seq.*; Gore, "Leo the Great," also art. in "Dict. of Chr. Biog."; Müller, "*Kirchengesch.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 263, *seq.*; Langen, "*Gesch. d. R. Kirche v. Leo I. bis Nikolaus I.*," *Seit.* 1–140; Lea, *passim*; Schaff, Vol. III., p. 314, *seq.*; Gieseler, Vol. I., p. 394, *seq.*; Mœller, p. 345, *seq.*; Alzog, Sec. 130.

Leo was elected by the clergy, senate, and people of Rome during his absence. A Roman in sentiment as in birth, possessed of the learning of his age, a statesman of the shrewdest type, he embodied all the pride and aggressiveness of imperial and ecclesiastical Rome. The times were highly favorable for the realization of his ambitious aims, and he lost no opportunity that presented itself for securing advantages for the Roman See. Among his achievements the following may be mentioned:

1. He condemned the Manichæans of Rome and secured their banishment by the Emperor Valentinian III.

2. In Proconsular Africa he availed himself of the disorder caused by the Vandal conquest (Donatists,

Catholics, and Arians being in conflict) to secure recognition of his authority by the Catholic party.

3. In Gaul he humiliated Archbishop Hilary of Arles and secured the recognition of his authority. Hilary, an able and pious prelate, had, with the advice of a Synod, deposed a bishop named Celedonius, because he had married a widow and before his ordination had presided as judge at a criminal proceeding that had resulted in capital punishment, either of which acts, according to the recognized ecclesiastical law of the time, disqualified him for the episcopal office. The right of Hilary to deal with Celedonius grew out of the fact that he was metropolitan of the region in which the diocese of Celedonius was situated. Leo's predecessor had twenty-eight years before expressly recognized this relation. Celedonius appealed to Rome and persuaded Leo that Hilary had exceeded his jurisdiction. Leo ignored the previous decision, set aside Hilary's act in deposing Celedonius, received Celedonius into communion, and restored him to his bishopric. Hilary journeyed on foot to Rome and remonstrated with Leo. He was thrown into prison for his arrogance, cut off from the communion of Rome, and restored only after he had thoroughly humiliated himself.

4. In connection with the foregoing transaction, the Emperor Valentinian III., who was greatly under Leo's influence, confirmed Leo's sentence in the matter of Hilary and Celedonius, commanded the governor of Gaul to aid in carrying out Leo's decision, and decreed "that not only no Gallic bishop, but no bishop of any other province, be permitted in contradiction to ancient custom to do anything without the authority of the venerable pope of the Eternal City; but on the contrary to them and to all men, let whatsoever the authority of the Apostolic See has ordained, does ordain, or shall ordain, be as law, so that any bishop being summoned to the judgment seat of the Roman pontiff be thereunto compelled by the governor of the province." This joint action of pope and emperor constituted an alliance offensive and defensive between the spiritual and temporal sovereigns. The State spiritual is thenceforth to be represented as fully and as universally by the bishop of Rome as the State temporal is represented by the emperor.

5. He asserted his authority in Illyricum by taking sides with the metropolitan of Thessalonica, who was in revolt against the patriarch of Constantinople.

6. In connection with the Eutychian Controversy in the East, Leo gained several substantial advantages. The appeals to Leo by both parties; his doctrinal letter; the rejection of this letter by the "Robber Synod"; its acceptance by the Council of Chalcedon; his controlling influence in this council through his legates, who insisted on the fullest recognition of his authority, are familiar facts. Anatolius, who had succeeded Flavian in the patriarchate of Constantinople and was Eutychian at heart, was compelled by the emperor to subscribe Leo's letter. Leo followed up the advantage he had thus gained over his rival by sending him minute directions as to the administration of the affairs of his diocese. Anatolius was thus brought into a position of recognized dependence on the pope. The Council of Chalcedon (451), composed of six hundred and thirty bishops, was on the whole highly favorable to the papal pretensions. The legates of Leo presided in regard to ecclesiastical matters and their demands were for the most part accorded. Leo's doctrinal letter was accepted as a doctrinal standard, and those who had impugned Leo's authority in the "Robber Synod" were severely dealt with. Yet the twenty-eighth canon aroused the indignation of Leo by bestowing on the bishop of New Rome (Constantinople), as the center of imperial government, equal authority with that of Old Rome, and giving him the right to ordain the metropolitans of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace. Leo protested most vigorously against the supposed infringement of his prerogative. When Anatolius attempted to exercise the authority bestowed, Leo promptly excommunicated him and threatened to array against him the dioceses of the East. Anatolius was compelled by the emperor to yield. The emperor himself declared that the assent of the bishop of Rome was essential to the validity of the acts of councils, and Leo thus gained a substantial victory. It should be said that the canon in question only asserted a secondary rank, after Rome, for Constantinople. The protest against this canon has continued to the present.

7. Leo's statesmanship in dealing with the barbarian invaders added much to his prestige. On two occasions he saved Rome from being sacked, first by Attila, the Hun, and secondly by Genseric, the Vandal.

III. THE PONTIFICATE OF GELASIUS (492–496).

LITERATURE: Greenwood, Vol. II., p. 42, *seq.*; Milman, Vol. I., p. 347, *seq.*; Lea, *passim*; Mœller, p. 349.

Gelasius, an African by birth, united African zeal with Roman astuteness. He had all the pride of power and position that characterized Leo. He was prepared to utilize all the advantages that Leo had gained and to go forward to new conquests. With him begins a new phase of the controversy between Rome and Constantinople.

1. He refused to receive into communion Euphemius, patriarch of Constantinople. Eutychians were still strong in the East, and adherents to the Chalcedonian symbol looked to Rome as the bulwark of orthodoxy. Gelasius took advantage of the fact that a number of names of heretical bishops had been retained on the calendar of the Eastern Church and refused to recognize the patriarch of Constantinople until such names should be erased. The patriarch and the Emperor Anastasius strove in vain to conciliate him. When it was complained that the excommunication of the bishops in question was outside of the prerogative of the bishop of Rome according to the decision of the Nicene Council, he replied that they knew not what they were talking about, as they were the first to violate the canons in refusing obedience to the *primate of all the churches*. From the decrees of Rome, he urged, there is no appeal. He seems to have based his claim on the sixth Nicene canon (interpolated), on Leo's achievements, and on the edict of Valentinian III.

2. Gelasius seems to have gone beyond Leo in his view of the relation of the civil to the ecclesiastical power. The Emperor Anastasius had complained that Gelasius was withdrawing from him the allegiance of his subjects by his persistent refusal of fellowship to the See of Constantinople. Gelasius in reply professed absolute

submission to the emperor in all matters of lawful obedience. But the world is governed by two powers, the pontifical and the royal. The former is the more grave and important of the two, for it must render account unto God for the deeds of kings themselves. Though the king rules over men in the world, he is yet in duty bound in spiritual things to submit to his prelates. In relation to the administration of divine ordinances, he is not a ruler but a subject. The defiant attitude of Gelasius shows that the papacy was conscious of power equal to the imperial in any conflict that might arise.

IV. THE PONTIFICATE OF SYMMACHUS (498–514).

LITERATURE: Greenwood, Vol. II., p. 68, *seq.*; Schaff, Vol. III., p. 324, *seq.*; Milman, Vol. I., p. 350; Gieseler, Vol. I., p. 496; Mœller, p. 350; "Dict. of Chr. Biog.," Herzog-Hauck, and Wetzer u. Welte, art. "Symmachus."

A striking proof of the futility of Gelasius' claim to independence of the civil rulers is to be seen in the fact that in 498, when two rival claimants of the papal chair appeared, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, an Arian, interfered, secured the election of Symmachus as pope and the appointment of his rival to a bishopric, called a council and caused it to adopt a canon restraining criminal ambition in seeking the papal office, and appointed a visitor with power to reform the disorders that prevailed in the Roman church. Symmachus was suspended until the charges against him could be investigated. He promised to submit to the decision of the council, but finding that the bishops were unwilling to see the papacy thus degraded, and being popular in Rome, he determined to resist investigation and to stand upon prerogative.

1. The theory advanced in Symmachus' interest, in his conflict with Theodoric, was that of papal irresponsibility. No tribunal, it was claimed, can compel the appearance of a pope or pronounce sentence against him in his absence.

2. One of the Roman deacons maintained that by virtue of his office the pope is impeccable, and in 503 Symmachus convoked a council that made this opinion a dogma of the church.

3. The controversies in the East continued to rage, and Symmachus was implored in view of the extreme difficulty of fulfilling the demands made by Rome to excuse the toleration of a certain amount of heresy. Symmachus would not listen to any compromise, and insisted on the anathematizing of all Eutychian leaders as a condition of fellowship.

V. HORMISDAS (514–523).

LITERATURE: Greenwood, Vol. I., pp. 84–119; Milman, Vol. I., p. 423; Lea, pp. 285, 287; encyclopedias, "Hormisdas."

He was a man of the same stamp as Leo and Gelasius, and succeeded in accomplishing what his predecessors had labored for in vain.

1. In 513 the Emperor Anastasius proposed a general council for the pacification of the church. Eutychianism was gaining the ascendency, and civil affairs were in the utmost confusion. Hormisdas required as a condition of the papal sanction an immediate and unqualified adoption of the decrees of Chalcedon, together with Leo's doctrinal letter, and the absolute submission of the emperor and the Oriental bishops to the papal guidance. The demands were not at this time acceded to, but Anastasius was succeeded in 518 by Justin I., and with him orthodoxy again became triumphant in the East.

2. Justin proceeded to make advances to the pope, and finally yielded to the demands made of Anastasius. Constantinople was humiliated by having the names of a number of bishops erased from the calendar. Rome had triumphed at last. The mass of Eastern Christians, however, were glad to see unity and orthodoxy restored at any price.

VI. JUSTINIAN AND THE PAPACY (527–565).

LITERATURE: "*Corpus Juris Civilis*"; Hadley, "Rom. Law"; Morey, "Rom. Law"; Greenwood, Vol. I., pp. 120–172; Milman, Vol. I., pp. 449–514; Lea, *passim*; Tozer, "The Ch. and the E. Emp.," *passim*; Gibbon, Chaps. 40–45; encyc. articles on "Justinian," "Roman Law," etc.

After the death of Theodoric anarchy prevailed in Italy. Corrupt practices in striving after the papal chair

were more shameless than ever. Yet even the most worthless popes were careful to maintain and advance papal prerogative.

1. *Justinian and the Independence of the Papal Power.*

From Justinian's letters and legislation it is evident that he had no idea of admitting the irresponsibility of ecclesiastical government. He believed in and exercised the right to legislate for every department of ecclesiastical life. The imperial dignity, in his view, transcended every other. Though Rome was in the power of the Goths, he maintained his right to it, and was able at last to secure the recognition of his authority.

2. *Justinian's Declaration Regarding the Patriarchate of Constantinople.*

During his reign a number of bishops revolted from the rule of the metropolitan of Thessalonica, who was now an adherent of the patriarch of Constantinople, claiming that they were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome. Justinian supported the claims of the patriarch of Constantinople and gave him the title of *Œcumenical Patriarch.*

3. *Justinian's Declaration with Regard to the Pope.*

In the preamble to a decree, in 532, Justinian declared that he had been diligent both in subjecting and in uniting to the Roman See all the clergy of the entire region of the East, and expressed a firm resolve never to permit any matter affecting the general state of the church to be transacted without notifying the head of all the churches.

4. *Capture of Rome by Belisarius and the Elevation of the Profligate Vigilius to the Papal Chair.*

Belisarius, one of the greatest generals of his age, was sent by Justinian to secure the recognition of the imperial authority in Italy. He seems to have had a corrupt understanding with the Empress Theodora that he would use all his authority for placing Vigilius, a Euty-

chian, in the papal chair. Vigilius at once sent letters of communion to the Eutychian bishops of the East and abjured the doctrines of Chalcedon. Justinian hearing of these scandalous proceedings compelled Vigilius to reaffirm his adherence to the doctrines of Chalcedon.

Thus Justinian, while maintaining the rights of the patriarch of Constantinople, acknowledged a kind of superiority in the Roman See without defining wherein that superiority consisted. He gave many additional privileges to the clergy in general and particularly to the bishops, entrusting to the latter extensive civil jurisdiction.

VII. THE MEROVINGIAN KINGDOM AND THE CHURCH (496–752).

LITERATURE: Milman, Vol. I., p. 378, *seq.*; Greenwood, Vol. I., p. 485, *seq.*, Vol. II., p. 184, *seq.*, p. 272, *seq.*; Guizot, "Hist. of Civ.," Lec. 12 and 13, "Hist. of France," Vol. I.; Bryce, p. 34, *seq.*; Schaff, Vol. IV., p. 80, *seq.*; Stephen, "Lect. on the Hist. of France"; Bradley, "The Goths"; Merivale, "The Continental Teutons," p. 57, *seq.*; Alzog, Sec. 155; Kitchin, "Hist. of Fr.," Vol. I.

The conversion of the Merovingian chieftain, Clovis, to the Catholic faith is an event of primary importance in the history of the papacy. Starting out with a mere handful of followers, Clovis had by his military prowess attached a number of tribes to himself. Brought up in the Arian faith, he had married a Catholic wife. Observing the power and influence of the papacy, and anxious to avail himself of papal support, he professed conversion in 496, and his entire following united with him in adherence to Catholicism, three thousand of whom were baptized along with himself soon after his conversion. As he expected, the Catholics rallied around him as the only Catholic prince in the West, and assisted him in conquering the Arian princes. The Goths had become luxurious and disinclined to the hardships of war, and were easily overcome by the Frankish warrior. Victory followed victory until Gaul, Burgundy, and Bavaria were more or less firmly united under one government. Thus was established a vigorous Catholic power, which found its interest in promoting the papacy, and which in turn was zealously supported by it.

Clovis and his successors bestowed considerable territorial possessions upon the church, and acquiesced to some extent in the papal claims. But the Franks were little civilized, and the rulers dealt in the most arbitrary way with bishops and clergy. When a Frankish king bestowed territory upon the church for a bishopric it was regarded as given in feudal tenure, the rights of suzerainty being retained. Excommunication and interdicts were employed against them in vain. Obsequiousness was the price of their support.

VIII. THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY THE GREAT (590–604).

LITERATURE: Greenwood, Vol. II., pp. 211–241; Milman, Vol. II., pp. 39–103; Schaff, Vol. IV., p. 211, *seq.*; Barnby, "Greg. the Great" (also in "Dict. of Chr. Biog."); Lea, *passim.*

From the time of Justinian to that of Gregory the papacy gained little advantage. Italy had been deprived of her independence and stripped of her resources by the Eastern Empire and by barbarian invasion. The Lombards invaded Italy in 570, and in 577 the Roman See became independent of the emperor. Gregory became pope in the midst of pestilence and civil turmoil. It is not wonderful that he should have hesitated to assume so dangerous and responsible a position. His tastes were those of a recluse rather than those of a politician, but his learning, his confidence in papal prerogative, his persistence in pursuing a policy of papal aggrandizement, his political shrewdness, and his reputation for sanctity, made him one of the greatest and most successful of popes.

1. Rome had lost much of the ascendency that it had gained over Constantinople. When the Emperor Maurice was assassinated by Phocas and the latter ascended the throne, Gregory congratulated him on the event, and thus sought to gain his allegiance to the papal cause.

2. He established the practice of bestowing the pallium upon bishops, thus attempting to make the pope's consent necessary to the validity of episcopal ordinations.

3. He insisted, with great vehemence, on the celibacy of the clergy. Being himself a monk, and swayed by monkish ideals, he aimed to bring the entire body of the

clergy into an essentially monkish position. Yet when other ends were to be subserved thereby, he was willing to relax the rigor of his requirements, as in the case of British missions.

4. He sent missionaries to Britain and Germany, where a free, evangelical form of Christianity had long existed, with a view to subjugating these Christians to the Roman See.

5. He succeeded in greatly extending the authority of the Roman See by missionary enterprise and by forming advantageous alliances with civil rulers in the West as well as with the emperor in the East.

6. By preparing forms of worship and by insisting on uniformity of worship throughout Catholic Christendom, he did much toward unifying and solidifying the papal domain.

IX. THE CARLOVINGIAN KINGDOM AND THE PAPACY.

LITERATURE: "Works of Charlemagne" in Migne's "*Patr. Lat.*," Vol. XCVII. and XCVIII.; Baluzius, "*Capitularia Regum Francorum*"; Greenwood, Vol. III., pp. 52–127; Milman, Vol. II., pp. 402–551; Schaff, Vol. IV., p. 203, *seq.*; Cutts, "Charlemagne"; Guizot, "Hist. of Civ."; encyc. articles (esp. "Dict. of Chr. Biog." and Herzog-Hauck) on "Charlemagne," "Pepin," "Charles Martel," "Boniface" (Winfrid), "Stephen III.," "Donation of Constantine," etc.

By the middle of the eighth century the church had sunk very low. The civilization of Southern Europe had been swept away and the new civilization had not yet taken its place. Learning was almost extinct, except in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The barbarian rulers were accustomed to appoint as bishops their relatives and military followers, without reference to their literary, moral, or spiritual qualifications. Bishops so appointed spent their time in revelry, hunting, warfare, the management of their estates, etc. The Merovingian rulers soon degenerated and their power fell into the hands of the mayors of the palace. These were more attentive to the interests of the church than the earlier Merovingian rulers had been. Pepin, mayor of the palace (687–714), founded more than twenty bishoprics and bestowed vast territorial possessions on the church.

Charles Martel, mayor of the palace (714–741), conquered the Saracens in 733, and more completely in 739, when he drove them from Provence. Charles Martel dealt with ecclesiastical endowments as with any other portion of the royal domain. He gave to his liege Milo, the archbishoprics of Rheims and Treves; to his nephew Hugh, the archbishoprics of Rouen, Paris, and Bayeux, with the abbeys of Fontenelle and Jumieges. After exercising the functions of royalty for years, Pepin assumed the royal title in 752.

1. Wishing to secure for himself the moral support of the papacy, Pepin got himself crowned first by Archbishop Boniface, with the consent of the pope, and afterward by the pope himself (Stephen III.) in 753.

2. There was an agreement entered into by pope and archbishop on the one hand, and Pepin on the other, that the latter should aid the former in extirpating paganism and heresy, and that the former should use all their influence in favor of Pepin's civil authority.

3. The position of the papacy at this time was such as to make an alliance of this kind peculiarly welcome. The exarchate of Ravenna, which had represented the authority of the Eastern empire in the West and had afforded a certain amount of protection to the popes, was overthrown in 753 by Aistulph, the Lombard. The pope tried in vain to secure from Aistulph a recognition of his sovereignty over the Duchy of Rome. Failing in this, the pope now betook himself to the court of Pepin, where the following treaty was made: Pepin, his sons, his court, and his nobles, swore to secure ample satisfaction for the pope and the church, and engaged to reduce the Lombards to submission and to insist on the fullest restitution of all the rights and possessions of the papacy in Italy. Stephen proclaimed Pepin and Bertrada king and queen of the Franks, and bestowed the royal dignity on Carlman and Charles, their sons. Pursuant to this agreement, Pepin invaded Lombardy in 754 and compelled the restoration of a part of the territory claimed by the pope.

4. Charles (afterward known as Charlemagne or Charles the Great) became joint king with Carlman in 768, sole king in 792. By favoring circumstances and

great military and administrative ability, he succeeded in vastly extending the Frankish domains and in consolidating his acquisitions. Charles carried out the policy of Pepin with reference to the papacy. He regarded the relation of Church and State as that of mutual helpfulness. The State was to honor and protect the Church, and discipline it if need be; the Church was to aid the State in maintaining unity and order. To the hierarchy he accorded the greater degree of sanctity, and he was willing to receive the imperial crown at the hands of a pope; but to the civil power belonged practical supremacy in both civil and ecclesiastical matters. The Capitularies of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious are taken up far more with ecclesiastical than with civil legislation.

5. The growth of the papal power went hand in hand with that of the Carlovingians. The Catholic missionary had the full support of the civil arm in his effort to overcome heresy and paganism. When gentler means proved unavailing, the Church did not hesitate to ask, nor the State to accord, the use of forcible measures. Bishops were given a recognized administrative position, side by side with civil officials, whose jurisdiction covered the same territory, and each was expected to co-operate heartily with the other. The *Holy Catholic Church* and the *Holy Roman Empire* were regarded as the counterpart one of the other, and each had before it the dominion of the world as its goal.

6. Both Pepin and Charlemagne were imposed upon, perhaps not unwillingly, by the forged "Donation of Constantine." The popes based their claim to the territory that the Lombards had deprived them of upon a document that was long ago proved to be a forgery, in accordance with which Constantine had bestowed large territorial possessions upon Pope Sylvester and his successors. It is possible that the Carlovingians would have bestowed these possessions on the church without the production of this spurious document, but the influence of the document was probably considerable.

7. Charlemagne wrought assiduously and systematically for the revival of learning. He brought into Gaul the best scholars to be found in Britain and elsewhere, and gave a great impulse to education. This proved

highly advantageous to the church, as the educational work was left entirely in the hands of the clergy.

X. THE CHRISTIANITY OF BRITAIN IN RELATION TO THE PAPACY.

LITERATURE: Works of Gildas, Beda, Nennius; "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle"; Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils and Eccl. Doc. rel. to Gr. Brit. and Ireland"; Maclear, "Conv. of the West" ("The English," "The Celts"); Bright, "Ear. Eng. Ch. Hist."; Pryce, "Anc. Br. Ch."; McLaughlan, "Ear. Scot. Ch."; Stokes, "Irel. and the Celt. Ch."; Collins, "The Beginnings of Eng. Christianity," 1898; Mason, "The Mission of St. Augustine according to the Original Documents"; Wilson, "The Mission of St. Augustine"; Lightfoot, "Leaders of the Northern Church"; Haverfield, "Early Brit. Christianity" ("Eng. Hist. Rev.", July, 1896); Bund, "Celtic Ch. in Wales," 1898; Loofs, "*De Antiqua Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesia*"; Skene, "Celtic Scotland"; Rhys, "Celtic Britain"; Cathcart, "Ancient British and Irish Churches"; German works on the Iro-Scottish Ch., Boniface, etc., by Ebrard, Förster, Fischer, Werner, Müller, etc.; Hauck, "*D. Kirchengesch. d. Deutschlands*," *Bd.* I., second ed., 1898; Greenwood, Vol. II., pp. 289–343; Milman, Vol. II., pp. 175–235; Schaff, Vol. IV., p. 19, *seq.*; encyclopedia articles on the leading personages.

The traditions in accordance with which Christianity was introduced into Britain during the apostolic age are unhistorical. It is impossible to determine the exact date or manner of the conversion of the Britons. It was probably in connection with the Roman army, and as early as the latter part of the second century. There are some indications of the influence of Gallic Christianity, which, through Irenæus, came directly from the East. By the beginning of the fourth century Christianity had attained to considerable influence in Britain. Several British bishops sat in the Synod of Arles (314), and still more in the Council of Ariminium in 350. There is no evidence that any Britons sat in the Nicene Council (325). Pelagius and his disciples, Faustus and Fastidius, are said to have been Britons, and Cœlestius, another leading disciple, was probably a Scot. Whether the early British Christianity was Pelagian in character is uncertain. After the withdrawal of the Roman army from Britain, about 410, there was little intercourse between the British Christians and those under the influence of Rome. About 449 the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, etc., from the con-

tinent, began to invade Britain. The British Christians were gradually forced westward into the mountain fastnesses of Wales, and here they organized themselves in a semi-monastic way for Christian life and work. They seem to have formed themselves into vast communities, each presided over by an abbot. These institutions were conducted in a communistic manner. Each individual seems to have been assigned to that kind of work for which he was supposed to be best fitted. A large number devoted themselves to study, and the Bible was their chief text-book. Their teachings in the fourth century do not seem to have been more primitive than those of the Gallic Christians with whom they were closely associated. Their semi-monastic organization was probably a perpetuation of the Celtic clan system.

1. *Peculiarities of the British Christians.*

Information on this point is exceedingly scanty. When an effort was made, about the close of the sixth century, to bring them into subjection to Rome, they were found to be very tenacious of their practices. From the records of the discussions that took place between the emissaries of Rome and the leaders of the British Christians we may deduce the following statement: (1) Diocesan episcopacy did not exist. (2) Great attention was given to the study of the Scriptures, numerous semi-monastic colleges having been established for the promotion of Bible study and Christian life. (3) They were full of missionary zeal and were doing an extensive and successful missionary work among the Picts of the North, in France and in Germany. (4) They absolutely refused to recognize human authority in matters of religion, indignantly repelling the efforts put forth to bring them into subjection to the pope. (5) They insisted upon humility and simplicity in Christian life, and were offended by the pomp and worldliness of the Romish missionaries. (6) They differed from the Romanists in several matters, *e. g.*, as to the time of celebrating Easter, the mode of baptism, tonsure, etc.

These differences do not seem at all fundamental. The Britons followed the Eastern method of reckoning in regard to Easter. The

point at issue respecting baptism was probably single *vs.* trine immersion. That the Britons should refuse to recognize the authority of any foreign prelate was natural, and their uncompromising rejection of proposals in this direction was due in part to their determination to be independent, in part to their belief that alliance with Rome would involve submission to their mortal enemies the Saxons, and in part, perhaps, to their opposition to hierarchical church government of any kind. It should be remarked that it was the Iro-Scottish Celts rather than the British that engaged so largely in missionary work. The Britons proper seem to have made no attempt to evangelize the Saxons. Perhaps they could hardly have been expected to labor for the spiritual well-being of those who had driven them from their homes and destroyed so many of their kindred. The Scottish Christians labored among the northern Teutonic settlements of England zealously and successfully.

2. *Roman Interference.*

In 596 Gregory the Great, who before his elevation to the papal chair had intended to go to Britain with a view to converting the Saxons, sent thither Augustine, a monk, together with about thirty other monkish missionaries, including some Frankish interpreters. By making a parade of ascetical life, by pretended miracles, and by promises of earthly advantages, they succeeded in converting Ethelbert, king of the Saxons, who with about ten thousand followers received baptism in a river at the hands of the missionaries. A firm alliance having been formed between the king and the Roman See, the missionaries addressed themselves to the far more difficult task of subjecting the British Christians to Rome. When all other means proved unavailing, they persuaded the Saxon king to make an expedition against them. Three thousand of the British Christians were slaughtered on one occasion. For centuries the Christians of the old British type, in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as in various parts of Germany, resisted with all their might the encroachments of Rome, and it is probable that Christianity of this type was never wholly exterminated.

Ethelbert was no doubt already favorably inclined toward Christianity because of Bertha, his Frankish Christian wife, who had been allowed to have a Frankish chaplain. The methods employed by Augustine savor of imposture, but he had doubtless reached the conviction that deceit in a good cause is allowable. Ethelbert was not disposed to force his subjects to accept Christianity. "Only he treated believers with a closer affection as fellow-citizens with him

in the kingdom of heaven."[1] By 601 a thorough organization had been effected, Augustine having been constituted archbishop, and a number of churches and monasteries having been established.

3. *British Missions.*

Nothing is more characteristic of the early British Christians than their zeal and success in missionary work. In no country and in no age do we find the missionary spirit more active and aggressive. A brief account of the careers of the three most eminent missionary leaders is all that can be here attempted.

(1) *Patrick*, born in Britain about 400, son of a deacon, grandson of a priest, taken captive by Irish pirates when about sixteen years of age, having been released from captivity and educated in theology, was seized with an irresistible desire to carry the gospel to the heathen Irish. Whether he received part of his theological education at the monastery of Lerins in Gaul is by no means certain. Later Roman Catholic writers have sought to make it appear that he received a commission from the pope to evangelize the Irish. His own writings make no mention of such commission, and it is highly improbable that he consulted the pope with reference to his great life-work. Going into Ireland with a few coadjutors, about 432, he labored for many years with wonderful zeal and success, evangelized more or less thoroughly the whole of Ireland, and left a reputation for sanctity of life and spiritual power that entitles him to be considered one of the greatest of missionaries.

It cannot be supposed, of course, that any very large proportion of the multitudes that nominally accepted Christianity on his invitation and submitted to baptism at his hands actually experienced saving grace. It is probable that in many cases chieftains were persuaded by Patrick's earnest advocacy that Christianity was better than their heathen cult, and that they adopted it outwardly without any marked transformation of character. Clansmen seem to have been ever ready to follow their leaders in such matters. It was Patrick's powerful personality that enabled him so easily to master the Irish clans and to fill them with partisan zeal against paganism. But the converts of Patrick seem to have been no less fierce and resentful than their pagan neighbors.

(2) Equally worthy of admiration is the missionary

[1] Bede, Bk. I., Ch. 26.

activity of *Columba*, "Irish by birth, Irish by education, Irish in his life's work and devotion," born in 521, educated at the monastic school of Clonard (famous at that time for learning and Christian zeal), he spent the earlier years of his life in mission work in Ireland, where he is said to have planted hundreds of churches. Expelled from Ireland for having occasioned a war that resulted in the slaughter of about three thousand of his enemies, he went as a missionary to the Picts in Scotland, by whom the Irish colony of Dalraida was in danger of being oppressed or destroyed. He succeeded, against much Druidical opposition, in securing the conversion of the king of the Picts, and through his influence was enabled to plant Christian churches throughout Scotland. He made Iona, a small island, his headquarters, and had mastered the language of the Picts and converted his near neighbors before undertaking his great work. In the conversion of the Picts he had the co-operation of several Picts who had received their training in Ireland and who spoke the language fluently. Columba was a great politician as well as a great missionary, and on more than one occasion his influence was of momentous importance.

(3) *Columban* is worthy of being placed by the side of Patrick and Columba. Born in Leinster, Ireland, in 543, educated at Bangor, one of the most famous monastic colleges of the age, he spent his active life in planting evangelical churches in Burgundy, Switzerland, and Northern Italy. In fact, the influence of his work may be said to have extended throughout the Rhine region of Germany and the Netherlands. His extant writings show that he was one of the most accomplished men of the age, and his devotion to mission work was admirable. About 585, with thirteen companions, he went to Burgundy, where he was kindly received by rulers and people. He founded, one after another, three great monastic mission stations, which formed the centers of the most self-denying mission work extending over a wide territory. The high moral standard of the lives and teachings of Columban and his followers contrasts strikingly with those of the Gallic clergy who were in alliance with Rome. Columban's John-the-Baptist-like denunciation of the immoralities of the court and his

resolute refusal to abandon the peculiarities of the Irish Church in favor of those of the Roman and the Gallic brought upon him the enmity of court and clergy, and after about twenty years of labor, when about sixty years old, he was driven from Burgundy. With a body of faithful companions he made his way up the Rhine to Switzerland, and founded a number of stations in that region. Here his enemies after a few years again molested him. Leaving an undying influence behind him, he went to Northern Italy, where in his old age he formed another center of mission work. In many respects Columban was the greatest and best of the Irish missionaries, and the influence of his work, and that of those who were like-minded with him, remained until it was violently suppressed by the Carlovingian rulers and the Roman missionaries of a later time; nay, there is reason to think that it was never wholly lost, but after a period of latency reappeared in the evangelical parties of the Middle Ages. It is a remarkable fact that those very regions in which the Iro-Scottish mission work was most successful during the sixth and seventh centuries were precisely the regions in which the evangelical sects of the later times flourished most. There was no doubt much in the methods of these missionaries that we should scarcely approve, but considering the age and the circumstances in which they lived we must pronounce their lives marvels of Christian heroism.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the doctrines, practices, or missionary methods of the Iro-Scottish Christians of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries were in every respect apostolic or in accord with modern evangelical ideas. They represent a far more primitive type of Christian life and thought than that of the Roman Church of the time of Gregory the Great; but it was the Christianity of the beginning of the fourth century rather than that of the first that they perpetuated. Even this was modified, as might have been expected, by the national characteristics and the sociological conditions of the primitive peoples of the British Isles. While they rejected the Roman hierarchy and had no very elaborate hierarchical organization of their own, their leaders, like Patrick, Columba, and Columban, were arbitrary and autocratic in the highest degree. They seem to have been completely free from Mariolatry and saint-worship in every form, and from every kind of idolatry. They seem to have recognized no authority outside of the Scriptures. But their views of the Christian ordinances seem to have been those of the third or fourth century rather than those of the apostles; their

views of Christian life were highly ascetical; they laid great stress upon the observance of their rigorous monastic rules, enforcing absolute obedience to superiors, silence during protracted periods, abstinence from any but the plainest foods, the infliction of corporal punishment for the infraction of even the least important rules, etc. Columban's rules, that have been preserved in apparently authentic form, do not differ greatly in their tone from those that prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church of the time.[1]

XI. THE ADVANCEMENT OF PAPAL DOMINION THROUGH MISSIONARY ENDEAVOR.

LITERATURE: In addition to literature referred to in the preceding section, see works of Gregory the Great, Boniface (Winfrid), and Charlemagne; Willibald, "*Vita Bonifacii*"; recent monographs on Boniface by Cox, 1853, J. P. Müller, 1869, Werner, 1875, Pfaler, 1880, Buss, 1880, Fischer, 1882, Ebrard, 1882, Loofs, 1881, Hahn, 1883; Hauck, "*Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*," second ed., *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 432–578; encyclopedia articles on the persons concerned.

1. *Great Romish Missionaries.*

Reference has been made in an earlier section to the efforts of Gregory the Great to extend the dominion of the Roman Catholic Church through an organized missionary propaganda, and to the conversion of the Saxons in Britain through his emissary, Augustine. Within a few years a well-organized and well-equipped State Church, enthusiastically devoted to Rome and the pope, had been developed in the extensive Saxon dominions. Large numbers of monasteries had been formed, in which, as in the similar institutions of the Iro-Scottish Christians, zeal for learning was combined with missionary enthusiasm. Nowhere during the seventh and eighth centuries was Roman Catholicism so vigorous and aggressive as in Britain. It was from the Anglo-Saxon monasteries that most of the great missionaries to the continent of Europe went forth, and to them Charlemagne was to look for leaders in the great educational movement that he inaugurated in the early years of the next period.

(1) *Augustine.* An account has already been given of his attempt, first by diplomacy and afterward by armed force, to subject the ancient British Christians to the

[1] See the monastic rules of Columban in critical text edited by Seebass, in "*Zeitschrift f. Kirchengesch.*," 1896, *Seit.* 218, *seq.*

Roman Church and to the newly-Christianized Saxons. An estimate of his character as a missionary may here be given. Having succeeded in winning to the Catholic faith King Ethelbert, which virtually meant the winning of his entire people, he returned to Gaul, where in accordance with the wish of Gregory the Great he was consecrated "Archbishop for the English people," November, 597. In 601 Gregory granted him a pall, gave him directions for drawing up a liturgy, and counseled the establishment of several other dioceses (London, York, etc.).

If complete success in the accomplishment of a vast undertaking is a criterion of greatness, Augustine was assuredly a great missionary. But if we are to judge of him by his correspondence with Gregory the Great, the impression is by no means so favorable. It is taken up largely with the asking of paltry questions as to the conduct of his work, which a great enlightened Christian leader might have been expected to settle promptly and independently. In nothing do we see more clearly the fundamental difference between the Romish missionary and the Iro-Scottish than in the scrupulosity with which the former looked to Rome for directions in the most trivial matters. A spirit of abject obedience to his great superior characterized the work of Augustine from beginning to end. This presupposed as the guiding principle of his life, he did his work with the utmost fidelity and with remarkable success. "At his coming in 597 the English people were entirely heathen; when he died the Church of the English was an accomplished fact."[1] But it must not be overlooked, as the author just quoted also points out, that "a very large part of England—possibly the larger part—was converted from the north," that is, by the Iro-Scottish missionaries.[2] Augustine died in 604.

(2) *Willibrord.* Under the Merovingian rulers of the first half of the seventh century, Lothair II. and Dagobert I., the people of Friesland were to some extent brought under the influence of Christianity; but the temporary decline of the Frankish power led to the

[1] Collins, "The Beginnings of Eng. Christianity," p. 73. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 97, *seq.*

throwing off of the government and the religion of their oppressors. It is not likely that the Catholic evangelization of the Frisians had ever gone very far, and the number that had been brought under the influence of the Iro-Scottish missionaries was probably small. In 690, the year of Willibrord's arrival at the mouth of the Rhine, the land was virtually heathen. Willibrord, b. 658 in Northumberland, England, son of an Anglo-Saxon religious enthusiast and ascetic named Wilgils, was brought up in a monastery that had been founded by King Alchfrid for Iro-Scottish monks but had been transferred by him to Wilfrid, a zealous Catholic. In 678 he left Ripon, probably on account of the expulsion of Wilfrid by the king, and betook himself to Ireland, where he spent twelve years under the guidance of the noted ascetic leaders, Egbert and Wigbert. By Egbert he was sent in 690, with eleven companions, for the conversion of the Frisians. The Franks, under Pepin, had just restored, in a measure, their authority over the Frisians, and were ready to give protection and support to the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. But the subjugation of the liberty-loving people had intensified their hatred of Christianity (Roman Catholicism), and Willibrord felt that the chances were small of winning them to the faith. He first betook himself to Pepin to consult about the work to be undertaken and the means to be employed. Afterward he visited Rome in order to secure papal co-operation. Armed with the authority of the Frankish king and the pope, he returned to his work, and by 693 the success of the missionaries had been so great that they chose one of their number, Suidbert, bishop, and sent him to England to be ordained by Wilfrid. This seems to have been displeasing to Pepin, who insisted that Willibrord should be the religious leader, and should proceed to Rome for ordination as archbishop of Frankish Friesland (695).

Willibrord had been brought up to regard the authority of the pope as supreme, and on this occasion he put himself absolutely at the disposal of the Roman pontiff, sought his permission to enter upon the work of evangelizing the Frisians and his blessing upon the work, and obtained from him relics for the churches to be founded. The Anglo-Saxons were at this time far in advance of

the Frankish Christians in their zeal for papal authority as well as in missionary enthusiasm and in learning.

Returning to Friesland fully equipped with royal and papal authority and support, the work of organizing an ecclesiastical system, building churches, educating ministers, etc., advanced with wonderful rapidity. Pepin believed that in no way could his political authority be rendered so stable as by the establishment of organized Christianity in obedience to himself and the pope, and he bestowed unsparingly of his means for the promotion of the work of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. Willibrord and his associates did not confine their propaganda to Frankish Friesland, but the neighboring regions of Germany were also brought under their influence.

The independent portion of Friesland repelled with decision every effort for their evangelization, identifying, as they did, Christianity with Frankish dominion. Willibrord's efforts for the conversion of the Danes were not more successful. But so great was his zeal that no failure could quench it. In the island of Heligoland he sought to break down the superstition of the natives by baptizing a convert in a sacred spring and narrowly escaped the fury of the outraged mob.

That the success of Willibrord and his associates was chiefly external and material, and that the masses of the Frisians were still bitterly antagonistic to Frankish rule and political Christianity, became fully manifest after the death of Pepin (714). The Frisians joined hands with the enemies of Charles Martel, the Frisian church organism fell to pieces, Willibrord fled the country, priests were hunted down, many church buildings were destroyed, and relapse into paganism was almost complete.

A change in political conditions enabled Willibrord to return to his work with the full support of Charles Martel, who had re-established his authority in Friesland.

In 734 Charles Martel subjugated the independent Frisians, destroyed their pagan sanctuaries and forced Christianity upon the population.

Willibrord died in 739, having been permitted to see the whole of Friesland brought into subjection to the Roman hierarchy, and nominally Christian. But a general return to heathenism succeeded his death.

(3) *Boniface* (Winfrid). Of still greater importance was the work of the Anglo-Saxon monk Winfrid, commonly known as Boniface, "the Apostle of the Germans." Son of a Wessex noble (born *c.* 672), he early left his uncongenial home to enter a monastery at Exeter, situated on the border between the Saxon and the British populations. The Abbot Wynbert was devout and learned and was often employed by the king in drafting public documents. Winfrid made rapid progress in learning and enjoyed the favor of the archbishop and the nobles. He had already been entrusted with important diplomatic work, and had he chosen to remain in England a distinguished career would almost certainly have been open to him. His gifts were those of an ecclesiastical statesman.

But the missionary enthusiasm, characteristic alike of the Iro-Scottish and the Anglo-Saxon Christians of this age, impelled him to turn his back upon fatherland and politico-ecclesiastical position and to devote his life unreservedly to the Christianization of the heathen peoples of the Continent. He had become thoroughly imbued with the idea that the well-being of Christendom depends upon the unity of the church under the lordship of the pope, and he believed that the most expeditious way of securing the conversion of pagan peoples was by bringing them into subjection to Catholic princes and compelling them to abandon all idolatrous practices and to accept outwardly at least the forms of Christianity.

He visited Rome (718), entered into the most confidential relations with Gregory II., and received from him authority to conduct missionary work among the heathen populations of Germany. He undertook to administer baptism according to the Roman custom and to refer all difficulties that might arise to Rome. He had already conceived the idea of a thoroughly organized and magnificently equipped German Church in complete subjection to the papacy.

Thuringia was already to a considerable extent Christian, but a large proportion of the churches were of the Iro-Scottish type and did not recognize the authority of Rome, while heathen rites were still openly performed by the pagan population. Boniface, as a papal emissary, sought by negotiations with the nobles and clergy to

secure the prohibition of independent forms of Christianity and of pagan practices.

Next he visited Charles Martel in order to secure his co-operation in the work of ecclesiastical reformation in Thuringia. But his work in Thuringia was interrupted by what seemed to him a providential opportunity for successful work among the Frisians in the death of King Radbod, the enemy of Frankish rule and religion.

For three years (719–722) he labored under Willibrord and received further preparation for his work in Southern and Central Germany. Willibrord sought to make him a bishop and connect him permanently with the Frisian work; but he preferred to labor elsewhere.

Hesse for a time occupied his attention. Here the mass of the population was still pagan and had suffered greatly from Saxon incursions. Boniface and his associates knew how to adapt themselves to the wretched condition of the people. Living in the most abject poverty, they went from place to place preaching the gospel, or what purported to be such, and multitudes professed conversion and were baptized into the Roman Catholic faith. Never did Boniface labor with greater success.

Throughout his career he kept in the closest touch with the pope, professing complete dependence and unconditional obedience, and asking for minute instructions with regard to every important proceeding. Revisiting Rome after the Hessian mission, he received episcopal consecration and was clothed with all needful authority for the great work he was about to undertake (722 or 723).

The work laid out for him by the pope was the conversion of the remaining heathen in the eastern Frankish provinces and the subjugation to Rome of all erroneous forms of Christianity. Not only were there large numbers of Christians of the Iro-Scottish type in these regions, but many of the Frankish Catholics fell far short of Boniface's ideal of true obedience to the pope. Charles Martel seconded his efforts with money, lands, and military force. His brethren in England supported his mission with money, books, and workers. East Franconia, Bavaria, Thuringia, and Hesse were the principal scenes of his activity.

By 731 most of the Christian opposition to papal authority in these provinces had been overcome and heathenism had been forcibly suppressed. Vast numbers of churches and monasteries had been erected, immense territorial possessions had been acquired, and southern and central Germany had been covered by organized Roman Catholicism. He was now consecrated archbishop by Gregory III. (732), and a number of well-endowed bishoprics were established: four in Bavaria,—Salzburg, Freising, Passau, and Regensburg (739), and four in Central Germany,—Würzburg, Buraburg, Erfurt, and Eichstädt (742). The principal monasteries founded under Boniface were those at Erfurt, Fritzlar, Ohrdurf, Bishofsheim, Homburg, and Fulda.

In 743 the archiepiscopal dignity was definitely affixed to the See of Mainz. With Mainz as his center of administration, he supervised ecclesiastical matters from Cologne to Switzerland and from Austria to Belgium.

In 744 Boniface, with the co-operation of Pepin III., assembled a synod for West Franconia at Soissons, which condemned the chief opponents of the organized Catholicism for which he stood, enacted laws for the abolition of many ecclesiastical abuses, and in general confirmed Boniface's policy of a unified and organized ecclesiastical system supported by the Frankish rulers and absolutely obedient to the pope. Twenty-three bishops were present, besides a number of civil dignitaries. Pepin gave legal force to the decrees of the synod.

In 747 he assembled his last synod, in which the complete subjection of the German Church to Rome was, if possible, still more energetically expressed.

In 753 the aged missionary laid aside his archiepiscopal dignity, appointed Lullus, a faithful disciple, to administer the affairs of the German Church, and once more went forth to evangelize the heathen. Friesland had relapsed into heathenism, and it was his earnest desire to win it to Christ and the church. His labors were not crowned with success, and in 755 he was murdered by the heathen.

The greatness of the achievements of this Anglo-Saxon missionary is undeniable. That he was an ecclesiastical statesman of the first rank must be admitted by all. That he was an intolerant and

bigoted papist, and that he subordinated everything else to the securing of papal dominion, is clear from his own writings and the writings of his contemporaries. It is doubtful whether any pope did so much for the advancement of papal absolutism as did this Anglo-Saxon monk. Circumstances were no doubt favorable just at this time for the completion of the Christianization and the politico-ecclesiastical organization of Germany; but only a man of genius could have wrought the wonderful changes that occurred in the generation 722–755. That he extirpated a large amount of Christian life of a more evangelical type than his own, and that he incorporated in his politico-ecclesiastical system a vast amount of unregenerate pagan life, is certain. Whether he is to be regarded as a benefactor or a malefactor will depend upon our opinion as to the desirability or the undesirability of a State-Church system covering the whole ground and bringing the entire population under its influence. The establishment of such a system, in complete subjection to the pope, was in Boniface's opinion the means by which paganism and heresy could best be overcome and Christianity made triumphant.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHRISTIAN WORLD AT THE CLOSE OF THE PERIOD

I. THE EAST AND THE WEST

DIFFERENCES between Oriental and Occidental Christianity have been repeatedly referred to in the foregoing chapters. These differences were no doubt due in part to ethnological characteristics which science has as yet only partially explained, and in part to the different social and political conditions by which Christianity was environed in the East and the West respectively. The East had been covered and exploited by great despotisms for thousands of years, and civilization was already in a stagnant and declining state when Christianity appeared. The Macedonian empire had spread the civilization of Greece and had awakened a considerable amount of intellectual activity. The Roman rule had given a measure of temporary relief to the Eastern peoples from galling oppression. But the Roman Empire itself, especially after the time of Constantine, had taken on the character of an Oriental despotism, and there was no place for aggressiveness in Christian life and thought. The Eastern empire not only lost its control of Italy, Northern Africa, the Mediterranean Islands, Illyricum, and of course the provinces of Western Europe, through barbarian conquest, but the encroachments first of the Persians and afterward of the Saracens had by the end of this period restricted its dominion to Asia Minor, Thrace, a portion of Macedonia, and a portion of Greece. The narrowing of the empire involved the gradual receding of Christian influence from the alienated territory. The Christianity of the East was already too corrupt and unaggressive to make any serious efforts at winning the conquerors, and was content to be tolerated and to become still further fossilized by inactivity. It is one of the strangest and saddest facts of history that the land

that gave birth to Christianity, and the lands in which the apostles labored so abundantly, should have become so completely lost to Christian influence as now to constitute mission fields of the most discouraging character.

In the West, on the other hand, the dissolution of the Roman Empire, while it was accompanied by a decline of learning and a temporary loss of much of the older civilization, was succeeded by the rapid growth of a new and better civilization made up of the remnants of the Græco-Roman, of the institutions of the vigorous and aggressive and liberty-loving Teutonism of the conquering tribes, and of Christianity corrupted but still aggressive and ready for every opportunity to increase its influence. The readiness with which the Teutonic peoples accepted Christianity in the form in which it was presented to them is as remarkable as the utter insusceptibility to Christian influence of the Oriental conquerors of the Eastern empire. The Frankish empire, at the close of this period (under Charlemagne) embracing the territory now covered by Italy, France, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and a large part of that covered by Germany and Austria, was in the closest alliance with the Roman Catholic Church, and wished to be regarded as the Holy Roman Empire. Still more remarkable is it that Christianity, an Oriental religion, should have had its chief development among Occidental peoples.

The period closes with Eastern Christianity divided into several parties, each contending most strenuously for some minute point of doctrine and anathematizing the rest and all alike tending to become stagnant, and with Western Christianity tending to become uniform, with a powerful and comprehensive organization, and with the great mass of the population of central and western Europe already nominally Christian and ready to be molded by the powerful hierarchy that centered in Rome.

A few more definite points of comparison between Eastern and Western Christianity may not be out of place.

1. *Doctrinal Development.* The Eastern theology was speculative and transcendental (Origenistic, Arian, Apollinarian, Nestorian, Eutychian, Monothelite controversies) and Eastern theologians took little interest in the great

practical anthropological questions that agitated the West (Pelagian and Semi-Pelagian controversies). The interest of the West in the great Christological controversies was slight and almost limited to their practical, political aspects. Greek theology received its character largely from Greek philosophy; Latin theology was greatly influenced by Roman law.

2. *Church Polity.* The Eastern churches did little after the Nicene age in the way of developing church polity. The emperors, beginning with Constantine, undertook the control of ecclesiastical affairs, and there was little opportunity for initiative on the part of prelates. For imperial purposes it was convenient to have the ecclesiastical system center in the patriarch of Constantinople; but this official was the creature of the emperor and could be deposed at his will. The development of the Roman hierarchy was rapid and striking and constitutes one of the most remarkable features of Western Christianity.

3. *Monasticism.* Nothing better illustrates the fundamental differences between Eastern and Western Christianity than a comparison of Eastern and Western monasticism. Monasticism, as an outgrowth of the ascetical spirit, was a product of Eastern Christianity influenced by Oriental pagan practices and modes of thought. Eastern monasticism was intensely ascetical and in its better form contemplative and speculative; but, like Oriental Christianity in general, it soon became stagnant and devoid of initiative. Missionary zeal has been manifest among Oriental monks only in isolated cases and in slight measure. In the West, great monastic orders, like the Benedictines, spread themselves over Europe and became the pioneers of civilization. The aggressive work of the Roman Catholic Church from the time of Gregory the Great has been done almost exclusively by monks. Whenever an emergency has arisen that existing orders have seemed incapable of meeting, new orders have sprung into existence peculiarly adapted to the work to be done. No such phenomenon appears in connection with Eastern monasticism, where all is stagnation.

4. *The Ordinances.* The Eastern Church was content to perpetuate the stage of development that had been

reached by the Nicene age. Trine immersion was still almost universal at that time. This became the stereotyped form in the Eastern Church, whereas the Western Church has felt perfectly free to vary the mode of baptism to suit its convenience. The use of the cup by the laity and infant communion have been perpetuated by the Eastern Church, but disused by the Western. In its doctrine and its practice with regard to the ordinances the Western Church has allowed itself the utmost freedom, while the Eastern has adhered rigorously to the teaching and practice of the fourth and fifth centuries. So also in confirmation, extreme unction, and other rites.

5. *Liturgical Development.* Here also the Eastern Church has remained almost stationary since the fifth century, but the Western has allowed itself the utmost freedom in the development of its forms of worship and in its use of church music.

6. *The Use of Painting and Sculpture for Religious Purposes.* It has been noticed that early Christianity rejected entirely the use of art in connection with religion. With the paganization of Christianity came the use of images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and noted saints and martyrs, and this use of images became scarcely distinguishable from pagan idolatry. The great uprising in the East against image worship (Iconoclastic controversy), under Persian and Mohammedan influence, was settled by the triumph of image worship. The Oriental Church restricted the use of images to pictorial representations, and these to conventionalized forms. The result has been the mechanical reproduction of the representations of Christ, Mary, the apostles, etc., that were in use at the time of the controversy. These inartistic pictures are still regarded with the greatest reverence.

In the West little interest was taken in the Iconoclastic controversy, and pictures were freely used, not, it was said, to be worshiped, but as a means of commemorating the deeds of the heroes of the faith, and instructing and inspiring the people. They were regarded as useful but not necessary, and the reverence paid to them probably fell considerably short, in most minds, of idolatry. The Roman Catholic Church has not conventionalized its images, and allows the fullest scope to the genius of painters

and sculptors alike in idealizing the lineaments of Christ and the saints. While the use of images in the Roman Catholic Church can scarcely be regarded as free from superstition and idolatry, it has never sunk so low as the iconolatry of the East. The Roman Catholic Church has from the Middle Ages onward been a chief promoter of art.

7. *Eastern and Western Sects.* In the earlier time Gnosticism, Ebionism, Montanism, Manichæism, Sabellianism, and Arianism, all had their origin and chief development in the East, whereas Novatianism and Donatism were the products of the West. Early Eastern sects were speculative, early Western sects were practical in their origin and in their tendency. Out of the great Christological controversies of the East grew a number of mutually antagonistic parties or denominations: Nestorians, Monophysites (Jacobite, Coptic, and Abyssinian divisions), Maronites, Gregorians (orthodox Armenian Christians), which at the time of their separation each became fossilized and practically insusceptible of further internal development or of modification by external religious influences.

In the West the case is quite different. The older parties gradually vanished in the face of organized Catholicism. Donatism persisted with vigor in Northern Africa until the Arianized Vandals broke its power. Arianism, that had won to Christianity the Teutonic tribes (Goths, Vandals, Franks, etc.), speedily disappeared through the diplomacy of the bishops of Rome. It is doubtful whether Arianism as a speculative form of Christianity ever had any foothold among the Teutonic peoples. It happened to be the form in which Christianity was first presented to them, its general features were in accord with their modes of thought, and it was made acceptable to them by the bearing of its preachers. But these rude peoples were little concerned about the metaphysical subtleties that agitated the East. When interest demanded co-operation with the bishop of Rome, the princes were ready to drop Arianism and with their people to become Catholics. Pelagianism can scarcely be said to have become organized into a sect. The same is true of Priscillianism. The ancient Celtic Christians

(British and Iro-Scottish) represented, as compared with the Roman Catholicism of the time, an earlier stage of Christian development under different surroundings, and they long strenuously opposed the pretensions of the popes and sought to propagate their more primitive type of Christianity on the continent of Europe. But these too were obliged to yield to the aggressive politico-ecclesiastical organization that had its center in Rome and its head in the papacy.

By the close of the present period organized opposition to ecclesiastical unity and centralized ecclesiastical government was almost at an end. Corruption and oppression in ecclesiastical life and administration would hereafter provoke widespread revolt, and evangelical parties almost exterminated in the onward sweep of the great politico-ecclesiastical organism would reappear later with vigor and effect. But for the time Catholic unity was well-nigh realized in the West, while Eastern Christianity was hopelessly divided and without a great centralizing force.

II. LITERATURE AND LEARNING.

The intellectual and literary activity that marked the close of the preceding period received a great impetus from the favorable conditions attending the conversion of Constantine and the ultimate union of Church and State. In the East appeared great theologians, like Eusebius, Athanasius, Apollinaris, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, Cyril of Alexandria, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, and John of Damascus, the greatest systematizer of the period. The theological schools of Alexandria and Antioch flourished, and new ones were founded at Edessa and Nisibis. But many Christian students of position and means were not content with the learning to be acquired in Christian institutions, but resorted to great pagan teachers at Athens, Alexandria, and elsewhere.

The West produced such theologians, preachers, and religious leaders as Ambrose, Augustine, Pelagius, Julian and Cœlestius (Pelagians), Faustus (Manichæan), and Leo the Great and Gregory the Great.

From the middle of the fifth century learning steadily declined in the West, while in the East intellectual stagnation set in and little of value was produced.

The Anglo-Saxon Christians became the chief conservators of learning and of missionary enthusiasm for the West. The most noted of the Anglo-Saxon theologians of this period are the Venerable Bede (d. 735) and Alcuin (d. 804). A certain amount of educational work was carried on in the monasteries throughout the East and the West, but nowhere with such vigor as in England and Ireland at the close of this period.

A comparatively rich hymnology grew up during this period in the Greek and Latin churches alike. Among the most noted of the Greek hymnists are Anatolius (died *c.* 458), John of Damascus (died *c.* 780), and Cosmas of Jerusalem (died *c.* 760). John and Cosmas were foster-brothers, members of the same monastery, and closely associated in literary labors. They were extreme ascetics, zealous saint-worshipers, and enthusiastic opponents of iconoclasm.

Among the Latin hymnists of this period may be mentioned Ambrose of Milan (d. 397), Venantius Fortunatus (died *c.* 609), Gregory the Great (d. 604), and the Venerable Bede.

For full bibliography of the Greek and Latin hymnology of the period see Schaff, Vol. IV., p. 402, *seq.* and 416, *seq.*

III. CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

1. In proportion as the churches drew into their membership masses of unregenerate, half-pagan people, and accorded church privileges to those baptized in infancy without any profession of conversion, did the difficulty of controlling the churches increase. It was natural that the higher ecclesiastical authorities should provide the local priests with minute directions regarding the punishment to be inflicted upon persons of every condition for offenses of every description. The disciplinary rules drawn up from time to time, before and after the beginning of the present period, gradually assumed a systematized form in the "Penitential Books." Among the earliest books of this kind was that of Columban, the

Iro-Scottish missionary, already referred to. Corporal punishment was prescribed for the slightest infringement of the rules.

One of the most interesting of the Penitential Books is that of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury (669–690). It prescribes deposition for persistent drunkenness on the part of bishops, thirty days penance for the drunken monk, forty for the drunken presbyter or deacon, fifteen for a drunken layman, allowance being made for undue susceptibility to the influence of intoxicants caused by long abstinence, and for festival occasions. Fornication, incest, and all sorts of unnatural sins are punished with penance extending from forty days to twenty-two years, and even to the end of life. The form of penance was prescribed by the priest, and consisted in some sort of self-denial and deprivation of church privileges, according to the heinousness of the offense. This Penitential Book contains also minute directions regarding the treatment of theft, homicide, heresy, and perjury, deposition from the ministry, bars to ordination, communion, idolatry, etc.

2. *Canon Law.* Long before the union of Church and State, ecclesiastical canons had been drawn up and were in common use. Each great section of Christendom had canons of its own, but the interchange throughout the churches of the Roman Empire was so close that considerable uniformity of practice resulted. The so-called Apostolic Canons were in common use as early as the fourth century. The general councils from Nicæa onward furnished a large amount of canonical material. In the sixth century John the Scholastic made a digest of ecclesiastical law, incorporating the ecclesiastical legislation of Justinian. In the West, near the close of the fifth century, Dionysius Exiguus, a learned monk, made a very full collection, containing not only canons of councils and apostolic canons, but also decretals of popes. Isidore of Seville (seventh century) added to this work from later decretals and other sources.

3. *Means Employed for Enforcing Ecclesiastical Decisions.* The possession of the power of the keys gave to the hierarchy the prerogative of admitting to church privileges or excluding from them. It was believed that out of the church there is no salvation. Hence permanent exclusion from church privileges meant loss of salvation, and temporary exclusion involved more or less peril. Excommunication was one of the most terrible penalties

that could be inflicted. When accompanied, as was often the case, with anathema, its terror was intensified. The use of the interdict, involving the prohibition of religious services (including marriage and burial, but not baptism and extreme unction) in an entire community, was frequently resorted to in order to enforce ecclesiastical decrees on an unwilling community, or to punish offenses in which a large part of the community was implicated. These penalties were inflicted far more commonly and effectively in the succeeding period: but they were the recognized weapons of the hierarchy long before the close of the present period.

IV. MOHAMMEDANISM AS A RIVAL OF CHRISTIANITY.

Just as Christianity was mastering the barbarian peoples and preparing the way for a politico-ecclesiastical organization that should cover and control Europe, there arose in the East a politico-religious organism that was within a few years to expand to immense proportions, greatly narrow the boundaries of Eastern Christendom, erect an effectual barrier against any further Christian aggression in the East, and dispute with Christianity the possession of Europe itself.

1. *Rise of Mohammedanism.* Arabia was inhabited by star-worshiping Semites, with an intermingling of half-heathen Jews and Christians. It appears that the Arabs of the sixth century generally recognized Abraham as their father, although they were hostile to their Jewish and Christian neighbors. Mecca was their sacred city and the Kaaba (a small temple containing the Black Stone) their chief sanctuary. They had the characteristics of the modern Arab, and were admirably fitted to become the followers of a religious fanatic in a career of conquest. Mohammed (born *c.* 570, of a young widow), epileptic in childhood, brought up without education by relatives, came into close touch with Christianity and Judaism during a commercial journey to Syria with an uncle. He was employed during his early manhood in caravans and as a shepherd. When twenty-five years of age he married a rich widow, Chadijah, who was ready to believe in his visions and to forward his plans for founding a new religion. During the fifteen years that intervened between

his marriage and his definite entrance on a prophet's career he was subject to frequent attacks of epilepsy, which he at first attributed to demoniacal possession, but afterward to divine agency. He became filled with enthusiasm for monotheism and hatred of idolatry, and in 610 professed to have been commanded by God through the angel Gabriel to "cry in the name of the Lord."

After struggling for some time against his convictions, he entered upon his career. His first three years were devoted to the conversion of family and friends. Next he preached to the pilgrims resorting to Mecca, denouncing idolatry and incurring considerable persecution. In 622 he was forced to fly from the wrath of the pagan Arabs to Medina (the *Hegira*), where multitudes accepted him as prophet and lawgiver. By 624 he had resolved to subdue the world to his monotheistic faith and with an army of three hundred and five enthusiasts he defeated double the number of pagan Arabs. His motto soon became "Islam, tribute, or the sword." No quarter was to be given to persistent infidels, but Christians and Jews were in many cases tolerated on their consenting to pay tribute. Those who submitted were usually inspired with his enthusiasm and were ready to take up the sword for Islam. Jewish and Christian communities were attacked and six hundred resisting Jews were massacred in a single day, the women and children being enslaved.

In 630 he entered Mecca with a considerable army, destroyed the three hundred and sixty idols in the Kaaba, and secured recognition as the leader of the Arabs. The discordant and unorganized tribes of Arabia were thus welded into a nation and filled with enthusiasm for the destruction of idolatry and for universal conquest.

During these twenty years Mohammed had professed to be receiving revelations from time to time, which he dictated to his followers and which became the Koran. He died in 632 as he was planning a great campaign against the Eastern empire.

2. *Principles of Mohammedanism.* These are fully embodied in the Koran and exemplified in the history of Mohammedan conquest, rule, and life. (1) *Monotheism* occupies the foremost place. The oneness and soleness

of God are in the Koran continually asserted. "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet." This abstract monotheism was maintained in opposition not only to polytheism but also to Christian trinitarianism. God is thought of as omnipotent and omniscient, as a despotic ruler mercilessly smiting down his opponents, and as fate compelling all things to fulfill his will; but his love and his fatherhood are practically ignored, and no provision for the redemption of mankind appears.

(2) *Jesus* is recognized as Messiah and prophet, but his deity is repudiated as involving blasphemy. His supernatural birth and his miracles are admitted. He was not crucified in reality, but taken up by God into Paradise. Mohammed claimed to be the Paraclete promised by Jesus.

(3) *Ethics.* Resignation to the will of God is the chief virtue. Prayer, fasting, almsgiving, abstinence from pork and wine (and, of course, alcoholic drinks of every kind), are insisted upon. Polygamy and concubinage were practised by Mohammed and are encouraged. Slavery is approved and practised. War to the death against unbelievers is a sacred duty. Those who die in fighting for the faith are supposed to enter at once upon a glorious existence in which sensual delights abound. No system has ever made men more enthusiastic or readier to lay down their lives for its promotion. No system, it is probable, hardens men more effectually against the influence of the gospel of Christ.

3. *Achievements of Mohammedanism before the Close of this Period.* The successors of Mohammed entered at once upon the world-conquest that he died too soon to accomplish. Palestine, Syria, and Egypt were speedily overrun, and thousands of Christian churches destroyed or turned into mosques. Constantinople narrowly escaped falling into their hands (668 and 717) The Eastern empire had become so weakened by internal corruption, barbarian invasion on the west and Persian attacks on the east, and by long-continued religious controversy, that it was unable to cope with so vigorous and determined a foe. Persecuted Christian parties were in many cases willing to aid the Saracens against their Christian oppressors. Toleration was granted to such Christians

and Jews as would recognize their sovereignty and pay tribute. In 707 Northern Africa fell into their hands. Four years later they occupied the southern portion of Spain and established the califate of Cordova, subjugating the Visigoths. In 732 they crossed the Pyrenees and threatened to overthrow the Frankish kingdom and to use St. Peter's in Rome as a stable for their horses. Their ambition was boundless and they believed that no power on earth could stay their progress. They were defeated by Charles Martel and their conquest in the West was brought for centuries to a period.

In the East they overran Persia, Afghanistan, and part of India, and soon brought to the front as enthusiastic fighters for Islam, the Turks, who have since figured so prominently in political and religious history.

For an admirable account of Mohammedanism in its relation to Christianity and a full bibliography, see Schaff, Vol. IV., pp. 143–201. The best translation of the Koran with introduction, etc., is that by Palmer, in "Sacred Books of the East." See also Muir, "The Corân: Its Composition and Teaching; and the Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures," third ed., 1878; Sprenger, "*Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*"; Bosworth Smith, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism"; Stobart, "Islam and its Founder"; and encyclopedia articles on "Mohammed," "Mohammedanism," "Islam," etc.

PERIOD IV

FROM THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE AS EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION (800–1517)

CHAPTER I

SOME ASPECTS OF MEDIÆVAL CIVILIZATION

I. PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

1. *The Constituent Elements of Mediæval Civilization*

CONSIDERABLE progress had already been made by the beginning of the ninth century in the blending of the Christianized Græco-Roman civilization with the modes of thought and life and the social and political institutions of the Teutonic peoples.

Monkish missionaries had been the chief agents in disseminating throughout Teutonic Europe the form of Christianity that had resulted from the conversion of the Roman empire by Christianity in its Græcised form. Teutons had for centuries fought against the Romans and had learned much about the empire and its institutions from this hostile contact. They had afterward filled the Roman armies and had thus come into still more effective contact with this great civilized power. Roman military and administrative posts throughout the conquered territories had also exerted their influence. But more efficient than all was the covering of heathen Europe with monastic mission stations, which not only won the people to a nominal adherence to Christianity and familiarized them with its teachings, but which made them acquainted with the arts and sciences, as they were understood at the time, and transformed heathen hordes into civilized communities.

It was political shrewdness quite as much as religious zeal that led the Frankish kings to bestow so much of wealth and effort on the conversion of the Teutonic peoples and the establishment of a well-endowed and comprehensive hierarchical system throughout their domains. In no other way could they hope to accomplish so much in the direction of welding the peoples into a political unity and securing an efficient, centralized civil administration.

If they were over sanguine as regards the possibility of maintaining a great empire made up of heterogeneous and partially civilized peoples, they at least adopted the most efficient means within their reach to the end in view. Mediæval civilization was essentially the outcome, as suggested, of the blending of Christianized Græco-Roman civilization with Teutonism; but its course was to a considerable extent modified by the Saracen (Arabic) and the Turkish conquests and contact.

2. *The Middle Ages a Period of Progress.*

It is a grave mistake to regard the Middle Ages as a period of stagnation or retrogression. If we compare the best Christian life that we know of in the ante-Nicene age with the corrupt Roman Catholicism of the present period, the latter, of course, appears at a great disadvantage. But when we remember that outside of the hierarchical churches there were throughout the Middle Ages in the East and the West vast numbers of evangelical Christians, and that inside of the established churches even at their most corrupt estate a large number of earnest Christians were to be found, it can hardly be asserted that Christianity, on the whole, lost ground. But the achievements of Christianity during this period appear to still greater advantage if we compare the barbarian Europe of the fifth century with the Christianized and educated Europe of the sixteenth. Christianized Roman law took the place of the law of wager, the ordeal, torture, and the *wergeld*.[1] Life and property became reasonably secure. Industrial development and organization made wonderful strides. Commerce developed to world-wide proportions. Great cities, with magnificent architecture, were built up from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, in England, and throughout the Danubian Valley. Almost every important town had its university and education was becoming widely diffused. There remained much of ecclesiastical corruption and intolerance and much of political and social oppression and injustice, which modern Christianity is gradually elim-

[1] Money compensation for the maiming or the killing of a person, which was itself an advance on the older law of retaliation.

inating; but the Middle Ages represent the transition period from the earlier barbarism to modern civilization.

There was retrogression in the East, caused chiefly by the gradual encroachment of the Saracens and the Turks on the Christianized Græco-Roman civilization of the Eastern empire and the ultimate extinction of the latter.

II. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

LITERATURE: Bryce, "The Holy Roman Empire"; Emerton, "Introd. to the Study of the Middle Ages"; Adams, "Hist. of Civilization dur. the Middle Ages"; Guizot, "Hist. of Civilization"; Hallam, "The Middle Ages"; Greenwood, "*Cathedra Petri*"; Milman, "Lat. Christianity"; Giesebrecht, "*Gesch. d. deutschen Kaiserzeit*"; Hauck, "*Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*"; Stephens, "Hildebrand and his Times"; Balzini, "The Popes and the Hohenstaufen"; Raumer, "*Gesch. d. Hohenstaufen*"; Fisher, "The Mediæval Empire," 1898.

1. *The Idea of the Holy Roman Empire.* The coronation of Charlemagne by the pope, December 25, 800, was a great event from a political no less than from an ecclesiastical point of view. The grandeur of the Roman Empire and the legality and stability for which it stood had made a profound impression on the Teutonic peoples. With the decline and at last the virtual extinction of the authority of the Eastern empire in Italy and the growth of Frankish influence throughout Europe, it was natural that the greatest of the Frankish rulers, having been invited to Italy by the pope again and again to guard the papal estates from the Lombards, and having become the virtual ruler of Italy, should think it worth his while to assume along with his imperial authority the dignity and the name of Roman Emperor. At one time he had strong hopes of extending his dominion over the Eastern empire by marriage, alliance, or conquest.

That he should have been willing to receive his crown at the hands of the pope is easily comprehensible. For a long time the pope had been the chief representative of the old imperial power in Italy. A firm alliance had long existed between Charlemagne's predecessors and himself on the one hand, and the popes on the other, for the mutual advancement of each other's interests. He had become seized with the idea of a Holy Roman Empire,

co-ordinate with the Holy Catholic Church, each having world-wide dominion, each advancing the interests of the other, each supreme within its own sphere, and both together bringing peace and the blessings of civilization to all mankind. We have seen how essential he regarded the conversion to Christianity of conquered peoples, and how ready he was to aid in the organization and the endowment of provincial churches.

This idea of a Holy Roman Empire and a Holy Catholic Church was a grand and impressive one and was probably never lost sight of even in times of most complete disintegration.

It should be remarked that while pope and emperor were willing to rule the world conjointly, and each was desirous of the aid of the other, neither was willing to recognize the supremacy of the other, and each was inclined, when occasion offered, to assert his own superiority. Charlemagne's idea of the relation of the pope to the emperor and the emperor to the pope was based upon that of Moses to Aaron. He presided over an ecclesiastical council which legislated in important ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters. He did not hesitate to take strong ground in the matter of image worship against popes and councils. He appointed bishops and abbots with the utmost freedom.

Charlemagne was succeeded by Louis the Pious (814–840), who though far weaker than Charlemagne, and greatly under the influence of the clergy, insisted on recognition of the imperial right to control the church. He claimed a veto power on the appointment of popes, and rebuked Paschal I. for failing to recognize this right. Pope Eugene II. (824–827) compelled the Roman clergy to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor. Louis in turn confirmed the territorial grant and other privileges that the popes had received from his predecessors.

Louis published a constitution in which he defined the relations of the imperial and papal governments. He simply formulated the principles that underlay the policy of Charlemagne, the imperial supremacy being carefully guarded.

2. *The Dismemberment of the Empire.*

The sons of Louis (Lothair, Louis, and Charles) were placed by him in positions of administrative responsibility. They were given the almost independent control of vast territorial possessions. Upon Lothair he bestowed the imperial dignity. He could not satisfy them. They rebelled against him. He was compelled to abdicate, but was afterward restored. He became a mere tool of con-

tending factions. The bishops forced him to do penance in a humiliating way. War broke out shortly after his death.

The Partition of Verdun (843) gave to Charles the Bald Neustria and Aquitania; to Lothair a narrow strip extending from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, to Louis the territory east of the Rhine within the Frankish domain. Lothair retained the title of emperor. His domain was soon divided into three kingdoms, Italy, Burgundy, and Lotharingia (Lorraine). The imperial sceptre passed to Charles the Fat (881) and with him virtually ended the Carlovingian empire (888). The process of disintegration went rapidly forward and Europe was divided into a multitude of petty sovereignties with mutually antagonistic interests and policies.

3. *The Restoration of the Empire by Otho the Great.*

By the middle of the tenth century feudalism had completed its disintegrating work and the former domains of Charlemagne were in a most deplorable condition. Bryce has concisely described the situation as follows:

> The Saracen wasted the Mediterranean coasts and sacked Rome herself. The Dane and Norsemen swept the Atlantic and the North Sea, pierced France and Germany by their rivers, burning, slaying, carrying off into captivity; pouring through the straits of Gibraltar, they fell upon Provence and Italy. By land, while Wends and Czechs and Obotrites threw off the German yoke and threatened the borders, the wild Hungarian bands, pressing in from the steppes of the Caspian, dashed over Germany like the flying spray of a new wave of barbarism, and carried the terror of their battle-axes from the Apennines to the ocean. Under such strokes the already loosened fabric quickly dissolved. . . The grand vision of a universal Christian empire was utterly lost in the isolation, the antagonism, the increasing localization of all powers: it might seem to have been but a passing gleam from an older and better world.

Henry the Fowler, a descendant of Charlemagne (female line), stayed the destructive forces by driving away the Magyars and the Wends and introducing administrative order in Lotharingia. He died just as he was about to seek the imperial crown at the hands of the degenerate papacy. Otho the Great, who succeeded Henry (936), carried forward the work of reconstruction, and by 962

was in a position to restore order in Italy, where anarchy had long prevailed, and to receive the imperial crown from a pope whom he afterward condemned and deposed. His claim to be emperor rested on the fact that he was master of Germany (or a considerable part of it) and that he was in a position to control Italy.

Henry had been only a rough barbarian warrior, immoral, illiterate, without any appreciation of culture or of the proprieties of life; but deliberate and foresighted in political affairs. Otho was a man of marked independence, wearing his beard in disregard of the prevailing usage, and in general careless of conventionalities; but fond of pageantry (as in his coronation at Aix and at Rome) and ambitious to emulate the glories of Charlemagne. It was not so much a care for religion as a desire to bring order into his domains that led him to interest himself in ecclesiastical reforms. He paid far more attention than his predecessors had paid, or were in a position to pay, to the qualifications of bishops and abbots, and insisted strenuously on the right of investiture, the bestowal on the newly appointed bishop of the shepherd's staff as a symbol of his right to rule his flock, accompanied by the bishop's oath of allegiance to the king.

The contest regarding investiture between popes and civil rulers was to be bitterly waged for many years and formed a marked feature of the later history.

Otho and his successors utterly failed to re-establish the empire of Charlemagne. Europe had become hopelessly divided into small political aggregations. France, itself subdivided into many more or less independent provinces, gradually became unified and centralized, and was unalterably opposed to being incorporated in a German empire. Germany itself was hopelessly divided and the rule of a German emperor was of a very limited and uncertain character. Italy was and remained throughout the Middle Ages and until very recent times divided into a number of principalities that stubbornly resisted all efforts at amalgamation.

The imperial office, which for a time was virtually hereditary, was nominally elective; and in case a proper hereditary successor were not available or another appeared who was prepared to enforce his claim to leader-

ship, actual election frequently occurred. An emperor commonly procured the election of his eldest son during his own lifetime. By the middle of the twelfth century there seems to have been a distinct body of imperial electors, consisting of the archbishops of Maintz, Treves, and Cologne, representing the German ecclesiastical estate, and the dukes of Franconia, Swabia, Saxony, and Bavaria. The Golden Bull (1356) redistributed somewhat the electoral franchises and regulated definitely the electoral process. The ecclesiastical electors remained the same. The secular electors were thenceforth the Count of the Palatinate, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Bradenburg.

The Holy Roman Empire is of interest to the church historian chiefly as the counterpart of the Holy Catholic Church. From the middle of the eleventh century until the middle of the fifteenth century these two powers, that were theoretically the counterpart the one of the other, were for the most part in mortal combat. Emperors deposed popes and procured the election of others in their place. Popes excommunicated emperors and cooperated with rivals in securing changes of dynasty. Each furnished a sort of check upon the other and it is probable that this contest prevented the triumph of ecclesiastical absolutism on the one hand and of imperial absolutism on the other.

III. FEUDALISM.

LITERATURE: Greenwood, Vol. III., p. 61, *seq.;* Bryce, p. 123, *seq. et passim;* Guizot, "Hist. of Civ." Lect. IV., "Hist of France," Vol. I., p. 227, *seq.;* May, "Democracy in Eur.," Vol. I., pp. 232, 237, 253, 255, 260, *et passim;* Blanqui, "Hist. of Pol. Econ.," p. 116, *seq.*, 155; "Encyc. Brit.," art. "Feudalism"; Hallam, "Mid. Ages," Chap. II.; Hosack, "The Law of Nations," pp. 23, 60, 100, *seq.;* Freeman, "Norm. Conq.," *passim* (see Index); Kitchin, "Hist of France," Vol. I., p. 235, *seq.*, 391, *seq.;* Emerton, "Introd. to the Study of the Middle Ages," p. 236, *seq.;* Adams, "Hist of Civilization during the Middle Ages,"; Waitz, "*Anfänge der Vassalität*," and "*Deutsche Verfassungsgesch.*," *Bd.* II., III., *und* IV., *passim;* De Coulanges, "*Les Origines du Régime Feodal*"; Roth, "*Gesch. d. Beneficialwesens*"; Brunner, "*Die Landverleihungen d. Merovinger u. Karolinger.*"

One of the most characteristic institutions of the early Middle Ages was feudalism. The essence of feudalism

"was the combination of the tenure of land by military service with a peculiar personal relation between the landlord and his tenant, whereby the one was bound to render fatherly protection, the other aid and obedience" (Bryce). Politically it might be defined "as the system which made the owner of a piece of land, whether large or small, the sovereign of those who dwelt thereon, an annexation of personal to territorial authority. On this principle were founded and by it are explained feudal law and justice, feudal finance, feudal legislation, each tenant holding toward his lord the position which his own tenants held toward himself. It resulted in a concentration of power in the hands of a land-holding caste. The monarch lost his ancient character as leader and judge of the people, to become the head of a tyrannical oligarchy."[1] Feudal tenure is used in contradistinction to allodial possession, or possession in fee simple. As a result of conquest, etc., tenure of the latter kind almost disappeared, so that under Charlemagne and his sons most of the property fell into the hands of the principal followers and officials of the sovereign.

1. *Feudal Classes and Feudal Terms.*

The five classes of persons in feudal society were Leudes, Antrustions, Freemen, Serfs, and Freedmen.

(1) The first included all who held their possessions directly of the sovereign and constituted the nobility. Personal performance of military service was required of all Leudes, whether lay or ecclesiastical. (2) The second class embraced the noblest and most powerful among the Leudes, including prelates and abbots. To these was entrusted the matter of administration of justice, etc. (3) Freemen included the first two classes, and in addition all who were not serfs and bondsmen.[2] (4) The Serfs were the chattels of their lords and were bound to the soil. (5) Another class, the Freedmen, might be mentioned. They had many of the privileges of Freemen though not all. Both alike, when landless and without handicrafts, were abject and dependent.

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[1] Bryce, p. 123, *seq.* [2] Greenwood, Vol. III., p. 82, *seq.*

2. *The Elements of Feudalism.*[1]

The forms assumed by feudalism differed greatly at different periods and in different countries. It would be difficult to describe feudalism in general terms in a way that would be universally applicable. The following particulars regarding feudal tenure are characteristic of the system as a whole:

(1) *Terms of Service.* The holding of land upon terms of service (*in beneficium*) applied whether the land was bestowed originally as a fief or was placed by the original owner under the guardianship of a more powerful landowner (*in commendam*).

(2) *Vassalage.* Those receiving land as fiefs or commending land to more powerful owners for protection undertook to serve the feudal lord with their lives. The act by which they became vassals was known as "homage" (from *homo*, man); they became the men of the superior.

(3) *Immunity.* A person becoming a vassal and the holder of a fief secured in the contract immunity from any kind of interference with the government of the estate beyond what was implied in the vassalage. Apart from the service due to the higher lord he became absolute sovereign within the territory acquired. Bishops and abbots as well as secular nobles received vast grants of land in which absolute sovereignty, apart from the service of the king, was guaranteed. This immunity involved the right to maintain an army, to administer justice, and to raise money at his own pleasure for any purpose whatsoever.

Holders of large fiefs could, by *subinfeudation*, subdivide their territory on precisely similar terms, and these in turn could still further subdivide.

3. *Effects of Feudalism on the Church.*

(1) It retarded the progress of centralization of authority in the papacy by making the prelates Leudes and Antrustions, who did homage to civil rulers for their possessions, and whose interests lay in military and civil duties rather than in ecclesiastical aggrandizement.

[1] Compare Emerton, "Introd. to the Study of the Middle Ages," p. 242, *seq.*

The Roman bishopric itself was for a long time a bone of contention among Italian nobles and lost its prestige by becoming unspeakably degraded and corrupt.

Religious work, even from the Roman Catholic point of view, was greatly neglected, owing to the absorption of higher and lower clergy in secular affairs.

(2) On the other hand, feudalism was on the whole favorable to the final realization of hierarchical power. It put the church in possession of a vast amount of real property which, though given in feudal tenure, could afterward be claimed in fee simple.

At that time tenure of land was the chief means of exerting influence. Apart from the acceptance of fiefs and thus becoming an influential landholder, it is difficult to see how the church could have held its own in those troublous times. As nearly all the education was in the possession of the clergy, their influence on legislation and jurisdiction was very great. The importance of prelates in civil matters, acquired during the early feudal period, could not fail to give a great advantage to the church in later struggles for power.

The humane treatment bestowed upon the serfs and other subordinates by the better class of prelates contrasted strikingly with the cruelty and oppression of most of the lay lords and made service under the former highly desirable.

There is no doubt but that the strong hold which the Roman Catholic Church has always had upon the masses of the people was acquired in part by means of the feudal relation.

As soon as the papacy became somewhat free from the interference of Italian nobles, the claims of prerogative were revived and made still stronger. The influence that had been secured over the masses of the people was of the utmost value. Prelates having gained all the advantages they could hope to secure from the lay lords grew weary of subserviency and sought deliverance through papal aid. As centralization advanced, the popes were able, by utilizing the vast ecclesiastical power already attained, to exert a controlling influence in civil matters, and even to set up and depose kings and emperors.

IV. CANON LAW AND FORGED DECRETALS.

LITERATURE: "*Corpus Juris Canonici*"; Greenwood, Vol. III., pp. 152–226; Lea, "Stud. in Ch. Hist.," pp. 44–102; Hallam, Chap. VII.; encyc. articles; Alzog, Sec. 186: Janus (Döllinger), "The Pope and the Council," pp. 78–122; Savigny, "*Gesch. d. röm. Rechts im Mittelalter*"; Hinschius, "*Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianæ et Capitula Angilramni*"; Schulte, "*Das Kathol. Kirchenrecht*," and "*Die Gesch. d. Quellen u. Litteratur d. Canon. Rechts von Gratian bis auf d. Gegenwart*"; Phillips, "*Kirchenrecht*"; Friedberg, "*Kirchenrecht*"; Hinschius, "*Kirchenrecht.*"

Reference has already been made to the rise and early development of canon law. During the present period it assumed an importance second to that of no other institution.

1. *The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.*

As the Roman Catholic Church grew more ambitious and became more completely involved in secular affairs, the need was felt of stronger documentary support for its claims than could be found. The "Donation of Constantine" is one of the earliest examples of the manufacture of documentary evidence of a valuable kind. The success of this forgery was so complete that it was sure not to be the last. Here again we see the popish doctrine that the end justifies the means, while not formulated, yet consistently acted upon. The weakness and subserviency of Louis the Pious encouraged the hierarchy to promulgate one of the boldest and most magnificent forgeries of history. The "Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals" appeared between 833 and 857. In the former year a body of spurious documents was presented to Pope Gregory IV. as a means of fortifying him in his proceedings against Louis the Pious. To what extent these writings corresponded with the fully developed Pseudo-Isidorian collection is uncertain. On the basis of the older Isidorian collection, a vast body of spurious decretals and patristic citations was foisted upon Christendom. Many older forgeries, the "Donation of Constantine," the "Canons of the Apostles," the "Letters of Clement to James," etc., were incorporated, along with decretals of the popes of the second and third centuries, in which the fully developed claims of the hierarchy are set forth.

The aims of the forgery seem to have been, to free bishops from secular jurisdiction and to give them jurisdiction in secular as well as in ecclesiastical matters; to free bishops from dependence on metropolitans and provincial synods; and to establish for bishops the unlimited right of appeal to Rome, the center and source of ecclesiastical authority. It is probable that the forgeries did not emanate from Rome; but Rome was not slow to utilize them.

2. *Canon Law versus Civil Law.*

Canon law grew more and more influential and important as the papal power and ambition increased. Ecclesiastical courts of every grade corresponding with civil courts and culminating in the Roman Curia, the "Court of Appeal for all Christendom," came into the keenest rivalry with the civil courts. As every crime could also be regarded as a sin, the ecclesiastical courts claimed the right to a large portion of properly civil jurisdiction. The study of canon law became popular and constituted an indispensable qualification for a high ecclesiastical career. A prelate might be a theologian, but he must be a canonist. Canon law was from the beginning one of the principal studies in the mediæval universities. Bologna was the first great center of canon law study and the University of Bologna grew out of a private law school (Roman civil law). About the middle of the twelfth century Gratian, a monk of Bologna, threw into systematic form, after the example of the Justinian codification, the entire body of canonical matter, including the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries. The "Decretum of Gratian," supplemented by the "Decretum of Gregory IX." (1234), the "*Liber Sextus*," of Boniface VIII. (1298), the "*Clementines*" (1311), the "*Extravagantes*" of John XXII. (1316–34), and the "*Extravagantes Communes*" (1488), make up the "*Corpus Juris Canonici*," corresponding with the "*Corpus Juris Civilis*" of Justinian, which was much studied in the Middle Ages.

The canon law defines in the minutest way the duties and rights of prelates, clergy, monks, nuns, and laymen, fixing the penalties for all transgressions. Much stress is laid upon prohibited degrees in matrimony, relationships falling within the prohibited degrees being

carefully indicated. The ages and other qualifications for the various stages of clerical life are definitely fixed. From the dealing of the hierarchy in general and the Roman Curia in particular with transgressions of canon law, it is evident that the authorities in working out this elaborate system were intent not upon guarding priests and people from sin, but upon bringing into the ecclesiastical courts as many cases as possible and deriving as large a revenue and as much power therefrom as they could.

V. THE ROMAN CURIA.

LITERATURE: Bangen, "*D. Röm. Kurie*"; Bonix, "*De Curia Romana*"; De Montault, "*La Sacré College des Cardineaux*"; Phillips, "*Kirchenrecht*," *Bd.* VI., *Seit.* 65–296; Bering, "*Sys. d. Kirchenrechtes*," Sec. 104, *seq.*; art. "*Kurie*" and "*Kardinal*" in Herzog and Wetzer u. Welte; art. "Curia" and "Cardinal" in Schaff-Herzog and McClintock and Strong; art. "Rom. Curia" in "Cont. Rev.," 1874; Alzog, Sec. 194 and 229; Greenwood and Milman, *passim;* Gottlob, "*Aus der Camera Apostolica des XV. Jahrh.*"; Woker, "*Das Kirchliche Finanzwesen der Päpste*"; Hinschius, "*System d. Kathol. Kirchenrechtes für Deutschland*," *Th.* I., *Seit.* 309–498; Lea, "A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century" (Latin Text, Translation, and Introduction). See also encyc. art. on "Conclave," "Consistory," "Rota," "Penitentiary," "Pope."

It is important that we should know something of the character and constitution of the papal court that wielded such power over Europe during the Middle Ages. As early as the fourth century the city of Rome was divided for ecclesiastical purposes into twenty-five parts, each presided over by a presbyter. Each of these parishes was called a *titulus*, and the presbyters were called *intitulated* presbyters. For charitable purposes the city was divided into seven parts, each presided over by a deacon. In the eighth century the *suburbican* bishops were added to these presbyters and deacons, and from the eleventh century the body thus formed was known as the college of cardinals. During the later Middle Ages many princes secured the right to nominate each one or more cardinals. These were known as crown cardinals.

The term *cardinal* is derived from *cardo*, a hinge. It was applied in the early time to clergy in general with regular charges. Gradually its use became restricted to the clergy with regular functions in cathedral churches, these churches being regarded as the hinges on which the other churches revolved. In the eleventh century its application was still further limited so as to denote the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of Rome and the States of the Church, who consti-

tuted the official advisers or senate of the pope in his administration of ecclesiastical affairs. Pope Leo IX. put the matter thus: "As the whole door is ruled by the hinge, so by Peter and his successors the emolument of the whole church is disposed. . . Whence his clergy are called cardinals, as adhering more closely to that hinge by which other things are moved."

1. *Functions of the College of Cardinals.*

To the clergy of Rome it belonged in the earlier time to nominate the bishop of Rome, the people having the right to vote on the nomination. Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and even Hildebrand, were elected by popular acclaim. The presbyters and deacons constituted a sort of senate for the bishop in administering the affairs of the diocese. As the ambition and power of the popes increased, the business of the Roman Curia grew in amount and importance. When Rome became the court of appeal for all Christendom and came to sustain the most multiform and complicated relations with all the civil governments, as well as with every bishop and abbot, it became necessary to systematize the work of administration. The college of cardinals assembled for business, with the pope at their head, constitute the Consistory; assembled for the election of a pope they form a Conclave. The Signature of Grace and the Signature of Justice have to do, the former with all cases of binding and loosing, the latter with appeals from Italy. The Penitentiary deals with cases of heresy, indulgences, etc., in a more public way than the Signature of Grace. The Rota is the supreme court of appeal for Christendom. The Datary is a Board of control registering and dating incoming and outgoing communications. During the sixteenth century a number of Congregations were formed, each with a specialty: the Congregations of the Inquisition, of Prohibited Books, of Indulgences, etc. In connection with each of these courts, congregations, etc., a large number of lawyers and clerks are employed. The number of cardinals has varied from thirteen to seventy-six. A majority are always Italians.

2. *Relation of the Curia to Papal Power and Corruption.*

The development of this vast mass of administrative machinery was in a sense a necessary result of the at-

tempt of Rome to secure universal ecclesiastical and civil control. For a time it contributed greatly to the consolidation of papal power; but its maintenance involved vast expenditures of money and greatly promoted ecclesiastical corruption. The presence of this great ecclesiastical machine makes all attempts to reform the Roman Catholic Church from within hopeless. It is not the pope that controls the Roman Catholic Church,—it is the Roman Curia. It is doubtful whether a pope earnestly desirous of reforming the church in its head and members could accomplish anything permanent in that direction.

The Roman Curia was deeply interested, both financially and administratively, in encouraging appeals from all parts of Christendom. It came to be well understood that the disciplinary decisions of metropolitans, abbots, and bishops, could be easily reversed in the Curia, if the aggrieved party could command sufficient money or influence. Bishops appealed against the censure of archbishops or metropolitans, lower clergy appealed against the censure of bishops, wealthy laymen were sure of kindly consideration in Rome. The benignancy of Rome in granting dispensations appears very clearly in the "Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary" published by Lea. Bishops who were disposed to be rigorous in their discipline were helpless. The facility with which any sort of crime was condoned by the Roman Curia had a most demoralizing effect on clergy and people. It became evident that Rome was intent not on enforcing the observance of the canon law or even of ordinary morality, but rather on the collection of fees for their violation. See Lea's excellent account of papal dispensations in the Introduction to the work above referred to.

VI. MEDIÆVAL MONASTICISM.

LITERATURE: Montalambert, "The Monks of the West"; Cutts, "Scenes and Char. of the Mid. Ages," p. 1, *seq.*; Lacroix, "Military and Religious Life in the Mid. Ages"; Helyot, "*Gesch. d. Klöster- und Rittenorden*," 1754; Hospinianus, "*De Monachis*," 1609; Lea, "An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church," second ed., 1884; Möhler, "*Gesch. d. Mönchthums*" (*Schriften, Bd.* II., *Seit.* 165, *seq.*); Harnack, "*Das Mönchthum, seine Ideale u. seine Geschichte*"; Hase, "*Handbuch d. Prot. Polemik*," fourth ed., *Seit.* 279, *seq.*; Müller, "*Die Anfänge d. Minoritenordens*"; Knox-Little, "St. Francis of Assisi," 1897; Sabatier, "Life of St. Francis of Assisi"; Heimbucher, "*Die Orden und Congregationen d. Kath. Kirche*," 1896; Danzas, "*Etudes sur le Temps primitifs de l'Ordre de St. Domin.*," 1873–1885; Champly, "*Hist. de l'Abbaye de Clugny*," 1866; Schultze, "*Forschungen zur Gesch. d. Klosterreform in X. Jahrh.*," 1883; Neander, "St. Bernard"; Storrs, "St. Bernard"; Alzog, Sec. 239–251; Stephen, "Essays in Ecl. Biog.," "St. Francis of Assisi"; Hurter, "Innocent III.," Vol. III., p. 427, *seq.*;

Neander, Vol. IV., pp. 239–293; encyc. art. on various orders and monastic leaders.

No institution more faithfully reflects the spirit of mediæval Christianity than monasticism as it appeared in the great monastic orders.

1. *Fundamental Characteristics.*

Monasticism represents the externalizing, legalistic, pagan view of religion as opposed to a spiritual view. It represents asceticism, which nearly all pagan religious systems have exalted. It lays chief stress on obedience to authority. It had completeness of organization. Its votaries were enthusiastic and single minded.

2. *Reasons for the Enormous Development of Monasticism in the Middle Ages.*

(1) The general belief in the meritoriousness of monastic life. (2) The perfect adaptation of the monastic orders for the purposes of the hierarchy and the great encouragement given to them by the popes. (3) The disordered state of Europe, and the prevailing misery led multitudes to seek refuge in the monasteries from the ills of life. (4) Such as had a taste for learning found in the monasteries during the earlier Middle Ages almost the only means of gratifying this taste. (5) Many were brought into the monasteries through the enthusiastic advocacy of great monastic preachers like Benedict, Bernard, Francis, and Dominic. (6) The popes favored monasticism by making the monasteries independent of the bishops, by using monks for responsible positions, by giving to monastic preachers the right to preach, hear confessions, etc., without the permission of bishops or parish clergy, and in many other ways. From the time of Gregory the Great onward it was the aim of the more aggressive popes to bring the entire body of the clergy into a monastic mode of life.

3. *Achievements of the Monastic Orders.*

(1) They absorbed most of the Christian life of the age. (2) The monasteries were the conservatories of

learning. (3) The monks performed almost all the missionary work of the age and were foremost in all kinds of Christian and philanthropical work. (4) They were the great writers, preachers, philosophers, and theologians of the age. (5) They were at the head of the Crusades and the Inquisition. (6) The monasteries, owing to the great popularity of monasticism, acquired immense wealth, which invariably led to grievous corruptions, necessitating the periodic formation of new orders by those who wished to stem the tide of worldliness. (7) To the monasteries we are indebted for such men as Tauler, Staupitz, Luther, and Erasmus. (8) The monastic orders sustained somewhat the same relation to mediæval Christianity as modern denominations sustain to Protestant Christianity. They were characterized each by a peculiar type of life or doctrine. So long as absolute obedience to the Roman Curia was preserved a generous freedom was for the most part accorded them in matters of life and doctrine. Apart from the freedom given to peculiarities of life and doctrine in monastic orders it is probable that a far larger amount of earnest Christian life would have separated itself from the dominant church. Thus monasticism was a means of conserving the unity of the hierarchical church.

4. *Evils of Monasticism.*

(1) From mediæval Catholic sources it is possible to construct a picture of monastic life and work in which heroism, self-sacrifice, industry, zeal for sacred learning, literary activity, missionary enthusiasm, purity and simplicity of life, and every moral and religious virtue abound; and a picture in which idleness, luxury, discontent, nameless vices, ignorance, and utter moral worthlessness are the prominent features. It is abundantly evident from monastic literature that the great majority of the inmates of monasteries represented a very low type of intellectual, moral, and spiritual life. Living was beset with difficulties during the Middle Ages, and multitudes took refuge in monasteries from the hardships and perils of life with no thought but that of living at ease. Many whose lives had been disreputable sought to hide themselves in monasteries from public contempt. Given,

a body of men or women, many of them young and sensually inclined, the great mass devoid of high moral and religious principles, all pledged to celibacy, ministered to by monastic officials and by clergy who in many cases set the example of vicious living and were ready to debauch their charges, freed to a great extent from outside observation and from the jurisdiction of secular courts, and the moral rottenness of mediæval monasteries can be easily accounted for. Add to this the fact that the confessors were instructed to ask questions that presupposed moral vileness in each individual and caused vice to be looked upon as a matter of course, that slight disciplinary penance was supposed to make good the gravest breaches of morality, and especially the fact that many priestly confessors were ready to use their power of absolution for making victims of the weak and the ignorant, and the wonder would be that any should escape the contagion.

(2) Narrowness, bigotry, intolerance, avarice, sectarian zeal, characterize mediæval monasticism at its best estate.

(3) While in the earlier time monastic colonies were a means of diffusing civilization and were thus economically valuable, the enormous expansion of monastic life was economically hurtful. The withdrawal of so large an amount of life from productive activity and the accumulation of wealth for the support of so vast a population could be justified only on the ground that their moral and intellectual activity compensated for the loss to the communities in which they were situated and tended powerfully to make the lives of the remaining population nobler and more productive. It is not probable that the monasteries in most communities were worth to them anything like what they cost.

(4) Again, the choice of monastic rather than domestic life by hundreds of thousands of men and women diminished by so much the number of possible homes and prevented such a growth of productive population as would have been in the interest of the countries of mediæval Europe. Prostitution, illegitimate births, abortion, and infanticide everywhere abounded, largely as a result of monasticism and of clerical celibacy.

5. *Founding and Characteristics of the Various Orders.*

While monasticism had its rise in the East, it had its most remarkable development in the West. The Benedictines established in 529 by Benedict of Nursia, reformed and strengthened in 817 by Benedict of Aniane, had a remarkable revival about the middle of the eleventh century. Clugny, founded in 910, was the great center from the middle of the tenth century onward. By the middle of the twelfth century there were two thousand convents subject to Clugny, mostly in France. The Cistercians (convent of Citeaux) arose about 1098 from a desire on the part of the more zealous of the Benedictines to escape the luxury and corruption of the now wealthy monasteries. Bernard of Clairvaux gave great lustre to the new order during the first half of the twelfth century. The Carmelites were founded in connection with the Crusades on Mount Carmel in 1209, and received full papal recognition in 1224. The Augustinians were formed out of a number of older bodies in 1244. The great preaching orders, the Dominican and the Franciscan, were founded during the early years of the thirteenth century under Innocent III., but failed to receive unconditional papal approval till the time of Honorius III (the former in 1216, the latter in 1223). They arose at a time when heresy was spreading rapidly in France, Italy, and elsewhere, and constituted the most effective agency that the hierarchy employed to crush out dissent. The Franciscans (Minorites) represented the intensely emotional form of ascetical piety and sought to win back to the churches the masses of the people through enthusiastic preaching and through extreme asceticism; the Dominicans represented a more intellectual type of life and work and were forward in theological disputation and in the founding and management of the Inquisition. The three great military orders were founded in connection with the Crusades: the Hospitalers of St. John the Baptist (1092), the Templars (1118), the Teutonic Knights (1190). Many other orders were founded during the Middle Ages, most of which still exist. Most of the orders had related organizations for women, and tertiaries, or outside secular adherents.

VII. THE CRUSADES.

LITERATURE: Cox, "The Crusades"; Guizot, "Hist. of Fr.," Vol. I., pp. 296–380; Michaud, "Hist. of the Crusades"; Wilken, "*Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*"; Greenwood (see Chronol. Index); Milman, Vol. IV., pp. 15–67, etc.; Alzog, Sec. 216; Lane-Poole, "Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," 1898; Kugler, "*Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*," 1880 (from Oncken, "*Allgem. Gesch.*," *Bd.* II.); Sybel, "*Gesch. d. ersten Kreuzzüges*"; Hahn, "*Ursachen u. Folgen d. Kreuzzügen*"; Prutz, "*Kulturgesch. d. Kreuzzügen*," 1880; Raumer, "*Gesch. d. Hohenstaufen*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 37–231.

1. *Occasion of the Crusades.*

(1) The long series of religious wars for the rescue of the Holy Land and the holy places from the desecrating possession of the enemies of the cross of Christ occupy a position of great prominence in the history of mediæval civilization. In a sense they represent the reawakening of the spirit of adventure and conquest that had been slumbering during the centuries that followed the somewhat definite settlement of Europe. Feudalism, with its subdivisions of territory and its limitations of the areas of intercourse had greatly hampered and narrowed the lives of the people and when once a great moving cause for breaking over territorial bounds and embarking in world-wide adventure appeared the masses of the people were likely to respond with great enthusiasm. The generally prevailing misery and hopelessness of the impoverished classes made them ready to grasp at any opportunity for social amelioration. The feudal rulers were finding war with their neighbors less and less profitable and the danger of an overwhelming Mohammedan invasion from the East was constantly before them. Besides, the popes were coming to interfere more and more influentially in the political strifes of Christendom and were appropriating to themselves the advantages that came from European wars.

(2) The conversion of the Normans to the Catholic faith (911) was an event of primary importance in the civil and ecclesiastical history of Europe. The rapid extension of the Norman conquests until they possessed not only a large part of France, but also England (1072) and Southern Italy, and the willingness of Norman princes like William the Conqueror and Robert Guiscard

to recognize the claims of the popes and to co-operate with them in their schemes of aggrandizement, raised up in the Mediterranean a maritime power, which along with those of Pisa and Genoa, was deeply interested in driving the Saracens from the western Mediterranean and in crippling or destroying their power in the East. The rescue of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica (*c.* 1090) from the grasp of Mohammedanism was the achievement of the Normans and increased their appetite for Oriental conquest. The subjugation of the Eastern empire and ultimately of the Saracen powers was an object of their ambition and they were careful to keep to the front as the religious motive for conquest the spread of the Catholic faith and the destruction of all opposing forms of religion. Thus the war with the Saracens was opened long before the first Crusade.

(3) But apart from these more secular considerations, there were forces at work that enable us to account for the even more important religious enthusiasm that lay at the basis of the Crusades. Mediæval Roman Catholicism was a religion of forms and ceremonies, and superstition abounded. The veneration of shrines and relics and the belief in their capacity to work miracles and to confer spiritual benefits was almost universal. From the fifth century onward pilgrimages to the Holy Land and to the Holy Sepulchre had been regarded as the surest way to acquire merit and to atone for the most grievous sins. Pilgrims without purse or scrip often set out on foot to beg their way to Palestine, fortified by the belief that the loss of life in such an enterprise would involve immediate entrance into heavenly bliss. The early Mohammedan rulers had guaranteed to Christians the right to visit the holy places without molestation. The failure of the year 1000 to bring the end of the age, almost universally expected by Christians, greatly stimulated pilgrimages.

(4) The conversion of Hungary (*c.* 997) opened up an overland route to the Holy Land, which also tended to multiply the number of pilgrims.

(5) In 1010 the Sultan Hakem, a mad fanatic, ordered the destruction of the chief Christian sanctuaries in Jerusalem. The conquest of Asia Minor and Syria by the

Seljuk Turks (*c.* 1076) greatly increased the hardships of the multitudinous pilgrims. Extortionate tolls, robbery, imprisonment, and acts of sacrilege, greatly exasperated the pious pilgrims, and the story of these atrocities rapidly spread throughout Europe.

(6) Pope Sylvester II. (999) had exhorted Christendom to take measures for the protection of pilgrims and of Christian interests in Jerusalem. Gregory VII. addressed to the Christians of his time letters of exhortation to go to Jerusalem for the sake of the faith and to "defend our Christian brothers."

2. *The Preaching of the First Crusade* (1095).

(1) In 1095 the Greek Emperor Alexius, sorely beset by the Turks, sent ambassadors to the Council of Piacenza to pray for the aid of Western Christendom. Pope Urban II. was profoundly impressed with the opportunity to extend the dominion of his church and to do a highly meritorious work. Peter the Hermit had returned from a pilgrimage and preached a crusade with consuming zeal.

(2) At the Council of Clermont (1095) Urban II. and Peter both appeared and aroused the crusading enthusiasm to the point for immediate action. An extract from the pope's address will best exhibit the spirit of the movement:

> That land in which the light of truth first shone; where the Son of God, in human guise, deigned to walk as man among men; where the Lord taught and suffered, died, and rose again; where the work of man's redemption was consummated,—this land, consecrated by so many holy memories, has passed into the hands of the impious. The temple of God has been profaned, his saints slain, and their bodies cast out upon the plains for the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field to feed upon. The blood of Christians flows like water in and about Jerusalem, and there is none to do the poor service of giving burial to their remains. Strong in our trust in the divine mercy, and by virtue of the authority of Sts. Peter and Paul, of whose fullness we are the depositary, we hereby grant full remission of any canonical penalties whatever to all the faithful of Christ who from motives of devotion alone and not for the procurement of honor or gain shall have gone forth to the aid of God's church at Jerusalem. But whosoever shall have died there in true repentance shall undoubtedly have the remission (*indulgentiam*) of sins and the fruit of eternal reward.

He promised to all who would enlist the plenary remission of all the infinite penalties and penances they had incurred by their past sins, and the immediate protection of Peter, Paul, and the holy church, for their persons and estates, and pronounced an anathema upon any that should molest them.

The multitude rose to their feet and cried out repeatedly: "It is the will of God!" The pope then exhibited the cross and said: "Wear it upon your shoulders and upon your breasts; let it shine upon your arms and upon your standards; it will be to you the surety of victory or the palm of martyrdom; it will unceasingly remind you that Christ died for you, and that it is your duty to die for him." This gave the name to the movement (crusade, from *crux*, cross).

(3) The pope proclaimed a truce of God among the princes of Europe and bade them join in the great effort for the rescue of the Holy Land. So great was the enthusiasm that they were for the most part ready to obey. Insolvent debtors were liberated from their obligations. The prisons of Europe were emptied of all who would join in the Crusade. The truce of God was extended so as to embrace the full protection of the lives and belongings of all crusaders.

(4) About six hundred thousand men, besides women and children, are said to have embarked on the First Crusade. It was a motley and disorganized host. Freed by their plenary indulgence from all moral obligations and compelled to support themselves to a great extent on the populations through which they moved, they carried devastation everywhere. Pestilence and famine rapidly reduced their numbers. Jerusalem was captured in 1099, about forty thousand crusaders having been spared to participate in the glory. Godfrey of Bouillon, the chief leader, was proclaimed king, but he refused to wear the crown of royalty where Christ had worn a crown of thorns.

The success of the crusaders was only partial and temporary.

3. *Later Crusades.*

It will not be practicable in the present work to give the details of the successive efforts of united Europe to

destroy the power of the Saracens and the Turks. A few outstanding facts must suffice:

(1) The Second Crusade (1147–1153), of which Bernard of Clairvaux was the chief promoter, is said to have numbered about one million two hundred thousand fighting men. It was a complete failure. Nearly all the host was destroyed. Bernard, when confronted with the failure of his prophecies, attributed the disaster to the guilt of the pilgrims themselves.

(2) The Third Crusade (1190–1193), in which Richard the Lion-hearted and Saladin figure so prominently, accomplished little. Richard himself was taken captive and long held for ransom.

(3) The Fourth Crusade (1196–1197) resulted in a complete defeat and a terrible massacre of crusaders at Jaffa.

(4) The Fifth Crusade (1201–1204) was under the direction of Innocent III., the most powerful of the popes. It expended its efforts chiefly in gaining control of Constantinople and establishing a Latin empire in the East, with Baldwin of Flanders, at its head. By this means the pope could bring the Eastern Church into obedience. This Latin empire lasted till 1261, when the Greeks regained control. The alienation between the Eastern and the Roman Catholic churches was intensified by this attempt at coercion.

(5) The Sixth Crusade (1216–1229) was rendered fruitless by the lack of harmony between the popes and the Emperor Frederick II., and the disposition of the latter to disregard the interests of the papacy in his treaty-making with the Saracens. Frederick was in no proper sense a crusader, and had regard solely to political and personal considerations.

(6) The Seventh Crusade (1239–1242) was made up of a French and English expedition, in which neither pope nor emperor co-operated fully. It was without important results.

(7) The Eighth Crusade (1248) was led by Louis IX., of France. His army was almost completely destroyed and he was taken prisoner; but he had the satisfaction of visiting Nazareth in sackcloth on a permit issued by the Sultan of Damascus.

(8) The Ninth Crusade (1259–1291) embraces several feeble expeditions. The crusading spirit was almost extinct, and the most desperate efforts to reawaken it proved futile.

(9) Mention should be made of the Children's Crusade (1212), in which thirty thousand French children, led by the boy Stephen, went forth under the enthusiasm of the time, they knew not whither. Multitudes died of exposure and hardship, and several thousands who secured passage to the East were seized by the Arabs and sold into slavery. A similar movement, in which twenty thousand boys and girls were involved, occurred in Germany. About five thousand reached Genoa, where they were detained. Many of these became prosperous citizens.

(10) There were many crusades against heretics in Europe, as against the Albigenses (1208–1249) and against the Hussites (1420–1431). These were accompanied by the indiscriminate massacre of the helpless populations in the regions invaded.

4. *Attitude of the Popes toward the Crusades.*

From the beginning the popes recognized in the Crusades a means of influence and aggrandizement and favored them to the utmost. They sought to impress upon the princes the wickedness of warring among themselves, while infidels were allowed to desecrate the Holy Land and the holy places. They granted plenary indulgence to all who would go. This involved forgiveness of past sins and the forgiveness in advance of any sins they might commit while engaged in crusading, with the assurance of freedom from purgatorial pains. The prisons of Europe were thrown open and the worst criminals were encouraged to join the crusading hosts on the same generous conditions. Thus for two hundred years the popes were at the head of a movement that was thoroughly popular and absorbed the attention of Christendom. As feudalism had added vastly to the territorial possessions of the church, the Crusades confirmed the church in the possession of the territory already acquired and gave an opportunity for acquiring enormous additional wealth. Many an enthusiastic cru-

sader, to make his salvation doubly sure, bequeathed his entire estate to the church in case of his failure to return. Many in starting needed ready money, which the church was prepared to furnish on good security. Thus the church came to possess about one third of the real property of Europe.

5. *Summary of the Results of the Crusades.*

(1) The breaking up of feudalism and the establishment of great nations. Having secured enormous advantages during the periods of turmoil, the church was ready to avail itself fully of the opportunities that awaited it during the period of the consolidation of the States of Europe.

(2) The great increase of the wealth and the power of the papacy. The power of the pope was beyond all comparison greater than that of any civil ruler. The policy of the papacy was consistent, while that of the civil rulers was fluctuating. The princes became accustomed to follow the leadership of popes and obey their orders.

(3) The opening up of commerce. This resulted from the long-continued intercourse between the East and the West and had great influence upon civilization. Manufactures went hand in hand with commerce and the face of Europe was changed. The vast wealth squandered in the Crusades was far more than made good by the revival of trade and manufactures.

(4) The general diffusion of enlightenment. Contact with the learning and the civilization of the East was not without its effect on the crusaders. An intellectual activity such as had not been known before became almost as general and as absorbing as the Crusades themselves had been. The founding of the great universities of the Middle Ages and the revival of learning were indirect results of the Crusades.

(5) The building up of great commercial centers whose interest lay in opposing feudalism and in promoting freedom of thought and action was largely due to the Crusades.

(6) The Crusades tended to fuse Christendom into a homogeneous mass by uniting it in a common cause.

(7) The Crusades proved in the end a means of weakening, as earlier they were the means of strengthening, the papal cause. The popes continued to urge the rulers to engage in crusades long after the spirit of crusading had departed, and thus had the misfortune to advocate an unpopular cause. Moreover, the growth of intelligence, freedom of thought, commercial and manufacturing enterprise, strong national governments, etc., was adverse to papal absolutism.

VIII. THE INQUISITION.

LITERATURE: Limborch, "*Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosanæ*, 1307–1323," 1692; Llorente, "*Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*," 1817; Gams, "*Die Kirchengesch. von Spanien*," *Bd.* III.; Bernardus Guidonis, "*Practica Inquisitionis Hereticæ Pravitatis*," ed. Douais, 1886; Döllinger, "*Beiträge zur Sektengesch. d. M. A.*," *Bd.* II. (contains many important inquisitorial documents); Fredericq, "*Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Hereticæ Pravitatis Neerlandicæ*," 1889, *seq.*; Molinier, "*L'Inquisition dans le midi de la France au XIII. et au XIV. Siècle*," 1881; Hoffmann, "*Gesch. d. Inquisition*," 1878; Lea, "A Hist. of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages," 3 vols., 1888 (by far the best work in any language, being based upon exhaustive research and written with masterly skill).

1. *Rise of the Inquisition.*

(1) The inquisition of heresy was from the early time a function of each bishop, and in a sense, of each parish priest. The theory had long prevailed that out of the church there is no salvation and the toleration of heresy was looked upon as involving the gravest and most culpable neglect of duty. As the organization of the hierarchical church grew more complete, and as doctrine came to be more rigorously defined, it was natural that increasing stress should be laid upon the enforcement of uniformity in doctrine and practice. Aggressive and ambitious popes were sure to insist with even greater rigor upon the diligent inquisition and punishment of heresy on the part of metropolitans, bishops, and civil rulers. When heresy became so widespread and aggressive as to threaten the foundations of ecclesiastical authority, it might have been expected that the Roman Curia and General Councils would adopt measures of universal applicability for its extermination, and as the business of searching out and punishing heresy became

great and complicated it might have been expected that an Inquisitor General and a special Board or Congregation would be created in the Curia for its superintendence. Heresy was generally looked upon by churchmen as the greatest possible evil, and the heretic as the enemy of God and men and as worthy of no humane consideration.

(2) The early tradition (confirmed by a bull of Pope Sixtus V.) that Dominic (founder of the Dominican order) was commissioned by Innocent III. to establish the Inquisition, seems not to be in accord with the facts.[1] But that the Dominicans were from the beginning the chief promoters and agents of the Inquisition there can be no doubt.

(3) The Councils of Montpelier and Lateran (1215) both enacted rigorous decrees for compelling bishops to greater diligence in the inquisition of heresy. The Council of Narbonne (1227) made it obligatory upon every bishop to constitute in each parish a special commission for searching out and reporting cases of heresy. Where bishops were suspected of indifference or inefficiency papal legates (usually monks) were sent into their dioceses to assist in the matter, and if necessary to act independently.

(4) The Emperor Frederick II., though a pronounced antagonist of the papacy, joined hands with the popes in the persecution of heresy (1220–1239). Laws were enacted requiring those suspected to purge themselves, deprivation of all civil rights being the penalty. Heresy of every kind was made a criminal offense. Obstinate heretics were condemned to the stake; those that recanted were to be imprisoned for life; those that relapsed were to be executed; the property of heretics was to be confiscated and their heirs disinherited; favorers of heretics were to be banished and their property confiscated; houses of heretics and their friends were to be destroyed and never rebuilt; the lands of civil rulers who should neglect to purge them of heresy were to be open for occupancy by any Catholic who would extirpate heresy therefrom. Frederick was prompt to place at the

[1] See Lea, Vol. I., p. 299, *seq.*

disposal of the organized Inquisition all the machinery of the civil government. A more sanguinary code can hardly be conceived.

(5) In 1233 Gregory IX. assigned the prosecution of heresy to the Dominicans and armed them with authority to carry on their work everywhere independently of the bishops. From their decisions there was to be no appeal, and they were authorized to call in the aid of the secular arm. The transition from the earlier episcopal inquisition to the Inquisition as a department of the papal government entrusted to the Dominicans was thus a gradual one. For years permanent tribunals had existed in the south of France (Toulouse, Carcassone, etc.) conducted under the direction of the popes. The papal bulls of 1233 completed the process of supplanting the episcopal inquisition by the papal. Yet the bishops were not wholly relieved of responsibility; but were urged to greater diligence and to hearty co-operation with official inquisitors.

(6) Another stage in the development of the Inquisition is marked by the bull of Innocent IV. ("*Ad Extirpanda*," May, 1252). The aim of this document was to extend the organized inquisition of heresy to every community. All rulers are required to put heretics under the ban. Each magistrate must appoint, on the nomination of the bishop and of representatives of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, twelve good Catholics and several clerical assistants, whose sole business it should be to arrest heretics, seize their goods, and deliver them up for trial to the bishop or his representatives. Their wages and expenses were to be paid by the civil government and by fines and confiscations. They were to be appointed for six months, subject to removal at any time and to reappointment. They were to be exempt from civil duties and from interference by civil authorities. As the commission went from place to place it was to be accompanied by a deputy of the civil ruler who was required to summon three men of good repute and to compel them to give full information regarding heretics within their knowledge. The civil authorities were required to act in entire subserviency to the inquisitors, and to have lists of all heretics made out, to be read three times a

year in public. The local inquisitors were to have a third of the proceeds of confiscations and fines, the cities a third, and the bishops the other third. Officials were required, on pain of excommunication for themselves and interdict for the city, to inscribe these regulations in the statute books. Every ruler was required to appoint three good Catholics, nominated by the ecclesiastical authorities, whose business it should be to prosecute him for any failure to carry out the requirements of the bull and to report on the conduct of his predecessor in office. Revised editions of this bull were issued in 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1259, and 1265.

(7) The completeness with which these requirements were carried out depended upon the subserviency of the civil rulers. In Italy, Spain, and Southern France the Inquisition was established in all of its irresponsibility and terrible rigor. In most parts of Germany it was applied only partially and spasmodically.

(2) The office of Inquisitor General was created by Urban IV. in 1262, one of the cardinals having been up to this time charged with the general superintendency of inquisitorial work.

2. *The Inquisitorial Process.*

(1) The evils of the Inquisition were exaggerated by the fact that the avarice of the ecclesiastical authorities and of informers was greatly stimulated by the practice of confiscating the estates of convicted heretics and of dividing the proceeds between the authorities and the informers. The censure and obloquy resting upon officials of the Inquisition who should fail to convict any one who might afterward be proved guilty was so grave that inquisitors felt bound to use all diligence, and to convict by all means if grave suspicion rested upon the accused. The benefit of the doubt was by no means likely to be given to one who had fallen into the clutches of the Inquisition. As evidence must be found for the conviction of suspected heretics, torture in its most exquisite and varied forms was employed in order to compel confession of personal guilt and betrayal of accomplices. Skilled cross-questioners were employed to use every device for betraying the victims into damaging admissions, and

false promises of favor were often made to secure confession.

(2) Abundant information has been preserved in the handbooks of the Inquisition as to the means employed for eliciting evidence. The facts ascertained in any way with reference to each sect or class of heretics were carefully recorded and placed at the disposal of inquisitors everywhere. The particular methods that had succeeded in given cases were described for the guidance of others. Modes of expression or the avoidance of particular words and phrases were carefully noted. In fact, everything that would occur to a skilled detective was sure to be thought out by one or other of the multitude of able men employed in inquisitorial processes and even if the inquisitors had been scrupulously careful not to condemn the innocent there was little chance that one really guilty should escape. The details of the inquisitorial process, including the accusation, the denunciation, the examination, the application of torture, imprisonment in the dungeons of the Inquisition with all the horrible accessories that human ingenuity could devise, the sentence (with its mocking prayer to the civil authorities for executive clemency), the execution, the confiscation of estates, the branding of the families of condemned heretics with perpetual infamy, cannot be given here.[1]

3. *Effects of the Inquisition.*

(1) It could not have failed to brutalize those who were immediately engaged in the work and all who sympathized therewith. The frequent perpetration in every community of the horrible scenes accompanying the trial and execution of heretics, and the unpitying, often gloating, attitude of inquisitors and spectators, must have exerted a powerfully demoralizing influence. The earlier influence of Christian teaching and life upon barbarian sentiment and custom was humanizing and refining. In the Inquisition all the worst features of pagan cruelty were revived and indefinitely intensified and multiplied. The encouragement given to the gratification of private

[1] The reader is referred to Lea's great work for the details of the process and for concrete cases of its application in the different countries of Europe.

malice and avarice must have wrought disastrously to the public sense of righteousness and fair dealing. In general, it appealed to and stimulated the basest passions and propensities of the human soul. It reacted powerfully upon civil law and administration and largely neutralized the humanizing effects that Christianized Roman law had earlier produced. It tended to destroy good neighborliness among the people. Each was under obligation to act as a spy upon the private religious life of the other, and each regarded the other as his possible betrayer.

(2) It powerfully stimulated and intensified dissent from the hierarchy, which could not fail to be regarded as antichristian by those who knew something of the spirit of the gospel. The Inquisition destroyed, it is probable, hundreds of thousands of the most earnest and steadfast representatives of evangelical Christianity. A far larger number in each community were compelled by tortures and despair to deny their faith. It was the experience of inquisitors that such rarely became good Catholics, but continued secretly and sometimes openly to practise and propagate their heresy. It is in accord with the principles of human nature that the sufferings endured would intensify their hatred of the pretended Christianity of which they were the victims. Again, it disseminated the persecuted forms of Christianity throughout Europe. Even the most remote and inaccessible regions became filled with anti-Romanist Christians. It led the various bodies of evangelical Christians to perfect their organization and their methods of secret propagandism. The organized and omnipresent vigilance of the Inquisition had to be met by equal astuteness and resourcefulness on the part of the hunted evangelicals. Europe became covered with a system of secret evangelical agencies that could carry forward Christian work in the very teeth of the Inquisition. The multitudinous trade-guilds and secret societies of various kinds became most efficient agencies for the propagation of anti-Romanist teaching. Along with the growth of evangelical dissent skepticism and infidelity greatly increased by way of revolt against papal atrocity and dogmatism.

(3) It co-operated with other influences in bringing the

papacy into disrepute and effecting the papal captivity and schism; in causing the revolt of Germany against the papacy (under Louis the Bavarian, 1324 onward), of England (Wycliffeite movement, 1360 onward), of Bohemia (Hussite movement, 1410 onward); and finally in bringing about the Protestant Revolution of the sixteenth century. The Christian consciousness was outraged by the Inquisition, and was sure to have its revenge.

IX. MEDIÆVAL UNIVERSITIES.

LITERATURE: Denifle, "*Die Entstehung d. Univ. d. Mittelalters*"; Rashdall, "Universities of the Middle Ages," 3 vols.; Budæus, "*Historia Universitatis Paris*," 6 vols., 1665–73; Döllinger, "*Die Universitäten Sonst und Jetzt*"; Brodrick, "A Hist. of the Univ. of Oxford"; Mullinger, "A Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge"; art. "Universities" in "Encyc. Brit."; Lacroix, "Sc. and Lit. in the Mid. Ages," pp. 1–40.

The impulse given to education by Charlemagne was never entirely lost. The Palatine school in which Alcuin taught and in which Charlemagne and his court learned was not a university, but was a precursor of universities. In the schools of Charlemagne and his successors were taught the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy). During the early Middle Ages teaching was almost confined to the monasteries. The intellectual activity awakened by the Crusades began to manifest itself everywhere during the twelfth century. Eagerness for knowledge may be said to have been epidemic during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

1. *Origin of Universities.*

We may distinguish two classes of universities: those that were developed out of monastic or cathedral schools, as Paris, Oxford, etc., and those that grew up around some great teacher, or were founded by States or municipalities. The great importance that came to be attached to civil and canon law during the eleventh and twelfth centuries created a demand for teaching in these branches of study. There appeared in Bologna about 1100 a celebrated teacher of Roman law, Irnerius by name. His reputation soon extended over Europe and students flocked

to Bologna from all quarters. His more advanced pupils were naturally drawn into the work of teaching to meet the ever-growing demand. It was not long before instruction in civil law was supplemented by faculties of canon law, theology, etc. Emperors and popes vied with each other in extending protection and more material favors to the institution. The university idea once having taken hold upon the public mind it became the ambition of every province and of every great city to have one. The earliest of the universities were Bologna (1158), Paris (1200 or earlier), Montpelier (about 1180), Oxford (about 1200), Salerno (before 1200). During the thirteenth century eight new universities were founded, during the fourteenth century about twenty, during the fifteenth about twenty more, and two were founded at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Many of these universities numbered their students by thousands, some by tens of thousands.

The term "university" was not universally or exclusively applied to higher institutions of learning. *Universitas* means primarily a *corporation*, and was applied in the Middle Ages to civil corporations, etc. Among the terms commonly applied in mediæval documents to higher educational institutions are *studium generale*, *studium commune*, *studium universale*, *generalis disciplina*, as well as *universitas* and *universitas studii*. The term *universitas* seems never to have meant, in mediæval usage, an institution where all branches of learning were taught.[1] It was sometimes applied to a single faculty of an institution of higher learning.

2. *Internal Organization of Mediæval Universities.*

At first there was little or no organization. Those who could teach taught, the more advanced scholars assisting the teachers proper. There were no fixed rules of government, each case of discipline being disposed of on its own merits. But the concourse of thousands of men and youths of various nationalities and degrees of culture soon made it absolutely necessary to develop a complete organization. Relations between students and teachers, between students and teachers of one nation and those of another, and between university and city or province, had to be definitely determined. Regular forms of pro-

[1] Denifle, *Seit.* 32, *seq.*

motion to the teacher's office and to various academic degrees must be prescribed, etc.

(1) *Relations between Students and Masters.* Two classes of universities may here be indicated: Universities of scholars and universities of masters. The Italian universities grew up for the most part out of law and medical schools and in the midst of republican forms of government and republican sentiment. These were accordingly universities of scholars. In these the appointment of officers and the government of the entire body was in the hands of students and teachers alike. At the beginning most of the students were doubtless mature and earnest and little risk was involved. The University of Paris and the universities modeled after it, were universities of masters. This is to be accounted for by the fact that it was developed out of a monastic or cathedral school in which rigorous discipline had been practised and the old relation was sustained in the new order of things. The work of masters or doctors was three-fold: lecturing, repeating, and disputing.

(2) *Division into Nations.* All the nations together elected a rector, who held his position for a stated time and who stood at the head of university administration. Each nation elected a procurator, or counselor, to represent it in general university affairs and to preside in all matters affecting the internal interests of the nation. The procurators constituted a sort of senate for the rector.

The "nations" in the various universities did not strictly follow national lines. The masters and students of several nations were often grouped in one "nation," and those belonging to the same nationality were sometimes subdivided into several "nations." In the University of Paris the nations were France, England, Normandy, and Pickardy. All but England were virtually French, and England embraced not only Great Britain but nearly the whole of Northern and Eastern Europe. The intention was to give to Frenchmen a preponderance in the government of the institution. The "English nation" became the "German nation" in 1437 because of hostility between France and England.

(3) *Privileges and Immunities of Universities.* Universities usually sought and obtained the right of self-government, involving immunity from municipal interference. Misconduct of students often led to serious conflicts with

the police, and jeopardized the right of self-government. Threats to remove the university to another town usually brought the municipal authorities to terms and the "boycott" was very freely and persistently employed as a means of punishing obnoxious inn-keepers and shopkeepers. The university authorities dictated the price of lodgings, provisions, writing materials, manuscript books, etc.

3. *The University of Paris.*

We may illustrate the constitution and work of a mediæval university by giving some particulars regarding the University of Paris, the greatest and most influential of them all. The faculty of arts embraced the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. There were faculties of theology, canon law, civil law, and medicine.[1] The faculty of arts had four proctors, one for each nation. The faculty of theology, besides its dean, appointed each year a syndic to manage its business. The other faculties had each a dean. The proctors and deans, with the rector, who was nominated by the proctors and who must belong to the arts faculty, constituted the highest tribunal of the university. The rector while in office had almost absolute power.

The University of Paris was fostered by popes and kings alike. The Sorbonne, or theological faculty (founded by Robert Sorbon in 1250), came to be the highest theological authority in the world, not excepting that of the popes themselves, with whom it was frequently in collision.

The glories of the University of Paris are eloquently set forth by Lacroix:

> If Bologna might boast her civil lawyers, Salerno her physicians, Paris might vie with these great schools in their peculiar studies, and in herself concentered the fame of all, especially of the highest—theology. The university of Paris had its inviolable privileges, its own endowments, government, laws, magistrates, jurisdiction; it was a State within a State, a city within a city, a church within a church. It refused to admit within its walls the sergeant of the

[1] According to an early account canon and civil law were at one time grouped together and "rational, natural, and moral philosophy" formed the fourth. This fourfold division of what is called the "fountain of wisdom" is compared, in a "letter of the university of masters and scholars studying at Paris," 1254, to the four rivers of paradise. (See Denifle, *Sent.* 67, *seq.*)

mayor of Paris, the apparitors of the bishop of Paris; it opened its gates sullenly and reluctantly to the king's officers.

4. *Contents of the Courses of Instruction.*

The necessity of dictating both the text and the elucidation greatly limited the ground that could be covered in any department.

(1) In theology the Bible and the "Four Books of Sentences," by Peter Lombard, were the customary textbooks. Six years were normally spent in biblical study. This completed, the student became a "sententiary," and began to study Peter Lombard. With the completion of the third book he became a "formed bachelor." After the completion of the fourth book he must remain for three years in the university to exercise himself in disputing and preaching before he could become a "master" in theology. This course presupposes the arts degree or its equivalent. (2) In canon and civil law the "Decretum of Gratian," the "Theodosian Code," and the Justinian books comprised the texts. (3) In medicine, Avicenna (an Arabian author), Hippocrates, and Galen were the chief texts. (4) In arts Aristotle, Porphyry, and Priscian were most frequently used. (5) The masters sometimes compiled summaries of the authors studied, which practically took the place of the full texts. Readers were in many cases employed to dictate texts. (6) Besides the texts and the lectures by the masters disputations were frequently held between masters and students for the benefit of the latter. Masters also held public disputations among themselves which did much toward devoloping the dialectic spirit. The *quodlibetarian* disputations, in which masters offered to discuss any subject that might be mooted with any one who might present himself, always awakened great interest as occasions on which brilliant men could distinguish themselves for learning and dialectic skill. (7) From this brief account it will be evident that there was in the mediæval universities no such thing as research. The inductive method had not yet been introduced, and the methods of discovering truth were not yet available. There was abundance of zeal for learning, but it was not according to understanding, and the universities did little

beyond conserving the learning of the older time, perfecting the scholastic philosophy and theology, sharpening the intellect by excessive application to dialectics, and making skilled sophists. Most of the independent thinking of the age was outside of university circles.

X. MEDIÆVAL THEOLOGY.

LITERATURE: Pertinent sections in the histories of Philosophy, by Ueberweg, Erdmann, Ritter, Windelband, and Weber; Maurice, "Mor. and Metaph. Philosophy," Vol. I., p. 432, *seq.*, Vol. II., p. 1, *seq.*; works of the leading mediæval theologians (Roscellinus, Scotus Erigena, Abelard, Peter Lombard, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Occam, etc.); Hampden, "Bampton Lectures"; Lacroix, "Science and Literature of the Middle Ages," pp. 41–76; works on the history of doctrine, by Harnack, Loofs, Seeberg, Baur, Fisher, Sheldon, etc.; Werner, "*Die Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters*"; Rousselot, "*Etudes sur la Phil. dans le Moyen-Age*"; Harper, "The Metaphysics of the Schools"; Löwe, "*Der Kampf zwischen dem Realismus und Nominalismus im Mittelalter*"; Nitzsch, "*Die Ursachen des Umschwungs und Aufschwungs der Scholastik im XIII. Jahrh.*"; Reuter, "*Gesch. d. rel. Aufklärung im M. A.*"; encyclopedia articles on "Scholasticism" and the leading scholastics.

The beginning of the present period found theological science in a degenerate and moribund condition. The achievements of the preceding periods were not even being properly conserved, and advance was out of the question. The impulse given by Charlemagne to the revival of learning was never wholly lost in the time of feudalistic disintegration and demoralization; and the age of the Crusades, as has already been pointed out, brought with it a reawakening of interest in theological science. Only a brief outline of the history of mediæval theological thought is here practicable. The doctrinal controversies of the period are relatively unimportant.

1. *Incipient Scholasticism.*

The term scholasticism (or the teachings of the schools) has long been used to designate the formal theologizing conducted according to the categories of the Aristotelian philosophy and with the use of the deductive method, that prevailed during the Middle Ages and later.

Scholasticism was philosophy in the service of established and accepted theological doctrines, or, at least, in such subordination to

them, that where philosophy and theology trod on common ground, the latter was received as the absolute norm and criterion of truth. More particularly, scholasticism was the reproduction of ancient philosophy under the control of ecclesiastical doctrine, with an accommodation in cases of discrepancy between them, of the former to the latter.[1]

(1) The first great representative of the methods of thought and of discussion that afterward was developed into full-fledged scholasticism was *John Scotus Erigena* (b. 800–810), probably an Irishman by birth and education, who was invited (843) by Charles the Bald to the headship of the palatine school at Paris, which the king sustained after the example of Charlemagne. He was employed by the king to translate into Latin the Pseudo-Dionysian (Christian Neo-Platonic) writings, with the spirit of which he became deeply imbued. He was somewhat acquainted with the writings of Plato and of Aristotle. A very imperfect translation of some of Aristotle's dialectical works by Boëthius (d. 525), a Roman statesman and philosopher, had long been in use in Christian education and had before this time produced a marked impression on theological thought. As a Christian Neo-Platonist, Scotus Erigena opposed the Aristotelian theologians, whom he called "dialecticians."

The most noteworthy features of his system were the following: *a*. He set the example to later scholastic theologians of placing the "Fathers" on the same level of authority as the Scriptures. It is not for us to pass judgment on the wisdom of the Fathers, but piously and reverently to accept their teachings. Where they seem to contradict each other we are at liberty to choose what seems to us more in accord with the divine oracles.

b. With Augustine, he insisted on the identity of true philosophy and true religion. He refused to identify true religion with the current orthodoxy. "Authority proceeds from true reason, but true reason by no means proceeds from authority. All authority that is not approved by true reason seems to be weak."[2] He was thus fundamentally a rationalist and so far fell short of fully developed scholasticism.

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[1] Ueberweg, "Hist. of Phil.," Vol. I., p. 355.
[2] "*De Divisione Naturæ*," Vol. I., pp. 39, 71.

c. With Pseudo-Dionysius he insisted that God alone "essentially subsists," that he alone "truly is," that he is "the essence of all things," and that he is "the beginning, middle, and end of all things." Our life is God's life, it is "the Holy Trinity in us" that "loves, sees, moves." His doctrine of the Trinity was deeply tinged with Neo-Platonism.

d. His doctrine of universals laid the basis for the later realism. He held that universals are before and also in the individual objects; but he did not develop his realistic teaching. As a Neo-Platonist he could not consistently have held to nominalism, the doctrine in accordance with which universals are mere abstractions formed in the mind by a contemplation of individual objects. Universals rather are the divine ideas, which alone are realities and of which individual objects are the non-substantial copies. The Platonic realism, in accordance with which universals exist apart from and before the individuals, was tempered in Scotus Erigena's scheme by the Aristotelian view that universals exist only in the individuals. They exist both before and in the individuals.

e. The influence of Aristotle is everywhere manifest in his methods of discussion.

(2) *Anselm of Canterbury* (1033–1109) represents another important stage in the development of scholasticism. He was a contemporary of Hildebrand and of Peter Damiani and was in thorough sympathy with the aggressive hierarchical strivings of these great prelates. He has been designated, with some propriety, "the father of scholasticism." He is best known for his elaboration of the ontological argument for the existence of God (in his "*Proslogium*") and of the satisfaction theory of the atonement (in his "*Cur Deus Homo?*"). He adopted the Socratic method of argumentation, and most of his writings are free from the formalism and the endless definitions and distinctions of the fully developed scholasticism.

He differed from Scotus Erigena and agreed with the later scholastics in the following particulars: *a.* He insisted on unconditional submission to ecclesiastical authority. "I believe, that I may know," was his favorite maxim, and his creed was the dogma of the church.

Scientific insight the theologian should seek to attain; but reason is to be held in the strictest subordination to creed.

b. While he made considerable use of Platonism and Neo-Platonism, he was not dominated by these modes of thought.

c. He was fundamentally a realist, but his realism was further removed from pantheism than that of Scotus Erigena. His realism appears in his proof of the existence of God, in his doctrine of the Trinity, and in his doctrine of hereditary sin.

(3) *Roscellinus*, a contemporary of Anselm, if not the founder of nominalism, was the first to develop it fully and to advance its positions in a polemical manner. Roscellinus insisted that universals are mere mental abstractions formed from the contemplation of individuals, mere *names*. He applied this theory to the doctrine of the Trinity in such a way as to call down upon himself the censure of Anselm and others and condemnation at the Council of Soissons (1092) for tritheistic heresy. He insisted that just as color is nothing apart from the body in which it inheres, so personality is nothing apart from the person. Assuming the orthodox doctrine of the tripersonality of the Godhead, he maintained that these three persons have each a distinct subsistence, yet are absolutely the same in will and power.

(4) Realism, in a more decided form than that of Anselm, was popularly taught by *William of Champeaux* (1070–1121), who for some years before 1108 was at the head of the cathedral school at Paris and who ended his life as Bishop of Châlons.

(5) *Abelard* (1079–1142) was taught by Roscellinus and William of Champeaux and was one of the greatest thinkers and teachers of his age. Erdmann characterizes him as an "incarnation of French scholasticism with its acuteness and elegance." His romantic love affair with Heloise, a highly gifted young woman for whom he conceived an undying affection, caused much scandal and greatly marred his career. He was accused also of inordinate ambition and of avarice, shown in his relations to William of Champeaux in the Paris cathedral school. He was bitterly assailed for heresy by Bernard of Clair-

vaux and made his peace with the church by abject humiliation and recantation of the errors with which he was charged. He was strongly inclined toward rationalism and was combative in a high degree; but he had not the moral courage of which martyrs are made, and his career was an inglorious one.

The most characteristic features of his theology (or philosophy) are: *a*. His attempt to mediate between the nominalism of Roscellinus and the extreme realism of William of Champeaux. He insisted that universals exist not in words as such (*voces*), but in words employed to express thought (*sermones*). In opposition to William's contention that the universal in its totality dwells in each individual object, he insisted that the universal is that whose nature it is to be predicated of several objects.

Abelard's view is frequently designated conceptualism; but it falls far short of the fully developed conceptualism of the later time. It is doubtful whether Roscellinus would have objected to his maxim that only words conveying thought (*sermones*) are predicable, as contrasted with mere words (*voces*). Most nominalists would have accepted it. Abelard, therefore, may properly be classed with the nominalists, though his language doubtless suggested the conceptualism of the later time.

b. He combated the extreme realistic position that universals have an independent existence before the individuals (Platonic ideas).

c. He was strongly inclined to reject the absolute authority of the church, but did not have the courage to remain steadfast in this position. In his work "Yes and No" ("*Sic et Non*") he arrays the authorities against each other on each matter of discussion, thus exhibiting the worthlessness of human authority. No doubt he was himself a decided skeptic and his methods of discussion greatly promoted skepticism. Bernard had a correct instinct when he was remorselessly pursuing him as an enemy of orthodoxy and of ecclesiastical authority. He insisted on the right and duty of investigation and sought to show that skepticism is a condition of earnest research. Where absolute proof regarding any doctrine cannot be reached, the moral consciousness must be our guide. Peter de Bruys and Arnold of Brescia were his pupils.

Bernard claimed that Abelard "savored of Arius when he spoke of the Trinity, of Pelagius when he spoke of grace, and of Nestorius when he spoke of the person of Christ," and that "while he labored to prove Plato a Christian, he showed himself a heathen."

(6) *Peter Lombard* (d. 1160) wrought the orthodox scholasticism of his time into a convenient handbook ("Four Books of Sentences") which for centuries served as a text-book in many of the universities. The great scholastic theologians made the "Sentences" the basis of their lectures.

2. *Mediæval Arabian Philosophy.*

During the early part of the present period the Christians of Syria developed considerable interest in Greek philosophy and science and made translations of the works of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Themistius, Alexander of Aphrodisias, etc. These Syriac versions were translated into Arabic by Mohammedan scholars. A number of the writings of Plato and the Neo-Platonists were also rendered from the Syriac into the Arabic during the early Middle Ages. On the basis of the Greek philosophy and science, considerably modified by this process of translation and retranslation, there grew up in the East, in North Africa, and in Spain, a remarkable Saracenic culture. "The whole philosophy of the Arabians was only a form of Aristotelianism, tempered more or less with Neo-Platonic conceptions" (Ueberweg).

The most important of the Arabic philosophers as regards their influence on mediæval Christian thought were *Avempace* (d. 1138), *Abubacer* (d. 1185), and *Averroës* (d. 1198).

This vigorous Neo-Platonized Aristotelianism was made available to Christian thinkers in part directly through the sojourn of Christian students among the Arabs, and in part indirectly through the Jewish philosophers, who mastered the Arabic learning and developed a Jewish speculative philosophy of which the Cabbala is one of the most remarkable products, and of which *Avicebron* (d. 1080) and *Moses Maimonides* were the most illustrious representatives.

To the Arabs and the Jews mediæval Christian theologians were indebted for a remarkable scientific im-

pulse and for a better knowledge of Aristotle, Plato, and the Neo-Platonic writers. For further details reference must be made to the works on the history of philosophy and to monographs on the individual writers and doctrines concerned.

3. *Fully Developed Scholasticism.*

(1) *The Fundamental Principle of Scholasticism.*

This was *absolute submission to authority*. Nothing is right or wrong, good or evil in itself. If God should reverse the relations of right and wrong, good and evil, we should be bound to call wrong right and evil good. The church is the final and absolute judge of what the will of God is at any particular time and under any particular circumstances. The teachings of the church must therefore be accepted and defended without regard to the dictates of conscience or reason. The tendency of the entire mediæval system was in the direction of dethroning conscience in the individual and making the will of the hierarchy the conscience of the entire priestly and monastic body, and through this body, of the entire constituency of the church.

(2) *The Material.*

The teachings of the church are to be found in the Bible (including the Old Testament Apocrypha), the decretals of popes, the canons of councils, the writings of the early Fathers, etc. The Bible is authoritative only as it has been authoritatively interpreted by the church, and so ceases to have any independent influence upon thought. The premises for philosophical and theological reasoning are thus unalterably fixed for the individual. There is no inducement to apply the intellect to the searching after truth by scientific methods. To attempt to arrive at the exact teaching of the Scriptures by a study of the original languages and the application of correct exegetical principles would have been regarded as an impertinence, and would have subjected a person to persecution for heresy. For the same reason the history of the growth of opinion had no interest for scholastics.

(3) The Form.

The theology and philosophy of the earlier Middle Ages had consisted largely of a concatenation of pertinent passages from Fathers, decretals, etc., in support of each authoritative proposition. Commentaries on the Bible were scarcely more than *catenæ* of exegetical remarks gleaned from earlier writers. Later the dialectics of Aristotle came to be applied and theology assumed a more systematic form. The authority of Aristotle in all matters of formal reasoning came to be regarded as almost absolute. The work of the theological writer was now to draw out, according to the categories of Aristotle, as many conclusions as possible from each authoritative proposition. Little reference was had to the practical value of the conclusions, and theology degenerated into idle hairsplitting, sometimes into gross irreverence.

(4) Effects of Scholasticism.

a. It sharpened the logical faculties without furnishing fresh materials for thought. The outward form of theology came to be regarded as of supreme importance, the spirit of Christianity being lost sight of.

b. Scholasticism being a product of papal Christianity and partaking of its spirit, became one of the greatest bulwarks of the papacy and has constituted one of the chief obstacles to the reformation of the Roman Catholic Church.

c. The frivolousness and formalism of mediæval theology brought about reactions which resulted in evangelical revolt, mysticism, humanism, and finally in the Protestant Revolution.

(5) Leading Representatives of Fully Developed Scholasticism.

a. Alexander of Hales (d. 1245), surnamed the "Irrefragable Doctor" and the "Monarch of Theologians," was the first scholastic theologian to make full use of Aristotle's works as they were known among the Saracens and of the Arabic commentaries thereon. He became a member of the Franciscan Order and joined with the Franciscans in insisting upon the immaculate conception of Mary. He sought to justify the withholding of

the cup from the laity on the ground that the body contains the blood, *i. e.*, that the transubstantiated bread contains both body and blood. He was the first to develop fully the doctrine of the "indelible character" of baptism, confirmation, and ordination. He gave definite form to the distinction between *attrition* and *contrition* (the former indicating sorrow for sin proceeding from fear of punishment, the latter, sorrow for sin proceeding from love to God, in connection with repentance), attrition being considered sufficient. He regarded the pope as "immediately under God," and so as possessing supreme earthly authority. He was a realist of the moderate type, denying that universals are separately subsisting substances before the individuals and maintaining that the universal is in the thing as its form.

b. Bonaventura, the "Seraphic Doctor" (d. 1274), was a Franciscan and was General of the Order (1257 onward). His piety was of a strongly emotional type, like that of the founder of the Order, and his theology perpetuated the ascetical mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugo of St. Victor. As a pupil of Alexander of Hales he followed him closely in most doctrinal matters. The influence of Neo-Platonism prevented him from being fully dominated by the newly recovered knowledge of Aristotle, whom on the contrary he frequently censured. He denied the immaculate conception of Mary, holding that the sanctification occurred in her mother's womb. He laid less stress than Alexander, Duns Scotus, or Thomas Aquinas on church authority and upon the mere will of God; but sought rather to find rational grounds for each position taken. Baptism he regarded as not simply working the forgiveness of sins but as communicating supernatural virtues. He interested himself little in the question of universals, contenting himself with the assertion that God is not only the beginning and end of all things, but their archetypal ground as well. He insisted on God's providential care of earthly things, with which he supposed the Aristotelian objection to the immanence of the ideas of things in the divine mind was inconsistent.

c. Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), the "Universal Doctor," mastered the whole of Aristotle as known by the Arabs

and the works of the Arabic commentators more completely than any of his predecessors had done. He was regarded as a marvel of learning and of philosophical insight. More than any of his predecessors he sought to adapt the doctrines of Aristotle to the purposes of the church. He was deeply indebted to the Arabic philosopher Avicenna and to the Jewish Maimonides. He rejected Aristotle's theory of the eternity of the creation, which he did not attempt philosophically to explain, but classed with the miraculous as to be accepted on faith. Universals he regarded as existing before the thing (in the divine mind), in the thing, and after the thing. He sought thus to combine what was true in realism, nominalism, and conceptualism. Like Alexander and Bonaventura he was a Franciscan.

d. Thomas Aquinas, the "Angelic Doctor" (d. 1274), was a pupil of Albertus Magnus, and was the greatest of all the scholastic theologians. His "*Summa Theologiæ*" still occupies the highest rank in the Roman Catholic Church, and the student of mediæval thought can find it here in its most perfect form. More completely than Albert had done, he exploited the works of Aristotle for purposes of Christian theology. He rightly regarded theology as the empress of all the sciences and as using all other sciences for her own purposes. More than other scholastic theologians he uses the Scriptures, but only for the confirmation of ecclesiastical dogma. He represents the principle of absolute subserviency to ecclesiastical authority in its complete form. He was a realist of the moderate type, rejecting as absurd the Platonic doctrine of ideas existing as substantial entities in the divine mind apart from individuals, but holding that everything existed in the divine thought before it came into separate existence. His demonstration of the existence of God, based upon that of Aristotle, is wrought out with great thoroughness. Thomas was a member of the Dominican Order and from this time onward the Dominican theologians were commonly pronounced realists and were called *Thomists* to distinguish them from the nominalistic followers of Duns Scotus, who were designated *Scotists*.

e. John Duns Scotus, the "Subtle Doctor" (d. 1308, aged forty-three or thirty-four, whether Scotch, Irish, or

English is uncertain), was a Franciscan and gained great distinction in the University of Oxford, where several of his works were published. He was removed by the authorities of his Order to Paris to defend the immaculate conception of Mary against the Dominicans, and through the performance of this task and his brilliant lectures in the University of Paris, won the reputation of being the foremost theologian in the world. In the midst of his glorious career he was ordered by his general to take charge of a convent in Cologne. This he did without even taking time to bid adieu to his brethren in Paris and without a murmur. The principle of absolute and unquestioning obedience to his superiors dominated his life.

Even supposing the longer period assigned to his life to be correct, the amount and quality of his literary product is astonishing. He had the work of Albert and of Thomas behind him, and the full fruitage of mediæval Mohammedan and Jewish thought was readily available to him. He accepted unquestioningly the authority of Scripture and that of the church. "Nothing is to be held as of the substance of the faith, except what can be expressly had from Scripture, or has been expressly declared through the church, or evidently follows from something plainly contained in Scripture or plainly determined by the church." He extended considerably the scope of Christian teaching that must be accepted on faith and could not be rationally established. What the church declares heresy must be accepted as such without question. The principle of blind submission to papal authority was never accepted with less reserve. His subtlety was expended almost wholly on efforts to discredit the reasoning by which his predecessors had sought to establish church dogma. Naturally Thomas Aquinas, the great Dominican, was the chief object of his attack. He not only showed the inadequacy of the rational grounds on which the doctrine of the Trinity and other specifically Christian doctrines were based, but also denied that the doctrine of the creation of the world out of nothing and the immortality of the soul could be demonstrated. He attached less importance to Aristotle and more to Plato and the Neo-Platonists than did Thomas. He was a moderate realist, like Thomas, holding that universals are before, in, and after individuals. His universal skepticism regarding the inadequacy of rational proofs for Christian doctrines was far more widely influential during the stormy times that followed his death (Papal Captivity, Papal Schism, Renaissance, etc.) than his insistence on blind submission to authority; and the later nominalism, with its bold skepticism even in relation to church authority, was a legitimate outcome of his teachings.

f. William Occam (d. 1347) was the reviver of nominalism, and to his influence is due the renewed emphasis

that was placed by the Thomists on the defense of realism as a bulwark of orthodoxy. From this time onward scholastic theology was divided into two hostile factions, realists (Thomists) and nominalists (Scotists). Occam went beyond Duns Scotus in his skepticism, denying that any theological doctrines are demonstrable by pure reason. He maintained that universals do not exist in things, but in the thinking mind. Outside of the mind they are only words. Ideas do not exist in God as substantial entities, but only as thoughts or plans. He laid great stress on intuition as a source of knowledge. Occam prepared the way for the application of the inductive method to the study of nature and of mind. He was among the most zealous advocates of ecclesiastical and political reform.

4. *Mediæval Mysticism.*

LITERATURE: Published works of Eckart, Suso, Tauler, Ruysbroek, and Thomas a Kempis; the "German Theology" (English trans.); Preger, "*Gesch. d. deutschen Mystik im M. A.*"; Jundt, "*Histoire du Panthéisme populaire au M. A.*"; Denifle, "*Meister Eckarts Lateinische Schriften und die Grundanschauung seiner Lehre*" (in "*Archiv f. Lit. u. Kirchengesch. d. M. A.*," Bd. II., pp. 417–678); Vaughan, "Hours with the Mystics"; Pfeiffer, "*Deutsche Mystiker*"; Schmidt, "*Etudes sur le Mysticisme allemand au XIV. Siècle*"; Schmidt, "*J. Tauler von Strassburg*"; articles on "*Mystik*" and on the various mystics with full bibliography in Herzog-Hauck.

The influence of Neo-Platonism (especially of the Pseudo-Dionysian literature) on the devout thinking of the mediæval times was from the beginning of the period considerable. It gave intensity and fervor to the ascetical piety of Bernard, of Hugo and Richard of St. Victor, of Albertus Magnus, of Bonaventura, and of many other eminent thinkers. The dominance of Aristotelian dialectics, and the degeneration of Christian thinking into hairsplitting subtleties and barren abstractions, could not fail to produce a reaction in the minds of those who cared more about the reality of religious experience than about mere formal statements of truth. The growth of sacramentalism, which attached saving grace to mere outward forms and ceremonies, and which, by making the priesthood the channel through which alone spiritual benefits could be procured, tended to destroy the immediate communion of the soul with God, and failed to sat-

isfy those who felt that direct communion with God is alone efficacious.

In the Dominican Order, which produced a Thomas Aquinas and was the chief agency in establishing and conducting the Inquisition, there arose in Germany toward the close of the thirteenth century that peculiar type of religious thought and life known as Mysticism.

(*1*) *Characteristics of German Mysticism.*

a. One of the most fundamental features of German mysticism was an intense striving in the present life to transcend the human, and to attain to a state of perfect union and communion with God.

b. A fundamental doctrine with the mystics was the absoluteness of God and the nothingness of man. To God alone can being be ascribed. God is above all names. Names given him by men simply indicate his relations. All creatures have their source of life in him. Being capable of self-knowledge and self-revelation, God developed the Trinity out of himself. God as Son, by means of the Spirit, disseminated the divine essence in the visible world. According to its very nature the divine principle seeks to return to its original oneness. This, then, is the ideal of Christian life: to seek absorption into the divine essence. In these conceptions we see the influence of Platonism, especially as developed in the works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.

c. Enjoying, as they supposed, perfect and constant communion with God, the mystics claimed to speak from divine inspiration, and exalted their own reveries above the written word.

d. Most of the eminent mystics were Dominican friars. It is remarkable that while in France, Italy, and Spain, the Dominican zeal manifested itself in persecuting heretics, in Germany it expended itself in profound contemplation of the love of God, and in striving after oneness with God.

e. The pantheism that characterized much of the German mysticism, was based upon *realism*. Ideas in the divine mind are *realities*. If God thinks of man he is a man; if he thinks of a stone he is a stone. So man becomes what he contemplates. If he contemplates God

he becomes one with God. If he contemplates the sufferings of Christ, he becomes united with Christ in his sufferings.

(2) *Representative Mystics.*

From the large number of able, earnest men that sought, by bringing the people to realize the immanence of God and the immediateness of their relations to him, to deliver them from thraldom to priestcraft and sacramentalism, two of the greatest may be selected for concise treatment.

a. Master Eckart (d. 1327), a German of noble birth, became a Dominican early in life and was probably educated at Cologne. Later (*c.* 1300) he studied in the University of Paris, where he received his Master's degree. He was promoted from one official position in the Order to another until (1310) he was chosen Provincial by the Teutonic Province of the Order. He has been fitly called the "father of German speculation." He was a voluminous writer, producing besides the large body of popular speculative and devotional works, by which he has been chiefly known, a number of scholastic works in Latin that have recently been brought to light. As a scholastic theologian he did not differ materially from the orthodox theologians. A recent writer has declared that "Eckart is before everything else and essentially a scholastic."[1] But "in precision and elegance of representation he falls far behind Thomas." The contrast between scholasticism and mysticism is not so great as has sometimes been supposed. The liberty that the leading scholastics took of discriminating between the things that can be rationally proved and the things that have to be accepted by faith on the authority of the church, gave them much freedom to speculate about transcendental matters, their orthodoxy being saved by their profession of submissiveness in each case to the authority of the church.

Eckart's speculations found expression chiefly in his sermons and other popular discourses. He was an enthusiastic preacher and was earnestly desirous of impressing upon the monks and nuns to whom he minis-

[1] Deutsch, in Herzog-Hauck, third ed., art "Eckart."

tered his profound thoughts about "the divine nature in its unity and trinity, the relation between God and the creature, especially between God and the human soul, about the nature of the soul, about regeneration and union with God, to which he is constantly recurring."[1]

(*a*) His view of God was hardly distinguishable from pantheism. His expressions correspond closely with those of Gnostics like Basileides and with extreme Neo-Platonism.

"All that is in the Godhead is one. Thereof we can say nothing. It is above all names, above all nature. The essence of all creatures is eternally a divine life in Deity. It is God who works, not the Godhead. . . Therein are they distinguished—in working and not working." He was not content with the definition of Pseudo-Dionysius: "God is not," rather he is the negation of negation (*Nichtesnicht*). He applies the expression "unnatured nature" to Deity. The Trinity is the self-revelation of the indistinguishable and indefinable Godhead, or "natured nature." God as Father knows, speaks, generates. His Fatherhood exists only in relation to the Son. The Son is in all things like the Father except in generation. Out of the pleasure and love that Father and Son have in each other proceeds the Holy Spirit.

(*b*) All creatures he regarded in a pantheistic manner as having their existence in God. This is especially the case of the human soul.

"There is something in the soul which is above the soul, divine, simple, an absolute nothing, rather unnamed than named, unknown than known. . . It is absolute and free from all names and forms, as God is free and absolute in himself. It is higher than knowledge, higher than love, higher than grace. In this power doth blossom and flourish God, with all his Godhead. . . In this power doth the Father bring forth his only begotten Son, as essentially as in himself, and in this light ariseth the Holy Ghost. This spark rejects all creatures, and will have only God, simply as he is in himself. It rests satisfied neither with the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Ghost, nor with the three Persons, as far as each exists in its respective attributes. . . This light is satisfied only with the super-essential essence. It is bent on entering into the simple ground, the still waste, wherein is no distinction, neither Father, Son, nor Holy Ghost." Again: "God in himself was not God—in the creature only hath he become God."

(*c*) From the above quotations it is evident that he regarded the whole process of revelation and redemption

[1] Deutsch, as before cited.

as taking place in each individual. God is conscious only in the creature. Prayer is unnecessary, for we have all truth and all Godhead essentially in ourselves.

"God and I are one in knowing. God's essence is his knowing, and God's knowing makes me to know him. Therefore is his knowing my knowing. . . Mine eye and the eye of God are one eye, one vision, one knowledge, and one love."

The birth of the Son takes place in each soul that submits itself to divine influence as it occurred in Jesus. Historical Christianity with its revelation and its redemption sinks into insignificance in comparison with the individual experience of union and communion with the infinite source of being. The incarnation he regarded as the result of the striving of all creatures since the fall to produce a man who should restore harmony. In the creation of the first man Christ was the object. The earthly life of Christ is valuable as an example.

(*d*) Sin consists in directing the will toward the finite and taking pleasure therein. Salvation consists in attaining to a consciousness of our unity with God and in having the Son begotten in us. Absorption in Deity involves the purging away of all sensuous and creaturely affections and the attainment of perfect Christlikeness.

b. John Tauler (d. 1361), a Dominican and a pupil of Eckart, early became a preacher of great power. In mid-career he came under the influence of a "Friend of God," whose identity will probably ever remain shrouded in the deepest mystery, and had a profound religious experience which he regarded as conversion (1350) onward). After years of meditation and study he resumed his preaching in Strasburg, where he attracted great audiences, whom he marvelously impressed with his impassioned eloquence. He was one of the foremost preachers of the mediæval time and by his sermons and writings did more, it is probable, than any other man for the diffusion of evangelical mysticism and the promotion of spiritual Christianity.

It must suffice at present to say that he avoided to a great extent the pantheistic extravagance of Eckart, while yet insisting on the completeness of the union of the believer with God and the directness of the inner experience of divine truth.

c. Among the other more influential mystics may be mentioned *Henry Suso* (*d.* 1365), who was also an eloquent Dominican preacher and who almost equaled Eckart in

the extravagance of his pantheistic expressions; *John Ruysbroek* (d. 1381), the chief of the Dutch mystics and almost as evangelical as Tauler; *Rulmann Merswin* (d. 1382), a Strasburg merchant who founded (1366) a religious house for the "Friends of God," or the evangelical mystics, who sought by a semi-monastic organization to carry forward their evangelical preaching and educational work; the author of the anonymous "German Theology," whose influence on Luther and others will be noticed hereafter; and *Thomas a Kempis* (d. 1471), author of the "Imitation of Christ," which has held its place as one of the great devotional works of the ages.

(3) *Influence of Mysticism upon Christian Life and Thought.*

The writings and sermons of the German mystics made a powerful impression upon the minds of a large number of Christians. Comparatively few were led to the extreme of mystical contemplation at which the leaders arrived. But a strong current of earnest Christian life, as opposed to the outward, formal Christianity that prevailed, proceeded from these men, and was perpetuated by their writings. It was not an altogether wholesome mode of viewing Christianity. Yet it was very effective in its opposition to the dead formalism into which Christianity had sunk. Luther, Carlstadt, Münzer, Denck, Schwenckfeldt, and many other leading men in the Reformation time, acknowledged or manifested their deep indebtedness to the mystics, and by these their theological views were in a great measure determined.

XI. THE RENAISSANCE.

LITERATURE: Pater, "Studies in the Hist. of the Renaissance"; Symonds, "The Renaissance in Italy"; Roscoe, "Life of Lorenzo de' Medici," and "Life of Leo X."; Reumont, "Lorenzo de' Medici"; Hallam, "Int. to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries," Chap. I. and II.; Berington, "Lit. Hist. of the Middle Ages"; Gregorovius, "*Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*," *Bd.* VII. (also Eng. trans.); Burckhardt, "*Kultur d. Renaissance*"; Voigt, "*Humanismus*"; Creighton, "Hist. of the Papacy," Vol. III. and IV.; Villari, "Savonarola"; Schaff, "The Renaissance"; George Eliot, "Romola" (a historical novel of great power and value); and Ranke, "Hist. of the Popes." See also encyclopedia articles on the leading humanists.

1. *Preliminary Observations.*

One of the most remarkable phenomena of the latter part of the Middle Ages was the revival of learning. The decline of the Roman Empire witnessed a corresponding decline in literary production. The barbarian invasions swept away, for the most part, the culture that remained. Charlemagne took energetic measures for the revival of learning, and gave a great stimulus to theological studies.

From the time of Charlemagne there was considerable literary activity in the monasteries, but this was for the most part misdirected. Under the influence of dead formalism in general, and of Aristotelian philosophy and dialectics, which gave shape to the theological and philosophical productions of the Middle Ages, theology and philosophy degenerated into endless and aimless hair-splitting. Deductive, rather than inductive in its methods, mediæval theology consisted in the drawing out from a single proposition recognized as authoritative (a text of Scripture, or an expression of a pope, council, or early theologian), of as many conclusions, positive and negative, as possible. From each of these conclusions, arrived at by logical processes, in like manner an almost infinite number of other conclusions were drawn.

Thus resting entirely upon ecclesiastical authority, there was little effort or inclination among the mediæval theologians to arrive at new views of truth. The church had determined how Scripture was to be interpreted, and the Latin text of the Bible was regarded as infallibly correct. There was, therefore, no reason why mediæval theologians should attempt to find out the true meaning of the Scriptures by a study of their original languages, and of the historical relations of their different parts. Mediæval theology thus furnished one of the strongest barriers to the progress of true enlightenment.

While the Saracen occupancy of Spain was regarded by Christians as a great evil, Christians received from the Saracens more of enlightenment during the Middle Ages than from any other source. The influence of Arabic learning upon Christian thought that had already become manifest, was still more marked during the pe-

riod of the Crusades, and especially in the thirteenth century. Yet there was in this Arabic influence little that tended to progress. Indeed, the most scholastic of the mediæval theologians and philosophers were those that were most under the influence of Arabic learning.

The universities, as we have seen, were dominated by the spirit of scholasticism, and while they conserved and diffused the learning of the past did little for the advancement of science in any of its branches.

Freedom of thought was greatly promoted by the disordered and divided state of the hierarchical church during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The skepticism of the nominalists became widely diffused.

The contact of Western Christians with the Greek learning of the East, during the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth centuries, and the emigration of Greek scholars to Italy, promoted the awakening interest in classical learning.

2. *Rise of the New Learning.*

In the thirteeth century the Latin and Greek classics, long since almost forgotten in the West, had begun to be studied and admired. Dante and Petrarch, the founders of Italian literature, had interested themselves in Latin poetry, and Boccaccio had applied himself to Greek poetry as well. By the middle of the fifteenth century considerable interest in classical studies had already been awakened in Italy.

The continued encroachment of the Turks upon the Greek Empire, and, finally, the fall of Constantinople (1453), caused a large number of Greek scholars to take refuge in Italy. Here they were welcomed, and their services as teachers of the Greek language and philosophy were in great demand. In 1450 a school was founded by Cosmo de' Medici for the promotion of classical studies. The writings of Plato were especially cultivated, and the Platonic philosophy was contrasted with the scholastic theology to the disadvantage of the latter. It was even shown that the schoolmen had not properly understood Aristotle, whom they professed to follow.

The study of antiquity became an enthusiasm. The monastic libraries were ransacked for manuscripts of the

Greek and Roman classics, which were regarded as more precious than gold. To write in a Ciceronian style became a great object of ambition and the study of Greek became the fashion of the day. The art of printing, discovered about the middle of the century, was a powerful auxiliary to the new learning. Architecture, painting, and sculpture participated in the great æsthetic awakening. Popes and civil rulers alike were lavish in their expenditures on literature, architecture, and the fine arts.

3. *Characteristics of the New Learning.*

(1) As might have been expected, the tendency of the one-sided cultivation of the Greek classics was to promote æsthetic, far more than religious advancement.

(2) The cultivation of the elegant literature of Greece and Rome incapacitated men for appreciating even the good elements of the barbarously written scholastic theology. The elevated sentiments and ideal conceptions of Platonism were held by many to be far more divine than the stiff formalism of a Thomas Aquinas.

(3) Such cultivation and admiration of classical literature was sure to lead to the extreme of denying the superiority of the Christian religion to paganism; but after the first reaction, a harmonizing of Christianity with Platonism was naturally attempted. This effort led to the study of the Neo-Platonic writings (Plotinus, Porphyry, Proclus, Pseudo-Dionysius, etc.), and to a comparison of these with the biblical writings in their original languages. Thus the study of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures was revived.

(4) This study of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, without scholastic prepossession, was sure to lead to a better understanding of the Scriptures and a better appreciation of the spirit of Christianity. Without the revival of learning, Colet, and Reuchlin, and Erasmus, and Luther, and Zwingli, and Calvin, would have been impossible.

(5) The Renaissance involved an earnest application of the mind to nature with the determination to penetrate its secrets. It involved a recognition of the dignity of life and of mind, and of the right and duty of the individual to cultivate his powers to the utmost, and to enjoy

in a rational way what nature has provided. The superstitions of the past had to give way before the spread of enlightenment by the new learning, with its new philosophy and its new science. The spirit of the Renaissance pervaded the religious, social, and political life of the time. The papacy itself came under its spell, and several of the popes were far more devoted to literature and art than to the interests of religion or even the maintenance of ecclesiastical power. Educational methods were revolutionized. Theology itself experienced a new birth at the hands of men like Pico de Mirandola, Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Colet. Philosophy was transformed under Nicolas of Cusa, Pico, Reuchlin, Agrippa of Nettesheim, and Galileo.

(6) We may say that in connection with the revival of learning, the principle of emancipation from authority in matters of thought and worship, which is the distinctive idea of modern times, as compared with mediæval, was developed. This idea, though a fundamental one in Protestantism, was not fully apprehended by the great Reformers. While it was claimed on their own behalf, it was not accorded to others. But it was so involved in the origin of the movement and in the spirit of the times, that it was perfectly sure of final recognition.

(7) The Reformation was, therefore, only a single phase of a movement which had already made considerable progress. The first manifestations of the modern spirit were humanistic, and were lacking in religious earnestness and zeal. The movement of which Erasmus was the best representative, only needed to have infused into it the patriotic and religious spirit of a Luther in order that it might be able to shake the religion of Europe to its very foundations.

CHAPTER II

THE PAPACY DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

I. THE POPES FROM 800–1044

LITERATURE: Greenwood, "*Cathedra Petri*," Vo.. III., pp. 53–446; Milman, "Lat. Christianity," Vol. III.; Adams, "Hist. of Civilization dur. the Middle Ages"; Emerton, "An Introd. to the Study of the Middle Ages"; Bryce, "The Holy Roman Empire"; Eginhard, "Life of Charlemagne" (Eng. trans.); Hauck, "*Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*," *Bd.* II.; Simson, "*Jahrbücher d. Fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig d. Fr.*"; Dümmler, "*Gesch. d. Ostfränk. Reichs*"; Wenck, "*Das Frank. Reich nach dem Vertrag von Verdun*"; Simson, "*Die Entstehung d. Pseudisidorischen Fälschungen in Le Mans*"; Dümmler, "*Auxilius und Vulgarius: Quellen und Forschungen zur Gesch. d. Papstthums in Anfang d. X. Jahrhunderts*," 1866; Langen, "*Gesch. d. römischen Kirche von Nikolaus I. bis Gregor VII.*" 1892; Niehues, "*Gesch. d. Verhältnissen zwischen Kaisertum u. Papsttum im Mittelalter*," 1887; Gregorovius, "*Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*," *Bd.* III. (also Eng. trans.); Hefele, "*Konziliengeschichte*," *Bd.* IV.; Jaffé-Wattenbach, "*Regesta Pontificorum*"; articles on the various popes concerned in Herzog-Hauck and Wetzer u. Welte.

A FIRM alliance had been established between Charlemagne, king of the Franks, and Pope Hadrian I., each being pledged to use all of his resources for the advancement of the interests of the other. These interests were not thought of as in any sense antagonistic. The head of the great Christian civil power of the West was willing to recognize the ecclesiastical authority throughout his domains of the Roman pontiff, while the latter was ready to support with his spiritual authority the civil government of the Frankish ruler. It is probable that each looked upon his own authority as supreme and thought chiefly of the advantages he was to reap from the alliance; but both were so well satisfied with a mutually advantageous arrangement that it was not thought necessary to define rigorously the spheres of civil and ecclesiastical administration. By the joint efforts of pope and emperor the Saxons had been won to the empire and the church. In this both alike could rejoice. Charlemagne was eager

to gain all the power and prestige that the pope could confer; but he had not the remotest idea of renouncing a particle of his own sovereignty over lands or persons.

1. To *Pope Leo III.* (795–816) was accorded the privilege of placing the imperial crown upon the head of the great Frankish monarch. The coronation of Charlemagne as emperor of the Romans marks an epoch in the history of the papacy no less than in the political history of Europe. As early as 774 Hadrian I. had made Charlemagne a Roman patrician. With the growth of his dominions and the complete withdrawal of the Eastern empire from effective interference in Italian politics, the importance of restoring the Roman Empire, and by this means legalizing and confirming the authority of his government, became more and more apparent to Charlemagne and his advisers. Shortly after the death of Hadrian, Leo had sent to Charlemagne the "keys of the confessional of St. Peter," along with the standard of the city, and had on behalf of the citizens of Rome tendered to him an oath of fidelity. In 799 Leo was driven from the city by a hostile faction. He visited the court of Charlemagne, and was assisted by him in regaining his authority.

In 800, having established peace and tranquillity throughout his vast realm, Charlemagne betook himself to Rome with the purpose, it can hardly be doubted, of securing recognition as the successor of the Cæsars. On Christmas Day, while he was kneeling with the pope at the altar prior to communion, the latter placed upon his head a jeweled crown, and the multitude cried out: "To Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans, long life and victory."

Charlemagne affected to be surprised and somewhat shocked at this proceeding, but he at once exchanged the title of Patrician for that of Emperor Augustus, and compelled all his subjects to take a fresh oath of allegiance to him as such.

Leo was involved in local disturbances and by causing some of his enemies to be executed aroused a storm of opposition, which might have resulted disastrously for him had not death intervened.

2. *Stephen IV.* (816–817) crowned Louis the Pious and his bride at Rheims, the emperor having prostrated him-

self before the pope and treated him with greater consideration than had ever before been shown by an emperor to a pontiff.

3. *Gregory IV.* (827–844) was a feeble pope and was used by able but unscrupulous churchmen for the perpetration upon Christendom of a body of spurious documents in support of papal prerogative. The sons of the feeble emperor were in rebellion against him and had managed to get Gregory committed to their support. Yet he scrupled to take extreme measures against so pious an emperor. The Abbot of Wala and his associate, Paschasius Radbertus, overcame his scruples by exhibiting to him "certain writings and documents, founded on the authority and under the hands of his own holy predecessors," showing, among other things, "that in him dwelt the fullness of that living power which came down from God and the Apostle Peter, whereby he was ordained to be judge of all men and of all things; and in such wise that he himself should be judged of no man."[1] He no longer hesitated to complete the overthrow of Louis and to recognize Lothair, his son, as emperor (833). "The Field of Lies" was a term fittingly applied by contemporaries to this transaction and others that followed. Despite the wishes of Gregory and his advisers, the sons of Louis proceeded to apportion the empire among themselves and the unified civil government on which churchmen had counted so confidently for aid in the centralization of ecclesiastical authority was at an end.

Whether the documents presented to Gregory constituted the entire body of Pseudo-Isidorian decretals or only a limited number of spurious documents that formed the basis of the great collection is uncertain. But the full-grown collection was soon available and was used with the utmost confidence for the promotion of papal power and irresponsibility.

Gregory denounced the partition of the empire after the death of Louis (Treaty of Verdun, 843) and his authority was repudiated by the sons of Louis, whose conspiracy he had furthered. During his later years he was much occupied with defending Rome against the Saracens.

[1] Paschas. Radbertus, in his "*Vita Walæ*," *Lib.* II., Chap. 16, quoted by Greenwood, Vol. III., p. 142.

4. *Nicholas I.* (858–867) came to the pontificate just after a time of wild disorder, when a rival claimant of the office had taken possession of the city, sacked the churches, destroyed the images, and imprisoned the pope (Benedict III.). Louis II. treated him with the utmost reverence. The imperial power was little more than a shadow. Feudalism had almost completed the work of disintegration. The domains of Louis II. were limited to a portion of Italy and he was willing to join hands with the pope for the extension of influence. The Saracens had been successfully repelled. Internal strife had subsided. Nicholas was glad to be protected against Frankish interference by an Italian kingdom. He had fully appropriated the teachings and implications of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals and was prepared to wage a relentless warfare against any that should impugn the absolute sovereignty and the irresponsibility of the Roman See.

Archbishop John of Ravenna defied the pope's authority. He was deposed and anathematized, and was restored only after the most humiliating submission.

The right of appeal to Rome and the supreme jurisdiction of the pope were insisted upon by Nicholas and successfully enforced in a number of test cases.

Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, had deposed Bishop Rothald, of Soissons, because of his refusal to obey the mandates of a provincial synod. He appealed to the pope, who insisted on his being reinstated, and Hincmar was obliged to apologize to the pope and to recognize his right to interfere.

Lothair II. divorced his wife, Tietberga, and married Waldrada. Tietberga appealed to the pope, who espoused her cause, denounced Waldrada as a harlot, and insisted upon the right of the pope to exercise moral superintendence over civil rulers as being the sole source of their authority and responsible to God for their righteous administration.

5. *Hadrian II.* (867–872), an able and aggressive pope, was unable to hold the papacy at the point of influence reached by his predecessor. His attempt to fix the domains of Lothair II. upon the Emperor Louis II., in defiance of the claims of Charles the Bald, supported by the prevailing sentiment, secular and ecclesiastical, of the land, was a complete failure, and he was powerless to avenge the severe rebuke of Archbishop Hincmar.

6. *John VIII.* (872–882) was obliged to appeal to Charles

the Bald (now emperor) for protection against local enemies and the Saracens. The death of Charles (877) left him in a lamentable position. He was obliged to make a humiliating treaty with the Saracens. The Carlovingian Empire was approaching its end and the papacy became involved in the general dissolution of society.

7. *From Martin II. (882) to Christopher (903).* Never was the papacy more degraded than from 880–1000. After the breaking up of the Carlovingian Empire Europe lapsed into a state of almost complete anarchy. Italy was rent into fragments by contending factions. Bishoprics and abbeys were seized upon by warring nobles for their sons or other dependents. Bishops thus appointed were anything rather than pious or learned in theology. The papacy lost almost all its power and prestige and came to be a bone of contention among rival factions. Pope Formosus (891–898) having been treated with the utmost indignity by one party and having been enabled afterward to wreak bloody vengeance upon his enemies, was probably poisoned. He was succeeded (after fifteen days, during which Boniface VI. began and ended his pontifical reign) by his mortal enemy, Stephen VI., who had his body exhumed, tried, condemned, deposed, stripped of pontifical robes, cut to pieces, and thrown into the Tiber. The pontifical acts of Formosus were of course abrogated by Stephen. In about a year the other party triumphed and Stephen was imprisoned and strangled. Stephen's successor, Marinus, reigned four months and Marinus' successor three weeks. John X. was elected by the party that had sustained Formosus (898) and devoted his energies to annulling the proceedings of Stephen. Leo V. (903) having reigned for two months was murdered by his chaplain, who succeeded him. The murderer was murdered and succeeded by Sergius III., after eight months of pontifical glory.

8. *The Pornocracy.* With Sergius was inaugurated what is known in history as the *Pornocracy*. Marozia, a licentious noblewoman, as mistress of Sergius, directed the papal government for seven years. His successor John X. was appointed by his mistress Theodora. He led in person a successful military expedition against the Saracens, but returned to be driven into exile by Marozia.

Through the influence of another licentious woman he succeeded in reinstating himself, but through the influence of Marozia he was soon afterward strangled in a dungeon. The next three popes were creatures of Marozia, the third (John XI.) her bastard son by Pope Sergius, a youth of twenty-one. From 936 to 956 a sort of Roman Republic, with Alberic at its head, prevailed. Alberic appointed four popes in succession and restrained them from political interference. A son of Alberic (a boy of twelve or, as others say, eighteen), profligate beyond his years, succeeded his father in the civil government and moreover assumed the papal office (John XII.). He was charged by his contemporaries with the violation of almost every principle of morality and religion: sacrilege, adultery, violation of widows, living with his father's mistress, invocation of Jupiter and Venus, and turning the papal palace into a brothel. He was driven from the city at the request of the people by the aid of the German emperor Otho before whom he had been tried. After a time he was restored through the intervention of harlots, but was soon afterward killed by the injured husband of a paramour.

The authority of Otho the Great was increasing and he was earnestly endeavoring to bring order out of chaos. He secured control in Italy in 962 and from that time assumed the responsibility of appointing popes. Thus the papacy was delivered from the debasing position into which it had fallen and was enabled to enter anew upon the aggressive policy that had so long been kept in abeyance. The tradition of past greatness was still preserved and with the revival of the Holy Roman Empire by Otho the papacy entered upon a career of brilliant conquest.

9. *Otho the Great and the Papacy.* In 962, following the example of Charlemagne, Otho sought to fortify his imperial authority by receiving anointing, although he had already assumed the imperial crown, at the hands of the pope, even the disreputable John XII. Otho is said to have solemnly promised to do all that in him lay to exalt the Church of Rome and her pastor, and to protect them in the enjoyment of their dignities and territorial possessions. When John's vicious life was brought to his attention he treated the matter lightly, expressing the hope

that with increasing age he would learn to conduct himself with more propriety. But on learning, soon afterward, that John was seeking to induce Greeks and Hungarians to invade Italy and to expel the Germans, he proceeded to capture Rome, and in 963 convoked a synod of bishops and cardinals for the deposition of the pope and the appointment of a successor. A layman was appointed pope under the name Leo VIII. On Otho's withdrawal from Italy John was able to drive out the new pope and to reoccupy the papal chair. John died in 864 and his friends appointed a successor under the name Benedict V. Otho returned to Italy, recaptured Rome, and convoked a synod of bishops from the various divisions of his empire, which deposed Benedict. Leo VIII., with the approval of the synod, issued a decree recognizing the right of Otho and his successors to nominate thenceforth the rulers of Italy, to appoint all future popes, and to invest all archbishops and bishops.

After the death of Otho I. Italy relapsed into anarchy and the papacy shared the same fate. Murder, intrusion, and robbery resumed their sway. Otho III., however, regained control and appointed Gerbert, one of the most learned men of the time, pope, under the name of Sylvester II. (999). Gerbert had studied in Cordova under Saracen scholars, and his scientific knowledge was so much in advance of that of his contemporaries, that he was suspected of practising "black magic" (witchcraft). Otho is said to have added at this time eight counties to the States of the Church, though the authenticity of the deed has been called in question. Sylvester II. was the first French pope, and the first pope, so far as is known, to propose a crusade for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Saracens.

Henry II. (1002–1024) was noted for his religious zeal. He rebuked the vices of clergy, high and low, promoted men to ecclesiastical offices on the ground of merit, and instituted vigorous measures for reforming the church. Conrad II. and Henry III. (1024–1056) pursued the same general policy; but the Italian clergy proved irreformable. Benefices were bought and sold with the utmost recklessness; licentiousness was rampant. Henry III. in his zeal for reform called a synod at Sutri (1046), sum-

moned Pope Gregory VI., deposed him for simony, along with the pope from whom he had purchased the office and another rival pope, and appointed a respectable German bishop, Suidgar of Bamberg, to the position under the name Clement II. Henry purposed to carry out the good work thus begun into every department of ecclesiastical government and life. In 1049 Bruno, bishop of Torel, Henry's uncle, was elevated to the papacy as Leo IX., who forthwith associated with himself Hildebrand as subdeacon and administrator of the Patrimony of Peter. With the co-operation of the emperor strenuous measures were entered upon for the abolition of simony and immorality among the clergy. Many of the more upright clergy rejoiced in his well directed efforts and heartily co-operated with him.

It should be noted that the close of the first millennium was looked forward to by many Christians with grave apprehension as the date of the closing of the dispensation, or the end of the world. Otho III. shared in this morbid anxiety. When the year 1000 passed without a catastrophe there was universal rejoicing.

II. THE HILDEBRANDINE SCHEME OF REFORM.

LITERATURE: Greenwood, Vol. IV., pp. 139–422; Milman, Vol. IV.; Stephens, "Hildebrand and His Times"; Stephen, "Essays in Eccl. Biog.," "Hildebrand"; Bowden, "Life and Pontif. of Greg. VII."; Voigt, "Hildebrand"; Villemain, "*Hist. de Grégoire VII.*"; Lilly, "Chapters in Europ. Hist.," Vol. I.; Giesebrecht, "*Gesch. d. deutsch. Kaiserzeit*," *Bd.* III.; Gregorovius, "*Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*" (and Eng. trans.); Hauck, "*Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*," *Bd.* III., 1896; Langen, "*Gesch. d. röm. Kirche von Nikolaus I. bis Gregory VII.*"; Mirbt, "*Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII.*," 1894; Martens, "*Greg. VII., sein Leben u. Wirken*," 1894; Potthast, "*Bibliotheca Historica Medii Ævi*," second ed., 1896; Sägmüller, "*Die Thätigkeit u. Stellung d. Kardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII.*," 1896; Bryce, p. 159, *seq.*; Freeman, "Norm. Conq." (see Index); works of Hildebrand and Peter Damiani; Jaffé-Wattenbach, "*Regesta Pontificum*"; Alzog, Sec. 214.

1. *Hildebrand as the Maker and Ruler of Popes.* As the Roman hierarchy gradually regained its power under the fostering care of the emperors, a high church party came to the front under the leadership of Hildebrand, which resented civil interference in matters of religion as outrageous and sacrilegious, and sought to emancipate the church from dependence upon civil rulers by centralizing all ecclesiastical authority in the papacy. Hildebrand,

of whose early history scarcely anything is known, seems to have been born about 1020 of plebeian Italian parents. He first appears as chaplain of Gregory VI. (1044–1046), resided at Clugny, where he carried forward his education and became filled with monkish zeal (1046–1049), became subdeacon and cardinal under Leo IX. (1049), and thenceforth controlled the papal policy as the chief statesman of the Roman Curia until 1073, when by the acclamation of the people and clergy of Rome, ratified by the cardinals, he became pope. He had dictated the appointment of several of his predecessors and might on several occasions have secured election for himself, but he preferred up to this time to labor in a subordinate position and assumed the tiara at last under strong pressure. He was unquestionably the greatest ecclesiastical statesman of the Middle Ages. In him the spirit of the papacy became incarnate. He identified papal supremacy in the most absolute way with the will of God and allowed nothing to stand in the way of the realization of his ideal of universal papal dominion in spiritual and secular things. With a shrewdness rarely equaled and a boldness of conception and action never surpassed, he set to work to utilize the current reforming spirit for the building up of ecclesiastical authority. His aim was to take disciplinary power out of the hands of civil rulers and to use it for the complete subjugation of clergy and laity to the pope. More definitely stated, the policy of the Hildebrandine party was: (1) To free the papacy and the church in general from lay interference. (2) To reduce all metropolitans, bishops, abbots, and clergy to absolute subjection to the papacy. (3) To reduce civil rulers to the necessity of acting in the papal interests.

2. *Decrees of the Roman Synod of 1059.* Advantage was taken by the Hildebrandine party of the death of Henry III. (1059) and the infancy of his successor to inaugurate the new policy. At a synod convened in Rome the following points were settled: (1) Nomination of popes restricted to cardinal bishops. After the nomination the cardinal clergy to be brought in. After these bodies have agreed, the nomination to be brought before the inferior clergy and the laity for approval. A terrible

anathema involving excommunication, "the wrath of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit and the fury of the Apostles Peter and Paul" is pronounced upon all who shall impugn this decree. (2) No clerk under any pretense whatever to accept church or benefice from or by procurement of any lay person or be amenable to lay jurisdiction. (3) No Christian man shall hear mass sung by any priest known to keep a concubine. This included all married priests, as no distinction was made by the Hildebrandine party between married and concubinary clergy.

3. *Peter Damiani the Coadjutor of Hildebrand.* Peter Damiani (born *c.* 1007 at Ravenna) early became a pronounced ascetic and a leading writer on ascetical subjects, was appointed cardinal bishop of Ostia, the highest position in the college of cardinals (1057), and was thenceforth the ablest literary defender of the Hildebrandine scheme. He maintained that every invasion of the prerogative of the Roman Church is heresy and should be dealt with as such; that all law, even the law of God himself, may be set aside if this should be deemed by the church necessary for the accomplishment of its purposes; that the divine law bends to the exigencies of the church; that the present interests of the church, the church itself being the judge, represent God's will and must be secured even if the violation of God's will otherwise expressed be involved; that the church may and should violate any compacts made with civil rulers if contrary to the interests of the church. He did not say it in so many words, but it is clearly implied, that the end justifies the means and that no faith is to be kept with heretics. He fully sympathized with Hildebrand in his uncompromising warfare against simony and clerical marriage.

Peter Damiani's idea of the relations of the papacy and the empire is succinctly set forth in the following paragraph from his "*Disceptatio Synodalis*": "The supreme priesthood and the Roman Empire should be joined together in mutual compact to the end that the human race, which is ruled in both respects (ecclesiastical and civil) through these two supreme powers, may be rent asunder in none of its parts, and so the eminences of the world may concur in a union of perpetual love, . . to the end that these two exalted personages may be joined together with so great unanimity that by a certain cement of mutual love the king may be found in the Ro-

man pontiff and the Roman pontiff in the king." He did not always work harmoniously with Hildebrand, whose supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs he resented. The following caustic epigram (written in verse) expresses his feelings: "The pope I rightly worship, but thee I prostrate adore: thou makest him lord, he makes thee God." He died in 1072.

This scheme involved a desperate struggle with the clergy on the one hand and the civil rulers on the other. In this struggle Hildebrand availed himself fully of all the means of influence that the past had placed within his reach,—monastic orders, forged decretals, popular superstitions, and admiration for asceticism, etc.

4. *Hildebrand's Achievements.* (1) In the face of the gravest difficulties and the most determined opposition on the part of the clergy he remorselessly enforced the law of celibacy. Married clergy were stigmatized as concubinaries, or worse; the people were forbidden to confess to them or to receive religious service of any kind from them; monks were commissioned to go into parishes where there was a reluctance to obey and to arouse popular sentiment against recalcitrant clergy to such an extent that they were compelled in many cases either to renounce their wives or flee. Bishops and abbots were refused recognition in case they had secured appointment through lay influence. They must either renounce any sort of dependence on the lay patrons and submit themselves absolutely to the pope or see their offices usurped by papal appointees. There was much resistance, but Hildebrand was for the most part able to carry his point.

(2) The civil rulers were very reluctant to abandon the patronage they had enjoyed from time immemorial. By the use of the interdict and other means of making his power felt, Hildebrand gained some great triumphs over his lay adversaries, notably over the Emperor Henry IV. The humiliation of Henry at Canossa became one of the most noted events in the history of the struggle of Church and State for supremacy.

(3) Besides reducing the clergy into almost complete submission, securing a general recognition of the papal marriage laws and humiliating the emperor, Hildebrand fully established the *legatine power*, by virtue of which

he had duly accredited and fully recognized representatives in all parts of his constituency. The legates were chiefly monks, whose training had been such that he could delegate large powers to them in full assurance that they would represent him faithfully. Thus the pope was able to be virtually omnipresent so far as the interests of the hierarchy were concerned. Yet in no respect was his triumph complete. Henry did not long remain in the Canossa frame, but was soon capturing Rome and driving the pope from his throne. Neither did he fully succeed in subjugating the clergy.

(4) He employed the interdict for the enforcing of ecclesiastical censures far more effectively than any of his predecessors had been able to do.

(5) Yet he died in exile, having been driven from the city by his lifelong enemy, Henry IV. His dying words are characteristic of the man: "Because I have always loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

5. *Hildebrand's Claims Regarding Papal Prerogative.* The position of Hildebrand in the history of the development of the papacy is so important as to justify the quotation of some of his more striking utterances on papal prerogative. In a letter to William the Conqueror he writes:

> Like the two great luminaries fixed by the Creator in the firmament of the heaven to give light to his creatures, so also hath he ordained two great powers on earth by which all men are to be governed and preserved from error. These powers are the pontifical and the royal; but the former is the greater, the latter the lesser light. Yet under both the religion of Christ is so ordered that, by God's assistance, the apostolical power shall govern the royal; and Scripture teacheth that the apostolic and pontifical dignity is ordained to be responsible for all Christian kings, nay, for all men, before the divine tribunal, and to render an account to God for their sins. If, therefore, I be answerable before the dreadful judgment seat, judge ye whether ye are not bound upon the peril of your soul, and as you desire to possess your kingdom in peace, *to yield unto me unconditional obedience*, for that is no more than to prefer the honor of God to your own honor and to love him in a pure mind, with all your heart and with all your strength.

Exhorting his subjects to renounce their allegiance to Henry IV. he writes:

For this reason we cry aloud and spare not; as saith the prophet: "If thou declare not unto the wicked his evil way, his blood will I require at thy hand"; and again: "Cursed be he that withholdeth the sword from blood." God is herein our witness, that we are not moved by any desire of temporal advantage or by carnal respects of any kind in reproving wicked princes or imperious priests; but that all we do is done from pure regard for our high office and for the honor and prerogative of the Apostolic See; for it were a hundredfold better that we should suffer the death of the body by the hand of the tyrant than for our own profit or from fear to hold our peace and therein consent to the overthrow of the Christian law; for we are clearly taught by the holy fathers that he upon whom the duty resteth, yet neglecteth to resist the wicked man, in reality consenteth unto the evil, and himself commits the sin it was his duty to punish.

Defending his right to excommunicate princes, having cited a number of false decretals, he goes on to say:

But perhaps there are persons who will pretend that when God thrice committed his church to the blessed Peter by the words "feed my sheep," he excepted kings. But let them reflect that when he gave to Peter the power to bind and loose in heaven and on earth, he excepted nothing out of that power. He that denies that he may be bound by the chains of the church must go on to affirm that he cannot be absolved by the same authority. But whosoever affirms this separates himself from the body of Christ; and verily if the Apostolic See, by virtue of the principality divinely conferred, adjudicates upon spiritual things, why should it not have power to adjudicate in temporal things also? The kings and princes of this world who prefer their own honor and temporal advantage to the righteousness of God are, as you well know, the members of him whom they serve; they, on the other hand, who prefer the will of God to their own will, and obey him rather than man, are members of Christ, just as the former are members of antichrist. If therefore spiritual men are when needful themselves brought to judgment, why should they not have power to punish carnal men for their evil lives? But perchance they imagine that the royal dignity is superior to the episcopal. Now let us try the two powers by their source and origin. The former was engendered *in human pride*, the latter *in divine religion;* the one is incessantly grasping at empty glory, the latter always aspiring to celestial life.

In connection with the second excommunication of Henry IV., Hildebrand concludes an elaborate document as follows:

And now, O ye princes and fathers, most holy Apostles Peter and Paul, deal ye with us in such wise that all the world may know and understand that you, having power to bind and to loose in heaven, have the like power upon earth, according to men's merits

to give and to take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, marquisates, earldoms, and all manner of human rights and properties, for have you not oftentimes taken away patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, and bishoprics, from the unworthy and given them to religious men? And having such mighty power in spiritual things, what is there on earth that may transcend your authority in temporal things? And if you judge the angels, who are high above the proudest of princes, what may you not do unto those beneath them? Let the kings and princes of the earth know and feel how great you are, how exalted your power. Let them tremble to despise the commands of your church. But upon the said Henry do judgment quickly, that all men may know that it is not by fortune or chance, but by your power that he has fallen. May he thus be confounded unto repentance that his soul may be saved in the day of the Lord.

6. *The Hildebrandine Theocratic Scheme in its Relation to Civil and Religious Liberty.* The following general statement on this topic from an article by the author, entitled "Liberty and Creed,"[1] may be here reproduced:

The Hildebrandine scheme, which owed many of its features to Hildebrand's great contemporary, Peter Damiani, represents the ideal of the theocracy in an almost completed form. The church is conceived of as an institution absolutely divine. It consists virtually of the hierarchy, the great body of the laity being in the position of materials to be ruled and exploited. The pope is the head of the sacerdotal body, through which alone it is possible for mankind to derive spiritual blessings. The church, with its papal head, is conceived of as that for whose welfare the world exists, and to whose interest everything else is secondary. Civil governments exist only by divine (papal) permission and that they may subserve the interests of the church.

God's supreme concern being for the dominion of the church, he has bestowed upon Peter and his successors, the bishops of Rome, all the power that would belong to Christ if he were personally reigning on earth. The pope is the vicar of Christ. As Peter exhibited two swords and his Master said it is enough (not too many), so to his successors have been committed the spiritual and the secular dominion. Civil rulers rightly occupy their positions only by virtue of the approval of the vicar of Christ. As perfect unity and harmony in the administration of the world are the ideal to be attained, and there can be no center of unity other than the divinely appointed vicar of Christ, all secular rulers and all ecclesiastical rulers must submit themselves absolutely to his authority. To tolerate civil or ecclesiastical insubordination, where power to suppress it exists, would be in the highest degree blameworthy.

As the divine will is identical with the maintenance and advancement of this ecclesiastical authority, any available means may be

[1] "American Journal of Theology," January, 1898.

employed to this end, even though the divine will, as expressed in Scripture and in conscience, must be violated. Does heresy arise and spread? It must be rooted out, although in the process multitudes of the faithful themselves may be destroyed. Does a civil ruler resist the encroachment of the papal power? His throne may be declared vacant and offered to any Catholic prince who will seize it, the allegiance of the subjects forbidden, an interdict placed upon the administration of the sacraments of the church until submission shall have been made, a deadly crusade preached against the kingdom. Everything was on principle subordinated to this one central aim of securing absolute temporal as well as absolute spiritual dominion. The Crusades in the East were fostered and forced, when need appeared, in the interest of this world dominion. The union of the kings of Europe under the papal banner in this great enterprise was in itself a great achievement for the papacy. The hope of subduing the Eastern empire and the Mohammedan power greatly added to the interest of the papacy in these terribly destructive expeditions. The securing of vast territorial possessions in Europe through skillful use of advantages offered by the Crusades was in the highest degree promotive of the papal aim of universal dominion.

Here we have a theocracy of the most complete type. The pope, as the head of the theocracy, occupies the place of God on earth, and he is free, as even God is not, to make use of the most immoral means for the enforcement of his authority. The scheme is a magnificent one. It provides for the uniform administration of the world from a single center, according to a single ideal. Its advocates no doubt believed that such a government, putting an end, as it would, to civil and religious strife, would result in universal peace, universal good will, universal righteousness. Yet it is easy to see that to realize or perpetuate such a system, civil and religious freedom must be remorselessly suppressed. The only freedom possible would be that enjoyed by those who were thoroughly in sympathy with the ideal of the theocracy and who found their highest delight in submission to its authority.

III. THE CONTROVERSY ON INVESTITURE AND THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS (1122).

LITERATURE: Greenwood, Vol. IV., p. 672, *seq.*; Milman, Vol. IV., p. 144, *seq.*; Bryce, p. 163; Hinschius, "*Kirchenrecht d. Katholischen u. Protestanten*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 530–608; Meltzer, "*Papst Gregor VII. u. d. Bishofswahlen*," second ed., 1876; Witte, "*Forschungen zur Gesch. d. Wormser Konkordates*," 1877.

1. *Grounds of the Controversy.* The term "investiture" designates the conferring of the insignia of office upon bishops, abbots, etc. That the civil rulers should have insisted on exercising this function grew out of the feudal relations that subsisted between them and their ecclesiastical beneficiaries. As members of the feudal state, having territorial possessions corresponding with

those of the larger subordinate nobles, bishops and abbots enjoyed the same privileges and immunities as the secular nobles, participated like these in the general legislation and administration, and were naturally expected to share the burdens of common defense and administration. Kings who had set apart great tracts of land for bishoprics and abbacies could not afford to allow the administration of these lands to fall into hostile or indifferent hands, and might have been expected to insist on nominating to these positions trusted men who would swear fealty to them. It was against the exercise of this right that Hildebrand and his successors carried on a determined warfare. To receive investiture was declared to be simony, and was regarded as incapacitating the recipient for the valid performance of ecclesiastical functions; and for a civil ruler to arrogate to himself the right to bestow investiture was looked upon as a sacrilegious intrusion.

2. *The Concordat of Worms.* After the death of Gregory VII. the struggle between emperor and pope continued with varying results, the pope holding the balance of power between the emperor and other rulers, but being for much of the time an exile from Rome, with a rival pope of imperial appointment in his place. In 1122 peace was made between Calixtus II. and Henry V. on the following conditions: (1) Elections to bishoprics and abbeys in the emperor's dominions to be held in the emperor's presence, without simony or any kind of compulsion, the emperor to have the right to decide in disputed elections. (2) The bishop or abbot elect to receive from the emperor the temporalities of the office by the delivery of a rod or sceptre, the pope to have the sole right of investing with the ring and crozier. (3) The pope to absolve all who had incurred ecclesiastical disabilities through attachment to the emperor, the emperor to restore in full the territorial possessions of the Roman See and to lend his aid to the pope whenever required.

It is scarcely needful to say that neither party adhered to the agreement any longer than convenience dictated. The imperial advantages of the Concordat were formally abandoned in 1125 by Lothair III. as the price of urgently needed papal support.

IV. THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPERORS AND THE POPES.

LITERATURE: Greenwood, Vol. V., pp. 57–668; Vol. VI., pp. 1–109; Milman, Vol. IV., pp. 261–554; Bryce, pp. 166–220; Alzog, Sec. 219–224; Balzani, "*The Popes and the Hohenstaufen*"; Raumer, "*Gesch. d. Hohenstaufen*"; Hurter, "*Inn. III.*"; Reuter, "*Alex. III.*"; Freeman and Froude on Thomas a Becket; Geffcken, "Church and State"; Ribbeck, "*Fred. I. u. d. Römische Kurie*," 1881; Giesebrecht, "*Gesch. d. Deutschen Kaiserzeit*," 1885; Wolfram, "*Fred. I. u. d. Wormser Concordat*"; Prutz, "*Kaiser Fred. I.*," 1871–74; Hunt, "The Eng. Ch. in the Middle Ages," 1888; Deutsch, "*Papst Innocent III. u. sein Einfluss auf d. Kirche*," 1876; Wattenbach, "*Gesch. d. römischen Papstthums*," 1876; Gregorovius, "*Gesch. d. Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*," *Bd.* V. (also Eng. tr.); Stubbs, "Constitutional History of England," Vol. I., p. 520, *seq.*

A new line of German emperors began with Conrad III. in 1137. With Frederick I. (Barbarossa) was renewed a bitter conflict that was to last for centuries. The name of the chief German antagonist of the emperor (the Duke of Welf) was transferred to Italy as the party name of the supporters of papal absolutism under the form Guelf. The imperial supporters accepted the name Ghibelline (Waibeling).

1. *Alexander III.* (*1159–1181*).

(1) *Contest with Frederick Barbarossa.* Frederick, the greatest of the Hohenstaufens, invaded Italy in 1158 with one hundred and fifteen thousand troops. He attempted to reconstruct both civil and ecclesiastical governments. He filled vacant bishoprics with men of his own party. He bestowed the estates of the Countess Matilda, the friend of Hildebrand, which had been left to the Roman See, upon the Duke of Bavaria. Hadrian IV., who died in 1159, is said to have been the first pope to set up the claim of exclusive jurisdiction.[1] Alexander III., who as cardinal had for some time directed the movements of the ultra-papal party, was chosen by a small majority (1159). The minority of the cardinals, supported by the clergy, Senate, and people of Rome, set up a rival (Victor IV.). The emperor called a council to adjudicate the matter. Alexander treated with contempt the imperial summons.[2] The council decided in favor of Victor. Alexan-

[1] Greenwood, Vol. V., p. 94. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. V., p. 107.

der denounced the procedure in vigorous language and appealed to the nations. He secured the support of England, France, Spain, Hungary, and Sicily. Frederick captured Rome in 1166, but immediately afterward his army was attacked by pestilence and he was obliged to withdraw with a small fraction of it surviving. This was a partial victory for Alexander, but his rival still held the Roman See. Again in 1174 Frederick invaded Italy, but in 1176 he suffered a disastrous defeat. In the treaty of Agnani the emperor renounced the anti-pope and agreed to restore the Patrimony of Peter, including the estates of Matilda. In the treaty of Venice (1177) the emperor abandoned all claims to sovereignty within the pontifical territory, and submitted himself in the most abject way to the pope, the sole condition being that he and his wife should be recognized as emperor and empress of the Romans.

(2) *The Council of the Lateran* (*1179*). This council attempted to settle the title and territorial claims of the pope and to unite Christendom in opposition to heresy, which was making alarming headway. The basis of the Inquisition was here laid. The law as to the election of popes was made so definite as entirely to exclude any participation therein by the emperor or by the clergy and people of Rome. The Hildebrandine laws against simony were restated with emphasis, and it was decreed that no pecuniary burden or tax of any kind should be imposed upon the clergy for any secular purpose. Christian princes and people are called upon to take up arms against heresy and are assured of plenary indulgence while engaged in this work, with full forgiveness of sins in case of death.[1]

(3) *Alexander and England.* Henry II. was a strong-willed and arrogant ruler. Since the Norman conquest the ecclesiastical power had been encroaching more and more upon the civil. The national spirit was being developed anew and Henry represented this spirit in its extreme form. In 1163 Thomas a Becket, by the king's mandate, was made archbishop of Canterbury. Henry had reason to expect a large measure of subserviency

[1] Greenwood, Vol. V., p. 190.

from Becket. In this he was sadly mistaken. Becket had not been long in office before he showed himself the almost fanatical advocate of papal absolutism. The Constitutions of Clarendon were adopted in 1164 by a great national council called by Henry. The articles of the constitution forbid the encroachment of ecclesiastical courts on the civil, restrain English prelates from going to Rome without the king's license, and forbid the exercise by the pope or by his representatives of excommunication or interdict without the king's license. The king is to constitute the highest court of appeal. Ecclesiastical vacancies are to be filled under the direction of the king, and the revenues during vacancies are to go into the royal exchequer. These constitutions struck at the root of papal pretensions. Becket resisted the royal policy in the most determined and insulting way. Ill feeling steadily increased between Henry and Becket, until at last the former became so exasperated as to procure the assassination of the latter. The martyrdom of Becket turned the tide of sentiment against Henry in favor of the papal cause. England was put under an interdict and Henry was compelled to humiliate himself and to abrogate the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1172.

2. *Innocent III.* (*1188–1216*).

Innocent was one of the ablest and by far the most successful of popes. He came to the office at the most favorable time. He had the work of Hildebrand and Alexander III. behind him. The Crusades had given immense authority and vast resources to the church, and the crusading spirit was still at its height. Canon law was fully developed and the great intellectual activity that resulted from the Crusades was manifesting itself in the founding of universities, a chief object of which was the defense of church dogma. Innocent had completely grasped the papal idea of absolute civil and ecclesiastical control, and he approached more nearly to a realization of this idea than any other pope ever did. He was the first pope to designate himself *the representative of God on earth.*

(1) *Relation of Innocent to the Empire.* Henry VI. had left an infant son. His widow was under the influence

of Innocent, and she appointed him guardian of the future emperor and regent of his hereditary domain. A struggle over the imperial dignity having arisen between Philip of Swabia (Guelf) and Otho IV. (Hohenstaufen), Innocent had the privilege of deciding between them. Without committing himself fully to either, he favored the cause of Otho. Philip's popularity grew so great that Innocent was on the point of recognizing him as emperor when he was assassinated. The way was now clear for him to crown Otho, which he soon did. Otho having attained to the object of his ambition grew insolent and insubordinate, and undertook to meddle with Italian affairs. His enemies in Germany were so many and strong that Innocent had little difficulty in deposing him and putting Frederick II. on the imperial throne. Frederick disappointed the papal expectations. He had received the crown on the two-fold condition that on the birth of a son he should resign the crown of Sicily, and that he should organize and lead a crusade within the next three years. This latter promise Frederick was most reluctant to fulfill. Innocent failed during the four years that remained to him to induce him to fulfill his promise, and the spirit of insubordination that led to the prolonged conflict between Frederick and the successors of Innocent, to the excommunication of Frederick, to his determination to put an end to papal tyranny, to his fulfilling his crusading vow in an independent crusade, and his crowning himself in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, etc., was manifest long before the death of Innocent.

(2) *Innocent's Dealings with Other Rulers and Countries.* In England King John for political reasons insisted upon the appointment of John de Grey to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Part of the electors refused to vote for John de Grey and set up a rival. Both parties appealed to Rome. Innocent set aside both claimants and caused the appointment of Stephen Langton, whom he duly consecrated. King John was exasperated, and in response to the pope's threat to put England under an interdict, he threatened to banish the clergy and mutilate every Italian he could lay hands upon. After many threats and counter-threats, Innocent excommunicated John, released his subjects from their fealty, and called

upon Christian princes to depose him and take the kingdom. John was very unpopular at home, and Philip Augustus of France, with the papal support, was preparing to take possession of England. John was reduced to such straits that he was glad to surrender his kingdom to the pope and to receive it back as a fief. By reason of his blundering dealings in civil and ecclesiastical matters and the disgrace that he had thus brought upon the country, the barons levied war against him and compelled him to sign Magna Charta, the great charter of the liberties of the English people. Innocent compelled Alphonso of Spain to break off a matrimonial engagement with his niece. He compelled Philip Augustus of France to take back his divorced wife. He summoned Peter of Aragon to Rome, took away his crown and restored it only on condition that he should recognize the pope's sovereignty by the payment of an annual tribute. His influential interference in political matters extended to Hungary, Poland, Norway, and even to the East, where his supporters founded in 1203 a Latin empire. The glory of this performance was short-lived, but he had the satisfaction of governing a patriarch of Constantinople, and thus gratifying an inveterate ambition of the papacy. The fact is that he had his hand upon every part of the political and ecclesiastical machinery of Christendom and was generally able to carry his point.

(3) *The Fourth Lateran Council* (*1215*). When the papal power had reached its zenith shortly before the death of its most mighty pope, one of the most august and important councils of the Middle Ages was held in Rome. There were in attendance seventy-one primates and archbishops, four hundred and twelve bishops, and eight hundred priors and abbots. East and West participated. Most of the Oriental patriarchates were represented. The organization of a new crusade was the most prominent topic of discussion. It was enacted that the "peace of God" be kept among Christian princes for five years to this end. Union with the Greek Church was also considered. The doctrine of Transubstantiation was now for the first time defined in opposition to the followers of Berengarius and to evan-

gelical dissent. The word itself seems to have been now first used. Ample provision was made for the persecution of heretics. Toleration of heresy was made a ground for punishment and even death.

3. *The Papacy During the Thirteenth Century.*

(1) *Guelfs and Ghibellines.* The most uncompromising warfare was waged between the emperor and the popes during the lifetime of Frederick II. (d. 1250), who had been greatly embittered against the papacy by the arrogant conduct of Innocent III. Identifying Christianity with priestcraft he seems to have become an avowed unbeliever, and his contact with Mohammedanism during the crusade in which he engaged led to his adopting the modes of life and thought of the arch-enemies of Christianity. He interested himself in Saracen science and philosophy, had Saracens in his court, used Mohammedan soldiers to fight against Christians, and maintained a harem of Saracen women. Every community was divided into factions by this long-continued feud and bloody encounters were frequent. In 1241 Gregory IX. convoked a council. About one hundred prelates, who had embarked at Genoa for Rome, were captured by Enzio, son of Frederick, and a number of them murdered. On the election of Innocent IV. (1243), Frederick is said to have remarked: "As cardinal, Fieschi was my friend; but as pope, he will be my enemy. No pope can be a Ghibelline." A council held at Lyons in 1245 excommunicated and deposed Frederick for infidelity, heresy, perjury, sacrilege, and collusion with the Saracens. Frederick died in the midst of a campaign against the supporters of the papacy, having during the last years of his life treated the popes and their supporters with every conceivable indignity.

(2) *Gregory IX.* (1227–1241), a nephew of Innocent III., was more explicit than his great relative in the assertion of the absolute authority of the papacy. He declared that the pope "possesses the principality of the whole world (*in universo mundo*) of things and of persons (*rerum et corporum*)." Gregory published five books of decretals, to counteract the imperial legislation of Frederick, and these became part of the "Body of Canon Law."

(3) *Innocent IV.* (1243–1254) attempted still further to fortify the assertion of universal and absolute papal domination. He denied that Constantine had given secular power to the papacy, which possesses this power directly from Christ himself, who founded a kingdom and gave to Peter the keys both of heavenly and earthly authority. He insisted that it is the duty of every clerical person to obey the pope even if he should command what is wrong (unless heresy be involved). Laymen need only to know that there is a God who rewards the good, and, for the rest, they are to believe implicitly what the church believes. Bishops and pastors need to know well the Apostles' Creed; other clergy need know no more than the laity, except that the body of Christ is made in the sacrament of the altar.

(4) *Clement IV.* (1265–1268) asserted the right of the Roman pontiff to dispose of all benefices vacant or otherwise according to his good pleasure. By this decree he intended to give legitimacy to the practice of selling expectancies, already becoming an important source of papal revenue. This proceeding seems to have called forth the pragmatic sanction of Louis IX., the great crusader and champion of the church. The pragmatic sanction was an assertion of the liberties of the French church (Gallicanism) over against papal claims of universal jurisdiction. "The kingdom of France, recognizing no other superior or protector than God Almighty, is independent of all men, and consequently of the pope." It involves a vigorous protest against the corrupt and extortionate methods of raising money employed by the papacy and the attempt of the papacy to dominate the civil governments, and insists on the restoration of the church to its primitive spirituality and purity.

(5) *Gregory X.* (1271–1276) made a desperate but wholly unsuccessful effort to inaugurate a new crusade, and in connection with a council at Lyons (1274) succeeded in inducing the feeble Eastern emperor and some of the Greek bishops to assent to the doctrines of the Roman Church and to the supremacy of the pope. But this affiliation was looked upon with such abhorrence in the East that fasts, ablutions, and processions were resorted to as a means of expiating the guilt involved.

Excommunication and punishment of heresy was made the duty of Christian princes and of all the faithful. To facilitate the conviction of heretics it was made obligatory upon every Christian to confess and receive the Eucharist at least once a year. Failure to do this was to incur the penalty of excommunication and persecution for heresy. In general the object of the council was to consolidate, conserve, and extend the power and prerogatives that had been attained. The Inquisition was not yet formally established, but its principles were enacted.

4. *Theocratic Principles Established at the Death of Innocent III.*

(1) The bishop of Rome representative of the Almighty on earth. (2) The pope and the priesthood constitute the visible church. (3) Territorial fixity and material endowments belong to the outward body of the church. (4) The title of the church to its possessions, however obtained, indefeasible. (5) The pope the ultimate judge in religious matters. (6) The pope the sole dispenser of temporal honors. (7) The pope the supreme criminal judge even of princes. (8) The pope the sole guardian of the faith, to repress and exterminate gainsayers.[1]

V. DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER.

LITERATURE: Greenwood, Vol. VI., pp. 277–560; Milman, Vol. VI. and VII.; Creighton, "Hist. of the Papacy during the Reformation," Vol. I. and II.; Alzog, Sec. 226, 227, 265–272; Gieseler, Vol. III., pp. 1–100, 215–289 (very valuable); Schmidt, "*Päpstl. Urkunden und Regesta aus den Jahren 1295–1352*"; Potthast, "*Regesta Pontificum*"; Rietzler, "*Die liter. Widersacher d. Päpste zur Zeit Ludwig des Baiers*"; Lechler, "*Der Kirchenstaat und die Opposition gegen den päpstl. Absolutismus im Anfang d. XIV. Jahrh.*"; Souchon, "*Die Papstwahlen von Bonif. VIII. bis Urban VI.*"; Gregorovius, "*Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*," *Bd.* V. (also Eng. trans.); Wattenbach, "*Gesch. d. röm. Papstthums*"; Geffcken, "Church and State"; and encyclopedia articles on the various popes, councils, etc.

1. *Causes of the Decline.*

In general it may be said that most of the factors that entered into the growth of the papal power afterward cooperated in working its overthrow. The papacy under

[1] Greenwood, Vol. VI., p. 3, *seq.*

Innocent III. overreached itself. The irresponsible authority that he was able temporarily to exercise by reason of personal power and highly favorable circumstances, could by no possibility have been maintained. Frederick II. resisted the successors of Innocent in the most determined way, and called upon the princes of Europe to join him in overthrowing the intolerable tyranny of the papacy. We may particularize as follows:

(1) The Crusades that had done so much for the papacy were influential in its overthrow. The crusading enthusiasm had entirely subsided by the close of the thirteenth century. Yet the successors of Innocent III. continued in season and out of season to press for new crusades, to the disgust of princes and people. The liberalizing effects of the Crusades made them strongly averse to the maintenance of papal absolutism, as did also the growth of commercial and manufacturing enterprise, the growth of great municipalities, the consolidation of the States of Europe, etc., which were due in part to the Crusades.

(2) The rigid enforcement of uniformity in doctrine and practice by the Inquisition and other means proved so oppressive, that dissent, heretofore latent and unaggressive, was forced into publicity and powerfully stimulated. It is noticeable that just as the church reached the highest point of exaltation dissent manifested itself almost everywhere and soon a large proportion of the population was in open revolt.

(3) The vast increase in the machinery of the church brought about by the introduction of the legatine power, by the Crusades and the Inquisition, by the universal judicial authority claimed and exercised, by the wars of the popes in defending the Patrimony of Peter, by the introduction of luxurious living into the Roman Curia, necessitated the raising of immense revenues and led to the devising of the most unscrupulous and oppressive methods of getting money: *Annates* or first fruits (the first year's revenues) were exacted of bishops and abbots, and in order to make occasions for extorting annates as frequent as possible *Collation* from one bishopric to another was frequently resorted to. Thus a single vacancy might be made an occasion for several changes,

each furnishing opportunity for the exaction of annates. Some of the richest benefices in each country were reserved by the popes (*Reservations*) for their own use and that of the cardinals and other favorites. Vast revenues were thus drawn, without any compensating service. Not only were vacant benefices sold to the highest bidder, but *Expectancies* were sold as well. The same expectancy was often sold to a number of applicants, and when the vacancy occurred the claimant that would bid highest was likely to carry the day. *Indulgences*, which had previously been given for going on crusades, were now shamelessly sold. Canon law having put burdensome restrictions upon almost every relation of life, *Dispensations* for the violation of these restrictions were readily granted for money. It became a leading aim with the popes to enrich their relations, especially their illegitimate children. Hence *Nepotism* was practised in such a way as to scandalize Christendom. It came to be said, even by faithful Catholics, that in the Roman Curia everything could be had for money.

(4) The enforcement of celibacy on the clergy and the vast increase of the number and the membership of monastic orders, in the absence of any proper ethical princiciples, led to an appalling increase in immorality. The most horrible licentiousness became widely prevalent and the moral influence of clergy and monks was highly corrupting.

(5) The papacy became more and more an object of ambition. The cardinals restricted the choice to their own number. Bitter factions were developed among them. Weeks and sometimes months elapsed before an election could be reached and frequently rival popes were elected by rival factions. It became a common practice of the cardinals to elect the oldest and most infirm of their number as pope, so that the next election might not be unduly delayed. Thus the papal government became weak and contemptible.

(6) After the fall of the Hohenstaufens (1254) the German emperors for some time neglected their sovereignty in Italy and Sicily. What might have seemed a victory for the papacy proved the reverse. The French influence became more and more dominant. The policy of

the French kings was to strengthen their hold upon Italy and Sicily by securing a preponderance of Frenchmen in the college of cardinals. The Babylonish captivity of the church was the result of this policy.

2. *Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair (1294–1303).*

(1) Boniface having secured the abdication of Cœlestine V., a weak-minded old hermit who had been appointed by virtue of a compromise between two factions, on his assumption of the pontificate found the Roman Curia banished from Rome and the papal power in a state of degradation. In fact the whole of Europe was in a very unsettled condition at the time. He was a man of considerable learning and unbounded arrogance, and he made a determined but foolhardy attempt to play the part of Innocent III. At his coronation a king held each of his stirrups and the ceremony was of the most imposing character. He attempted to appoint a king of Sicily who was to accept the kingdom as a fief from the Holy See; but the people chose a king for themselves in defiance of the pope. Boniface tried excommunication, interdicts, etc., but the time for such things had passed and they fell flat. He was soon carrying on a war with the Colonna family, two of whom were cardinals, and succeeded in banishing its principal members. He busied himself with overthrowing the Ghibellines in Italy and advancing the interests of the Guelfs.

His most famous struggle was that with Philip the Fair, of France. France and England were at war. The pope commanded them to make peace. They refused. Philip levied a heavy tax on the French clergy. Many of them were unwilling to submit and appealed to the pope. Boniface forbade Philip's taxing the clergy and threatened excommunication, interdicts, etc. Philip retaliated by forbidding the exportation of gold, silver, and precious stones, thus cutting off the papal revenue from France. Boniface was compelled to withdraw his extravagant statements, or to put so mild an interpretation on them as to make them innocuous; and to appease Philip he canonized his grandfather, Louis IX. The peace arrived at was not permanent. In 1301 the struggle was resumed.

(2) The bull "*Unam Sanctam*" was issued by the pope with the concurrence of a synod to which some French prelates, contrary to the orders of the king, had gone. This document represents the papal claims in their most extravagant form. Philip responded by calling together the three estates of his realm. Boniface was accused by the French nation, including the ecclesiastics, of many crimes, and an appeal was made to a General Council. When about to carry his folly to greater extremes still, he was taken prisoner by the agents of Philip. He was released by a mob, but was imprisoned again by one of the cardinals. Owing to old age and hardships, he died shortly afterward.

The bull "*Unam Sanctam*" purports to be a scriptural proof of the absolute universality of papal dominion. Jer. 1 : 10, "Behold, I have set thee over kingdoms and empires," is his principal text. There being but one faith and one baptism, and the church constituting but one body, there can of necessity be but one head. The invisible head is Jesus Christ; the visible, his representatives, the successors to Peter. Christ has established two swords or powers in the church—the one temporal, the other spiritual. The latter he has committed to the priesthood, the former to kings; and both being in the church, both have the same end. The temporal power being inferior, is subject to the spiritual, which is the higher and more noble, and directs the former as the soul does the body. Should the temporal power turn aside from its prescribed course, it is the duty of the spiritual to recall it to its true destiny. It is of the faith that all men, even kings, are subject to the pope; for if kings were not subject to the censures of the church whenever they might sin in the exercise of the power committed to them, they would as a consequence be out of the church, and the two powers would be essentially distinct, having, in this case, their origins in two different and opposite principles, an error not far removed from the heresy of the Manichæans.

(3) Boniface's arrogant assertion of papal supremacy not only called forth in France the assertion of the liberties of France and of the Gallican church, but was the occasion of a remarkable defense of the empire, that the popes had almost destroyed, by Dante, the great poet of the Middle Ages. In his treatise on Monarchy ("*De Monarchia*") he insisted that the empire derived its existence and its rights immediately from God and by no means from the church, that it existed before the church, that Christ sanctioned it by being born in it, and still further by submitting to condemnation and death at its

hands, that he gave to the church no authority over the empire, that the empire is necessary to the well-being of mankind, the end of society being unity and unity being possible only through obedience to one head. This was followed by a number of other defenses of civil government over against papal absolutism. Egidius, of Rome, published a disputation in which the arguments for and against the papal power are set forth, the advantage being given to the latter. John, a Dominican monk of Paris, published a treatise on "The Royal and the Papal Power."[1]

3. *The Babylonish Captivity of the Church* (1305–1376).

After the death of Boniface and a pontificate of less than a year by his successor, Philip secured the appointment of Clement V., who seems to have made a secret pledge to remove the papal court to France, to annul the proceedings of Boniface, to anathematize Boniface, and (probably) to destroy the Templars. A period of terrible corruption ensued. Nothing did so much to weaken the papacy as the papal residence at Avignon. The luxury of the papal court went far beyond anything that had been known in the past. Every known way of raising money was resorted to. Venality, mendacity, and licentiousness abounded. The spirit of resistance to papal absolutism that had long ago begun to manifest itself now became well-nigh universal. The removal of the papal court to Avignon weakened the papacy in the following ways:

(1) By the manifest subserviency of the papacy to French interests other nations were alienated.

(2) The shameless immorality of the papal court destroyed respect for the hierarchy and caused a general demand for reform.

(3) Every known way of raising money was carried to its extreme development, and the intolerableness of the burden came to be generally felt throughout Europe. The conviction grew that the people were being imposed upon. The French government itself and the University of Paris soon became utterly disgusted with the

[1] These two writings are available in Goldast, "*Monarchia S. 'Romani Imperii*," Vol. III.

Avignon court and were among the most persistent advocates of reform. Germany, England, and Bohemia, one after another, revolted from papal domination. The pope was declared by theologians, jurists, and poets to be unworthy of confidence. Many regarded him as antichrist. We can only refer at present to the great revolt in Germany under Louis the Bavarian, that in England with which the name of Wycliffe is so closely associated, and that in Bohemia connected with the name of Huss. In all of these countries there grew up an extensive vernacular literature in which the vices of clergy and monks, high and low, were mercilessly ridiculed or scathingly condemned. These anti-papal movements will come up for fuller consideration in a later chapter.

(4) Each pope during this period was compelled as a condition of his election to promise to restore the papal court to Rome, but each found some excuse for violating his oath. The perfidy of the popes intensified the conviction that they were antichrist.

(5) The destruction of the Templars and the confiscation of their estates was an unpopular movement and did much to weaken the papal cause.

(6) Prophetesses, like Brigitta and Catherine of Siena, denounced the divine judgment upon the Avignon papacy and enthusiastically urged the return of the papal court to Rome.

The details of papal history during this period must be omitted in the interest of brevity. The destruction of the Templars, a military order that had acquired great wealth and influence in France, and that had awakened both the jealousy and the cupidity of the king, seems to have been due to a secret understanding between pope and king. A criminal offered to testify, as the price of his liberation, that he had been informed by a member of the order, a fellow-prisoner, that the Templars were guilty of blasphemy, sacrilege, and of every conceivable abomination (spitting on the crucifix and trampling it under foot, worshiping a hideous idol, denying the existence of God, practising unnatural lust, broiling their illegitimate children, etc.). There is no reason to suppose that the specific charges on which they were condemned were true, or that their moral and religious principles were worse than those that prevailed in the papal court. Some of the Templars, under torture, were induced to admit the charges; but their condemnation was a foregone conclusion. The Council of Vienna (1311–1312) consented to the suppression of the order as a matter of expediency.

John XXII. (1316–1334), whose struggle with Louis the Bavarian will be dealt with in another chapter, was accused of heresy by the Dominican theologians and the University of Paris, for asserting that departed souls could not enjoy the intuitive vision of God until after the general judgment and the resurrection of the body. He recanted on his death-bed. He accumulated eighteen millions of gold florins and seven millions' worth of jewels, the chief sources of revenue having been annates, expectancies, and tithes. Some of the Franciscans asserted that Christ and his apostles practised poverty, having no possessions either as individuals or in common. The Dominicans declared this assertion heresy and were supported by the pope. The Franciscans declared the pope a heretic. William of Occam, one of the greatest thinkers of the Middle Ages, and Michael of Cesena, general of the Franciscans, defended the Franciscan position, and wrote strongly against the pope's claim of temporal power and of infallibility in doctrine, and insisted that a general council is the highest earthly tribunal. By 1352 France had become so turmoiled and weakened by war with England that the popes no longer found advantage in residence at Avignon. Urban V. was removed to Rome in 1367, but the city was in ruins and Italy in an unsettled condition. He returned to Avignon in 1370.

The States of the Church having been reduced to obedience, Gregory XI. took up his residence in Rome (1377), but he found himself beset with difficulties and died soon afterward (1378).

4. *The Papal Schism* (*1378–1439*).

The papal schism, occasioned by persistent efforts on the part of the Italians and others to secure the restoration of the papal court to Rome, was a source of still greater scandal than the captivity, and utterly confused Christendom. During part of the time France, Scotland, Savoy, Lorraine, Castile, Aragon, and Naples adhered to one pope, while Germany, England, Denmark, Poland, Prussia, and the rest of Italy, adhered to another. The spectacle of two popes (sometimes three) excommunicating and anathematizing each other was by no means edifying. The disaffection that had long been manifesting itself in England and Bohemia broke out into open schism during this period.

After the death of Gregory XI. the utmost solicitude was felt by the Roman people lest his successor should forsake the city. Of the sixteen cardinals at that time in Rome eleven were French. The French cardinals were known to be disgusted with the squalor and the barbarism of Rome. United they could easily have elected a Frenchman pledged to return to Avignon. The mob without the conclave shouted unceasingly: "We want a Roman pope, or at least an Italian." While awaiting the result, they broke into the papal

wine cellars, and their enthusiasm for a Roman pope was thereby mightily increased. The archbishop of Bari (not a Roman) was elected, but the cardinals feared to face the mob. At last some one falsely reported that the cardinal of St. Peter's was pope and the cardinals made good their escape. The anger of the mob on learning of the deception was such that they were ready to tear the pope-elect to pieces, but after a few days quiet was restored and he was duly crowned as Urban VI., April, 1378.

Within a few weeks a majority of the cardinals, who had retired to Anagni, having gained political and military backing, renounced Urban VI. as having been elected under the pressure of a Roman mob, and in September elected Robert of Geneva as Clement VII., who made Avignon his capital. Thus was precipitated the great schism that was to last for sixty years, notwithstanding the most earnest and persistent efforts of princes and clergy to reconcile the factions and to restore unity to the administration of ecclesiastical affairs.

5. *Efforts to Heal the Schism (1394–1409).*

The papal schism became so distressing to the nations of Europe that concerted measures for the restoration of unity were earnestly considered. Among the first to move in favor of a general council was the University of Paris. The theologians of the Sorbonne had just triumphed in a controversy with the Dominicans, supported by Pope Clement VII., on the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, Dominicans and pope denying. In 1394 Nicolas de Clemangis presented to the king on behalf of the Sorbonne a plan of reformation. It provided that both popes should resign; that arbitrators should be appointed by both popes; and that a general council should be convoked by the king, which by its own authority should put an end to the existing state of things. Clement died shortly afterward. Notwithstanding the king's injunction to abstain from an election, the Avignon cardinals proceeded to elect Benedict XIII., one of the ablest and most upright of their number. He had professed a willingness to abdicate in case the interests of the church should require this action. The king was enraged and called a national synod to deal with the matter; but the synod made the mistake of recognizing Benedict *ad interim*. Public calamities occurring about this time had made the king willing to be rid of the papacy.

The University of Paris joined with the king in his efforts to compel Benedict to resign, but he was obstinate, defying all the author-

ities arrayed against him. The king of Castile and the University of Toulouse came to his support. He even succeeded in attaching to himself such reformers as Nicolas de Clemangis and Peter d'Ailly of the University of Paris. The retirement of these great leaders to enter the papal service enhanced the violence of the opposition to Benedict in the university. It was now proposed that the pope be declared guilty of heresy and mortal sin in refusing to abdicate, that the cardinals renounce obedience to him, that his censures be unheeded, and that he be compelled by a general council to abdicate. John Gerson, the greatest of the Paris theologians, counseled milder measures, but when Benedict interfered with the university an appeal was made to a future pope who should be "one, true, orthodox, and universal." By 1397 England, Germany, and Spain were ready to join with France in a determined effort to heal the schism. Benedict continued defiant and the allegiance of France was withdrawn from him (1398). He was besieged in Avignon, September, 1398–April, 1399, and imprisoned from the latter date to March, 1403, when by reason of a popular reaction in his favor he was able to escape. Two months later the cardinals induced the king to restore to Benedict the allegiance of France, but fresh difficulties soon arose.

In Rome a somewhat similar war was waged between Boniface IX. and the German emperor, Wenzel, in which the pope was victorious. Boniface was one of the most avaricious of the popes and made the most unscrupulous use of all available means for gaining wealth. When asked on his deathbed how he was, he answered: "If I had more money, I should be well enough." It was hoped that his death (1404) would facilitate the healing of the schism, but amid the wildest confusion such cardinals as could get together proceeded to elect a successor as Innocent VII.

Gregory XII., who had succeeded Innocent VII. as Roman pope (1406), professed a consuming zeal for papal unity. He would go in a fishing-boat or on foot, if necessary, to confer with his rival. In a letter to Benedict he besought his co-operation in "bringing health to the church that has been so long diseased." To this end he would resign, if Benedict would. The University of Paris was again urging that France should renounce Benedict. A synod assembled for the consideration of this demand (November, 1406–January, 1407) decided to leave to him his spiritual dignity, but to deprive him of his revenues. In this action the king joined. Gregory's pacific utterances caused much rejoicing in France. Benedict professed also a desire for the restoration of unity, but only "by way of justice." Negotiations between the two popes during this and the following years were fruitless. Each longed for unity, with himself at the head; neither could be persuaded that the interests of the church required his abdication.

6. *The Reforming Councils (1409–1443).*

In 1408 both popes found themselves in a forsaken and desperate situation. Four cardinals of each met at Livorno and agreed to re-establish the unity of the church by a general council. Those who had been at-

tached to Gregory issued a letter calling upon the faithful to withdraw from him obedience and financial support. A like exhortation was sent forth by Benedict's cardinals. Both bodies of cardinals united in calling a general council to meet at Pisa, May 29, 1409.

(1) *The Council of Pisa* (1409). This council was called under the protection of Charles VI. of France. Two sets of cardinals, representing Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., were present. Every effort had been made by the cardinals and the princes of Europe to make the body really ecumenical. There assembled twenty-two cardinals, the Latin patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, twelve archbishops in person and fourteen by proxy, eighty bishops in person and one hundred and two by proxy, eighty-seven abbots in person and two hundred by proxy, a large number of priors and generals of orders, deputies of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Florence, Cracow, Vienna, Prague, etc., more than three hundred doctors in theology, ambassadors from the kings of England, France, Portugal, Bohemia, Sicily, Poland, Cyprus, Brabant, Burgundy, etc.

The rival popes were summoned and, not appearing, were declared contumacious by a sentence affixed to the church door. After much negotiation and controversy both sets of cardinals were induced to abandon their allegiance to their respective popes. Both popes were declared to be "schismatical, abettors of schism, heretics, and guilty of perjury," and were deposed and excommunicated.

The cardinals were compelled to promise, each for himself, that if elected pope he would continue the council until the church should be reformed in its head and members, and they were shut up and kept under guard until an election should take place. The aged and feeble cardinal of Milan was appointed and assumed the name Alexander V.

Notwithstanding the apparent strength of the council, the schism was not healed. There were now three popes instead of two, who persisted in heaping upon each other the most terrific anathemas. Benedict (at Avignon) was acknowledged by Spain, Portugal, and Scotland; Gregory (at Rome) by Naples, Hungary, and parts of Germany;

while Alexander was supported by France, England, and other parts of Germany.

Alexander V. died the following year and was succeeded by John XXIII., one of the most infamous of men.

(2) *The Council of Constance* (1414–1418). The aim of this council was to heal the schism, to condemn and suppress heresy (especially that of Huss in Bohemia), and to reform the church in its head and members. It was called by John XXIII., and was the most numerously attended council of the Middle Ages; eighteen thousand clergy are said to have been present, and one hundred and fifty thousand people, many of whom were mountebanks, strolling actors, money lenders, and prostitutes, are said to have thronged the city at one time. These numbers are probably exaggerated, but the attendance was certainly immense. The retinue and luggage of the pope were conveyed by sixteen hundred horses, those of the emperor by one thousand. John had intended to control the council by packing it with Italians. To obviate this it was arranged to have the voting by nations. Thus the German, French, and English, being united in main points, were able to overbear the papal influence. John was accused of the most immoral and atrocious conduct, of the most abominable heresy (infidelity, swearing by the devil), etc. He was deposed and deprived, though afterward he was appointed cardinal bishop. The claims of the other popes were repudiated. The doctrine which had already been elaborated by John Gerson and Peter d'Ailly that the church universal assembled in council is the highest ecclesiastical tribunal on earth, and that to such a court it belongs to depose unworthy popes and to do anything necessary for the well-being of the church, was clearly enunciated and was put into practice. The burning of John Huss and of Jerome of Prague by the council will be considered in another chapter.

In November, 1417, the cardinals, under the direction of the council, appointed Cardinal Otho Colonna pope, who was crowned as Martin V. The new pope, with the help of the officials of the Roman Curia, busied himself at once with editing the rules of the papal chancery. The extortionate methods of raising money that

were in vogue (including the exaction of annates, the reservation of the chief dignities in cathedral, collegiate, and conventual churches, and the sale of expectancies, dispensations, indulgences, etc.) were confirmed.

After concordats, fixing the relations between the church and the various nations, had been drawn up and confirmed, the council was adjourned in April, 1418. The pope had promised to carry forward the work of reformation; but it had become well understood that he had no sympathy with the Gallican idea of the relation of popes and general councils, and that he was determined to insist upon papal prerogative as it had been established by Gregory VII. and Innocent III. A few weeks after the adjournment of the council he declared that it was "unlawful for any one either to appeal from the judgments of the Apostolic See, or to reject its decisions in matters of faith."

The council of Constance virtually put an end to the schism, though Benedict XIII. continued till his death (1324) to claim the papal dignity and to anathematize all but his handful of followers. In 1425 three of Benedict's cardinals elected a new pope, who called himself Clement VIII. Another of these cardinals, who was absent at the time of the election, took the responsibility of electing another pope as Benedict XIV. The former was supported for a time by Alfonso V. of Aragon, but abandoned his pretensions in 1429.

Martin V. had promised to convoke a council at an early date for the further reformation of the church. In response to an invitation (which he privately neutralized) a few bishops, etc., assembled at Pavia (1423) and afterward at Siena; but nothing was accomplished. Shortly before his death, in view of the great Hussite schism, he was induced to call a council to meet at Basel.

(3) *The Council of Basel* (1431–1449). A crusade against the Hussites (1427) had completely failed and the Bohemians were raiding Germany (1430). The Hussites insisted that they were true Catholics and demanded that the points at issue between themselves and the papal church be adjudicated in a general council. The pressure for a council became so great by 1431 that Martin felt it unwise longer to defer its convocation. The council was formally opened under the authority of Eugenius IV. (July 1431), who had succeeded Martin in February. A last attempt at subjugating the Hussites, attended by fearful slaughter and devastation, was still

in progress. It resulted in the disastrous defeat of the crusaders. The news of the disaster produced a deep impression upon the assembly. A letter was addressed to the Bohemians inviting them to join with the council in restoring the unity of the church and offering safe-conduct to their representatives. "Send, we beseech you, men in whom you trust the Spirit of the Lord rests, gentle, God-fearing, humble, desirous of peace, seeking not their own but the things of Christ, whom we pray to give to us and to you and all Christian people peace on earth, and in the world to come life everlasting."

This letter was probably drafted by Cardinal Cesarini, who had led the last crusade and was deeply concerned for the restoration of church unity. Eugenius was fearful lest in their anxiety to conciliate the Bohemians the council should compromise the papal dignity and authority. He issued a bull dissolving the council (Nov., 1431). The council refused to accept the bull and Cesarini wrote the pope a letter of earnest remonstrance. He pointed out that the morals of the German clergy were such that if not amended the people would rise up against them as the Hussites were doing. "Even if the Bohemian heresy were extinguished, another would rise up in its place." To refuse to meet the Bohemians, now that they had been invited, would be as disgraceful as the flight of the German army had been. "If we do not let this council alone, we shall lose our temporalities, and our lives and souls as well."

The Emperor Sigismund tried in vain to induce the pope to withdraw his bull of dissolution. Only when he saw that the council, with Sigismund's support, were determined to go forward and that his own deposition was imminent, did the pope at last consent to permit the body proceed with its work (Feb., 1433). Before the arrival of the pope's legates the council passed a decree in favor of decennial councils,—as the council of Constance had done,—declaring the right of a council to reassemble without papal authority, and making suspension and deprivation the penalties of an attempt by a pope to impede or prorogue a council. On the arrival of the papal legates the right of sharing in the presidency was refused them.

Eugenius was driven from Rome in 1434 and the council proceeded with its reformatory measures and its negotiations with the Hussites. The renewal of negotiations with the Greeks, who were being sorely pressed by the

Turks and felt the need of the aid of Western Christendom (1433), greatly complicated the situation. Eugenius was anxious to bring about the removal of the council from Basel, in the hope that thereby he might regain control. He arranged to bring to Italy the Greek emperor and a large number of Greek prelates at the expense of the council. Basel was not sufficiently accessible for the purpose. As a compromise the council chose Avignon as the place for meeting the Greeks. In 1437 the council suffered schism, about seventy members stubbornly insisting, with the pope, on an Italian location, and about two hundred adhering to Avignon, notwithstanding the protest of the Greeks.

The pope recognized the minority as the true council and ratified their choice of Florence or Udine. The majority summoned the pope to Basel, and on his failure to appear declared him contumacious. The pope pronounced the council dissolved. Both parties sent embassies and galleys for the Greeks, who after some hesitation committed themselves to the papal party.

The Emperor Sigismund tried in vain to heal the breach between pope and council; for he was deeply interested in the pacification of Bohemia as a means of securing recognition for himself as king. Sigismund's death (Dec., 1437) left the council free to proceed against the pope. The remnant of the council, now supported by the king of Aragon and the dukes of Milan and Savoy, suspended the pope (Jan., 1438). Most of the other leading rulers protested.

Early in 1438 the papal party assembled a council at Ferrara (transferred to Florence, Jan., 1439) to confer with the emperor, the patriarch, and several bishops of the Greeks. The doctrines of purgatory, the procession of the Holy Ghost, the supremacy of the pope, and the use of unleavened bread, were elaborately discussed. The Greeks finally accepted the Latin views on the points in dispute, including the supremacy of the pope. But the sentiment in the East was so bitterly and uncompromisingly opposed to the measure that it was speedily abandoned. In 1443 the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria issued an encyclical in which they denounced the council of Florence as a "council of rob-

bers," and the patriarch of Constantinople as "a matricide and a heretic." The fall of Constantinople ten years later put an end to attempts at union.

In July, 1436, legates of the council, with the Emperor Sigismund, met the Bohemian envoys at Iglau, and the *Compacta*, the terms of which had previously been agreed upon, was signed. It provided for communion under both kinds (bread and wine), the use of means for the reformation of the lives of the clergy, a certain amount of freedom of preaching, and the removal of some grievances regarding the holding and administration of church property. Thus the council condescended to treat on equal terms with heretics and to grant special privileges to those that had openly defied the authority of the church.

A number of reformatory measures were adopted by the council, including prohibition of clerical concubinage, abuse of appeals to the Roman Curia and of interdicts, collection of annates, and sacrilegious disorders in connection with ecclesiastical feasts. It prescribed the mode of electing popes and the qualifications of candidates for the pontificate and sought to legislate for the reformation of the Roman Curia.

In May, 1438, a national French synod at Bourges, called by Charles VII., adopted the reformatory decrees of the council (Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges) and thus France virtually declared against Eugenius and in favor of the council. Germany had already declared her neutrality, which meant the repudiation of the authority of the pope.

In May, 1439, the council declared Eugenius guilty of heresy for denying that a general council has power over a pope and for attempting to dissolve a general council lawfully constituted, and in June deposed him from his office. In October electors were nominated for the appointment of a new pope. The choice fell upon Amadeus VIII., duke of Savoy, who by reason of his wealth and connections was a man of weight. A few years before he had retired from active life and with seven companions was living in religious seclusion. The electors represented equally France, Italy, Germany, and Spain. The new pope assumed the name Felix V., and the council (Feb., 1440) commanded all men everywhere on pain of

excommunication to obey him. In July he entered Basel, accompanied by his two sons and the Savoyard nobility, and was crowned pope in the presence of fifty thousand spectators. Felix failed to secure the hoped-for recognition of the great powers. He had been elected in part because of his wealth, but he demanded that the council should make financial provision for the support of his court, and it was obliged to resort to methods of raising money that it had solemnly condemned. Having made every effort to gain the adherence of Frederick III., the new German emperor, and finding his relations with the council unsatisfactory, he retired to Lausanne in 1443. Thenceforth the council was a vanishing quantity.

By bribery and bargaining, conducted chiefly through Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, one of the most astute ecclesiastical politicians of the age (afterward to become Pope Pius II., 1458), Germany was won to the support of Eugenius and his successor, Nicolas V. (1447–1453). The Concordat of Vienna (1448) was the fruit of these negotiations. It was a provisional arrangement between pope and emperor, which somewhat limited the scope of papal reservations and provisions (benefices, except the chief positions in cathedrals and collegiate churches, falling vacant in alternate months were to be at the pope's disposal), but allowed the collection of annates and the papal confirmation of elections. The advantages of this concordat were wholly on the side of the pope.

Nicolas was disposed to be conciliatory and was willing to treat with kindly consideration the remnant of the council of Basel and the anti-pope. Felix V. abdicated (April, 1449) and was promptly admitted into the College of Cardinals. The council of Basel elected Nicolas V. pope and dissolved. Nicolas restored to the cardinalate d'Allemand, who for some years had been leader of the council, and accepted three of the cardinals who had been created by Felix. Thus the schism was healed. It was the good fortune of Nicolas also to aid materially in the pacification of Italy and especially in the restoration of order in the Papal States. The papacy had lost much of prestige through the captivity and the schism, but it had at last triumphed over the opponents of its high prerogatives and was prepared to enter afresh upon a career of

irresponsibility and self-aggrandizement. The last state of this great institution was to prove worse than the first.

In 1452 Frederick III. visited Rome, took the oath of obedience to the pope, was made a canon of St. Peter's, and was solemnly crowned emperor of the Romans. Many special immunities and privileges were conferred upon the emperor in consideration of his subservient attitude.[1] Yet Frederick failed to secure the support of the Austrian and German estates and the pope shared in his humiliation.

The fall of Constantinople (1453) led Nicolas to preach a crusade against the Turks. He was persuaded by Æneas Sylvius that a successful crusade under papal guidance would be the crowning glory of his reign ; but the princes of Europe were too much occupied with their own affairs to give heed to the call.

He devoted much attention to the restoration of the architecture and fortifications of Rome and the Papal States. Among his architectural achievements are the Vatican palace and the basilica of St. Peter's. The Vatican library was his creation. His architectural plans were sufficiently numerous and expensive to have occupied several pontificates. He died in 1453, after having launched the papacy on a career of extravagance in architectural and artistic enterprise.

Calixtus III. (1453–1458) owed his election to his age and feebleness. He declared war against the Turks and sent a fleet against them ; but he was unable to arouse Europe to crusading fury. He devoted much attention to the promotion of his near relatives. Two of his "nephews" (Borgias) he made cardinals, a third he made prefect of Rome, etc. Æneas Sylvius, who had been chief agent of Nicolas V. in Germany and Austria, became cardinal under Calixtus and joined hands with the Borgias in their schemes for self-aggrandizement.

VII. THE POPES OF THE RENAISSANCE.

LITERATURE: Creighton, "A Hist. of the Papacy During the Period of the Reformation," Vol. II., p. 233, *seq.*, Vols. III., IV. (this is by far the best work in English, if not in any language. It is

[1] See Creighton, Vol. II., p. 299, *seq.*

based upon a masterly use of the sources); Pastor, "*Gesch. d. Päpste*," *Bd.* I. (also Eng. trans.); Gregorovius, "*Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*," *Bd.* VII. and VIII. (also Eng. trans.); Hefele, "*Conciliengeschichte*," *Bd.* VIII. (written by Hergenröther), 1887; Voigt, "*Enea Silvius de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.*"; Gebhardt, "*Die Gravamina der deutschen Nation*," 1884; Symonds, "The Age of the Despots"; Ranke, "*Die römischen Päpste in den letzten vier Jahrh.*," sixth ed., 1874 (Eng. trans. of earlier ed.); Roscoe, "The Life and Pontificate of Leo X." For excellent sketches of the various popes, with ample bibliographies, see latest ed. of the Herzog-Hauck "*Real-Encyklopädie*" (the third ed. is in progress and six vols. have appeared to August, 1899).

1. *Pius II.* (1458–1464) was a diplomatist and a statesman of the Machiavellian type. He had taken a leading part in the council of Basel and for a time served Felix V. as secretary. He was noted for his elegant Latinity and for his poetical gifts no less than for his agreeableness of manners and his astuteness as a man of affairs. His life was most careless and self-indulgent. In 1442, with Felix's consent, he became secretary to the Emperor Frederick III. In 1443 he was won to the service of Eugenius IV. and devoted some years to attempts at conciliating pope and emperor. Nicolas V. bestowed upon him two bishoprics and Calixtus III. made him cardinal. By shrewd management he was elected pope over a strong French candidate. As Pius II. he was ambitious to raise the papacy to its former grandeur and he believed that a successful crusade against the Turks was the most effective means to this end. He founded a new order of knights, the Hospital Order of St. Mary of Bethlehem, and called together at Mantua (1459–1460) a council of princes to arrange for a powerful expedition against the Turks.

The effort was a failure. He took occasion at Mantua to denounce appeals from a pope to a general council. Several appeals were soon afterward made. He sent Cardinal Bessarion to Germany to labor for a crusade; but a fresh body of grievances was the result. His own liberal attitude in the council of Basel was constantly quoted against him when he undertook to insist upon papal prerogative. He felt obliged afterward in a bull of retractations to apologize for the errors into which as a youth he had fallen; but he rather weakened than strengthened his cause thereby. He attempted by a letter to convert the sultan to Christianity. When he announced his determination to lead a crusade in person and offered the usual plenary indulgences and immunities to those who would join him, only the rabble responded. He died just as he was about to embark.

From this time onward to the Protestant revolution the College of Cardinals showed their utter disregard of religious principles and even of common decency by appointing to the papacy some of the most depraved of their number and making for themselves the best terms possible at each election. Luxury and license, murder and rapine, abounded. The Turkish war and the completion of St. Peter's furnished pretexts for the extorting of extraordinary taxes from Christendom.

2. *Sixtus IV.* (1471–1484) was chiefly intent on exalting and enriching his humble family. To this end he stirred up strife among the Italian republics and brought the papacy into general contempt.

3. *Innocent VIII.* (1484–1492), though he had promised the cardinals that he would not promote more than one of his relatives to the cardinalate and that he would employ no layman in administrative matters, proceeded at once to use his position for the advancement of his seven illegitimate children, whom he openly acknowledged. He multiplied the offices of the Roman Curia and sold them for large sums, spent much money on architecture, and bestowed considerable patronage on the new learning. He was amiable, but unscrupulous and without political ability. In the last year of his reign the Moors were driven from Grenada, their last stronghold in Spain, and Columbus discovered the new world. Savonarola was just beginning his wonderful career as preacher and prophet in Florence. Lorenzo de' Medici, the great promoter of the new learning, died the same year with Innocent. The immorality of Rome, already appalling, was made still more flagrant by the pope's entertainment of his illegitimate children in the Vatican.

4. *Alexander VI.* (1492–1503). Roderigo Borgia was over sixty years of age when he was made pope, and he had been a cardinal thirty-six years. He had combined business shrewdness with matchless opportunities, and was the richest of the cardinals. Besides a number of children of whose mother (or mothers) nothing is known, he had a family of four children by a Roman woman with whom he lived somewhat regularly. He was regarded as a genial, kindly man, and beyond his affection for his family and his efforts for their promotion, there seemed no reason why he should not make a satisfactory pope. In fact, great things were expected of him. It soon ap-

peared that he was capable of any crime that the interests of himself or his children seemed to require. He entered at once on a series of intrigues with the Italian princes, the king of France, the emperor, the king of Spain, and the sultan. He made his eldest son Juan, duke of Gandia, and bestowed upon him the duchy of Benevento, which belonged to the States of the Church. He caused a combination of the emperor, the king of Spain, the doge of Venice, and the duke of Milan against Charles VIII. of France, whom he had first opposed and then aided in his efforts to conquer Naples. The exclusion of the French from Italy left Alexander and his son Cæsar Borgia to work their will upon the minor rulers. Cæsar, whom he made cardinal, usurped the administration of the States of the Church, causing the imprisonment, assassination, or poisoning, of any that stood in his way. Of the cardinals that had opposed Alexander's election some were murdered, some imprisoned, and others fled from the city. Cæsar was suspected of causing the death of his brother Juan, to whose estates he succeeded. In 1498 Alexander made a treaty with Louis XII. of France, who made Cæsar Borgia a duke and gave him a French princess in marriage. The pope added to Cæsar's possessions and dignities the principality of Romagna.

The marriages, divorces, and intrigues of Lucretia Borgia, the pope's daughter, were equally scandalous. Contemporary Catholic writers have perpetuated the current suspicion that she was criminally intimate with the pope himself. So shocking were the crimes of these three that nothing was supposed to be too monstrous for either of them to do. Lucretia's later life as the wife of Alfonso of Ferrara seems to have been free from scandal and it is probable that in her earlier irregularities she was more sinned against than sinning. That Alexander was a monster of iniquity Roman Catholic writers, contemporary and recent, agree in admitting; that he was the most depraved of all popes is not so certain.

5. *Julius II.* (1503–1513) held Alexander and Cæsar Borgia in utmost abhorrence. The latter fled from Italy and died in the military service of his brother-in-law, the king of Navarre. Julius professed a determination to reform the Roman Curia and issued a decree against simony; but he soon became involved in war for the restoration of the States of the Church. He formed an

alliance with the king of France and the emperor to secure the submission of Venice. He then joined with Venice and Spain against France, bestowing on Ferdinand the claim of the French king to Naples. Soon France and the empire were arrayed against the pope (1510) and called a general council at Pisa for the reformation of the church. This council was of no weight, being made up almost exclusively of French prelates.

The pope retaliated by calling an ecumenical Lateran council (1512) and made a firm alliance with Spain, Venice, England, and Switzerland, whereby he was able to drive the French from Italy. The pope died soon after the opening of the council (Feb., 1513).

Julius was the most warlike of all the popes. He could not endure the presence of foreign powers in Italy and he maintained and used great armies in driving them out. He was far more a soldier than an ecclesiastic.

6. *Leo X.* (1513–1521). A member of the Medici family of Florence, he had been made a cardinal in his boyhood and had been brought up in the atmosphere of the Renaissance. He was only thirty-eight years of age, and it was well understood that his inclination would be for peace and splendor. He was reported to have said after his election: "Let us enjoy the papacy, since God has given it to us." His contemporaries smiled when he took the name *Leo*, saying that *Agnus* would suit his character better. He surrounded himself with men of letters and artists, and spent immense sums in literature and art. He was far more interested in the revived paganism of the Renaissance than in Christianity and is said to have regarded the narratives of the origin of Christianity as fabulous. His court was in the highest degree luxurious and licentious. Yet he was alive to the political necessities of the papacy and the opportunity that the office presented for the enrichment and the aggrandizement of his own family. He took a deep interest in foreign politics and made from time to time such alliances as suited his purposes, but he gained his ends by peaceable means, and discouraged war.

The Lateran Council was continued under Leo. In this he refused to deal harshly with the cardinals who were in rebellion in the interests of France or to press

for the immediate abolition in France of the Pragmatic Sanction. The council reasserted the papal prerogatives in the spirit of the bull "*Unam Sanctam*" of Boniface VIII., and made some pretense at reform. But most of the reforms were, in the words of a contemporary, "slight, almost futile, not to say puerile." Reformation was as far as possible from the thoughts of Leo and his advisers. The council took note of the rapidly spreading infidelity of the Renaissance and prohibited the teaching of the mortality of the soul in the universities. A decree in favor of the pacification of Europe was unanimously adopted. The intrigues of the pope with various European powers during the next few years cannot be here narrated. In 1516, after he had long schemed in vain for the discomfiture of France, he entered into the most friendly relations with the king. The Pragmatic Sanction was withdrawn and a concordat was signed between pope and king in accordance with which the king was to nominate abbots and bishops, papal reservations were abolished, papal provisions were limited, university graduates were to be appointed to vacant benefices during four months of the year, limitations were put upon appeals to Rome and the exercise by the pope of excommunication and interdict, and concubinary clergy were to be disciplined; the pope retained the right of collecting annates and other ecclesiastical taxes. This arrangement was ratified in the Lateran Council still in session. On March 16, 1517, the Lateran Council was dissolved. On October 31 Luther posted his ninety-five theses and the Protestant Revolution was inaugurated.

CHAPTER III

REACTIONARY AND REFORMING PARTIES

I. PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

1. THE Paulicians, the "Protestants of the East," continued their struggle against ecclesiastical corruption and oppression in Asia Minor during the present period, and were settled in vast colonies in Thrace and Bulgaria. That their influence throughout eastern Europe should become widespread and pervasive might have been expected. It is certain that it extended to western Europe as well, and in a somewhat corrupted form had much to do with the extensive Catharistic movement.

2. It is highly probable that Manichæan modes of thought, disseminated so aggressively in the fourth and fifth centuries, were perpetuated with greater or less vigor until the eleventh century, when they co-operated with Paulician and other influences in producing the Catharism referred to in the preceding paragraph.

3. It is equally probable that evangelical forms of Christianity survived in greater or less strength and purity during the dark ages that followed the barbarian invasions and that the evangelical parties that appeared in the twelfth and following centuries were consciously or unconsciously influenced by earlier evangelical life. The historical connection of the Paulicianism of the present period with the evangelical life and thought of early post-apostolic Christianity seems well established. The persistence of the older British type of Christianity in England, Wales, and Scotland, even after Hildebrand's vigorous efforts to suppress it, is unquestioned, and the connection of the later Lollardism with this old evangelical doctrine and life is highly probable. From what we know of the persistence of types of religious life and doctrine we have reason to suspect that earlier types persisted to a greater or less extent in almost

every part of Europe; but opportunity and a certain amount of stimulus from without were necessary to bring them into activity and publicity. The rapidity with which evangelical parties spread over Europe and the hearty reception everywhere accorded to evangelical preachers by the masses can be best accounted for by the supposition that latent evangelical life was widely diffused.

4. The persistence of these and other early types of religious thought and life and the action and reaction of these upon each other and upon the dominant form of Christianity, and of this upon them, with the influence of racial and other sociological factors, enables us to account, in a general way, for the multiplex phenomena of dissenting Christian life during the Middle Ages. But in most cases the historical materials are too meager to allow us to determine the precise relations of any particular movement to the past or to determine precisely which of the earlier modes of thought have entered into it and in just what proportions. This is true in a measure even of modern religious movements, where the documentary materials are relatively abundant.

5. It should be remarked that for the history of mediæval dissenting parties we are dependent almost wholly on data preserved by their enemies. By far the largest and most important part of extant information regarding the doctrines and practices of the "heretics" of the period is due to the work of Romish inquisitors. Such representations are necessarily unsympathetic and unfair. Much of the material is due to the confessions of "heretics" under the most excruciating tortures. On the other hand, it was the business of inquisitors to ascertain accurately and to put on record for the guidance of other agents of the Inquisition the peculiar features and all the details of the doctrine and practice of each persecuted party. While allowance must therefore be made for extorted confession of corrupt and abominable practices, we may place considerable confidence in the detailed accounts of doctrine and polity given in the inquisitorial records.

6. Again, we are dependent on inquisitorial records for our knowledge of the numbers and the diffusion of

"heretics." As the work of the Inquisition was by no means uniformly thorough in all parts of Europe, or equally so at all times, and as "heretics" of the various types became exceedingly skillful in evading the officers of the Inquisition, allowing themselves in many cases to conform outwardly to the established church and to use ambiguous language in answering inquisitors, we may be sure that those actually arraigned constituted a very small fraction of what actually existed. It is also certain that the inquisitorial records preserved represent a very small part of the actual inquisitorial proceedings. With these considerations in mind, we can perhaps form some just estimate of the importance of mediæval dissent.

The anti-Romanist Christian life of the Middle Ages may be conveniently classified as follows: (1) Dualistic parties; (2) Pantheistic parties; (3) Chiliastic parties; (4) Evangelical separatists; (5) Churchly reforming parties.

DUALISTIC DISSENT.

LITERATURE: Döllinger, "*Beiträge zur Sektengesch. des M. A.*"; Schmidt, "*Histoire et Doctrine de la Secte des Cathares ou Albigeois*"; Conybeare, "The Key of Truth" (Introduction and Appendix). See also literature on the Waldenses, a large part of which is common to the two parties. *Cf.* my "Recent Researches Concerning Mediæval Sects" (in "Proceedings of the Am. Soc. of Ch. Hist.," Vol. IV.).

1. *The Bogomiles.*

(1) *Rise of the Party.* The Bogomiles were a Bulgarian sect, about whose origin little has been definitely ascertained, and the extant accounts of whom are "for the most part hopelessly confused and untrustworthy."[1] They are thought to sustain a very intimate relation to the Paulicians, on the one hand, and to the Cathari of western Europe on the other.

The settlement in Thrace of a vast number of Paulicians under Constantine Copronymus (middle of eighth century) and of one hundred thousand more under John Tzimiskes (970) was an event of fundamental importance to the religious development of Eastern Europe. Peter

[1] Conybeare, "Key of Truth," p. cxviii. of Introd.

Siculus, who resided for nine months in Tephrik, the ancient Paulician stronghold (*c.* 870), refers to the sending of missionaries by the Paulicians of Asia Minor to the heathen Bulgarians. It is probable that among the non-dualistic Paulicians, who emigrated to Thrace and who evangelized the Bulgarians, there were considerable numbers of dualistic Christians (Messalians, Euchites, etc.). If the account of Cedrenus (*c.* 1050) can be trusted, the dualistic type of teaching soon became prevalent throughout the whole of the European part of the Eastern empire. The Bogomiles seem thus to have been a product of the dissemination of this dualistic Christianity among the Slavonic populations. The name "Bogomiles" is said to mean "Friends of God."

(2) *Teaching of the Bogomiles.* About 1111 the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, alarmed by the rapid spread of the Bogomiles, insinuated himself into the confidence of their leader and induced him to give a full exposition of the doctrines and practices of the party, which concealed scribes carefully recorded. From this record we gather the following particulars:

a. An elaborate dualistic cosmology, like that of the Gnostics and Manichæans, seems to have been fundamental to their system. The details need not be given.

b. They held to a doctrine of the Trinity resembling the Sabellian. The incarnation was a mere appearance (Docetism). Christ's work on earth was to overthrow the rule of fallen spirits that were dominant here.

c. They are said to have rejected water baptism, and to have substituted for it a very solemn purificatory ceremony, preceded by seven days of fasting and prayer. The ceremony consisted in placing upon the head of the candidate the Gospel of John, invoking the Holy Spirit, and repeating the Lord's Prayer. After a further period of testing and instruction in the mysteries of the sect, the candidate was admitted into the inner circle. The initiatory ceremony was concluded with the laying-on of hands.

d. They are represented as rejecting the Lord's Supper, holding that the bread of the Communion is the Lord's Prayer, and that the cup is the last discourses of our Lord in the Gospel.

e. Like the Manichæans they are said to have rejected marriage and the use of flesh for food.

f. Like the Paulicians they rejected the use of images as idolatry and regarded the Greek and Roman Catholic churches as Satanic.

g. They are represented as accepting the Old Testament psalms and prophets, but as rejecting the Mosaic law as the work of Satanael (the evil deity) devised, for the corruption and enslavement of mankind.

h. They employed the allegorical method of interpreting the Scriptures in the most fantastic way.

(3) *Fate of the Party*. Severe persecution followed the discoveries made by Alexius. Multitudes of the Bogomiles were massacred. But they are said to have survived in small numbers to modern times. It seems certain that the western Cathari long looked upon Bulgaria as the source and center of their denominational life and that they recognized the head of the Bogomiles as their spiritual father.

2. *The Cathari.*

(1) *Rise of Catharism*. It is probable that Manichæism survived to some extent in southwestern Europe from the sixth to the eleventh century. The same may be said of Priscillianism. The presence of the Saracens in Spain was highly favorable to the development of Oriental forms of heresy, especially as these latter had in many cases joined hands with the Mohammedans against persecuting Catholicism. In 991 Gerbert (afterward Pope Sylvester II.), on the occasion of his consecration as Archbishop of Rheims, took occasion to denounce certain Gnostic errors, which were doubtless giving trouble at the time.

After several isolated cases of dualistic heresy had been brought to light, an extensive dualistic movement was discovered in Aquitania and Orleans (1022). These heretics are represented by a contemporary monk as "seducing the populace, denying holy baptism and the virtue of the cross, abstaining from foods, as if they were monks, and simulating chastity." The heresy is said to have been brought from Italy by a certain woman, who led astray not only the common people, but also many

among the better educated of the clergy. Ten of the canonical clergy were burned in Orleans (1022).

About 1025 a band of heretics appeared at Arras. Like the later mystics they rejected the ordinances of the papal church, and regarded outward ordinances in general as matters of small importance. They claimed to hold to nothing but the Scriptures, but to hold to these in word and in deed. Their principles were: to relinquish the world, to curb the flesh from concupiscence, to obtain support by the labor of their own hands, to injure no one, to show charity to their fellow-believers. This standard attained, there was no need of baptism. Especially was infant baptism worthless. So also they rejected ceremonial marriage and the veneration of confessors, and denied the efficacy of penitence for sins committed after profession. The arguments of their opponents indicate that they rejected, after the manner of the Manichæans, all intercourse of the sexes. They held a private room to be as sacred as a church, and altars to be no better than other heaps of stones. They were, therefore, intense Protestants and mystics; and had, apparently, some dualistic tendencies.[1] These bands of heretics multiplied in France during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

(2) *Doctrines and Practices of the Cathari.* From the records of the Inquisition and from other Roman Catholic accounts we have detailed information regarding the doctrines and practices of the Cathari in general and of the different parties among them. The only important extant documents originating with themselves are a Ritual and a version of the New Testament. According to Salva Burce (1235) and Rainer Sacchoni (*c.* 1259) there were two chief parties of the Cathari, who according to the former,[2] "are called Albanenses and Concorricii," and whom he represents as at mortal enmity, each claiming to be exclusively "the church of God." He also refers to a third party called Calojani or Francigenæ. He speaks of unsuccessful efforts that have been made to harmonize these parties in order that they might more effectively contend against the Catholics.

[1] D'Achery, "*Spicilegium*," Vol. I., p. 607, *seq.*
[2] See "*Supra Stella*," Döllinger, *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 53, *seq.*

a. He represents the two chief parties as agreeing in rejecting marriage as fornication and as an ordinance of the devil, the Albanenses giving a spiritual meaning to all New Testament passages referring to matrimony, the Concorricii admitting that some passages refer to carnal matrimony, but holding that it is not allowable in the church, *i. e.*, for those that aspire to evangelical perfection.

b. The Albanenses denied that Christ and his apostles actually healed the bodies of men, regarding the flesh as a work of the devil and as unworthy of divine consideration; the Concorricii admitted that Christ healed the bodies as well as the souls of men.

c. The Albanenses were absolute dualists, holding "that there are two creators without beginning and middle and end," and accounted for the blending of good and evil in the present world and in man in a purely Manichæan fashion. The Concorricii maintained that there was "only one creator," and accounted for the evil in man by the fall of Satan, who divided the elements of the good God and fashioned thereof the body of Adam, into which he forced one of the minor angels so that he became a living soul. They taught that Eve, who was extracted from Adam, was seduced by the serpent of whom she conceived Cain, and herself seduced Adam. They claimed that "all human generation in its totality proceeds from Adam according to the flesh and according to the spirit, in such manner that all our spirits have descended from the angel that Lucifer . . . placed in Adam; whence they say that what is born of the flesh is flesh, and what is born of the spirit is spirit."

d. Both parties agreed in ascribing the Old Testament to the prince of evil.[1]

e. Both parties held to a docetic view of Christ, denying that he ate, drank, suffered, etc., and that he had a carnal body.

f. Both laid great stress upon the imposition of hands (the *Consolamentum*), whereby those that are already sanctified (the perfect) impart the Holy Spirit and salva-

[1] For the Catharistic arguments to prove the evil origin and character of the Old Testament see a document from the archives of the Inquisition of Carcassonne in Lea, "Hist. of the Inquisition," Vol. I., p. 563, *seq.*; *cf.* Moneta, "*Adversus Catharos*," *Lib.* II., *Cap.* 6.

tion to others. This was administered after a long period of training and the most solemn promises of fidelity and secrecy. The *Consolamentum*, according to all the sources, took the place of water baptism. The validity of this ordinance depended wholly upon the worthiness of the administrator, and it must be repeated in case the administrator prove to have been unworthy.

g. The outer circle (believers) seem, according to the best accounts, to have ordinarily postponed the reception of the *Consolamentum* till death was supposed to be approaching. This enabled them to mingle somewhat freely in the world and to enter the future life with all their sins forgiven. Having received it, even in cases where recovery seemed possible, food was sometimes withheld, lest the benefit of the *Consolamentum* should be lost. This starving of the "consoled" was called the *Endura*, and their enemies made the most of the criminality involved in the transaction.

The Albigensian Ritual shows that the *Endura* was not always employed; for it gives directions as to the course to be pursued by one consoled on a sick-bed in case of recovery. No doubt in some instances the candidate preferred, after having been fully prepared for death, to avoid the means to recovery; and it is probable that in some cases the elect favored the practice of withholding food.

(3) *The Provençal Ritual of the Albigenses.* This important document, preserved in a Lyons Codex, has recently been translated into English by Conybeare.[1] It is preceded by a number of short invocations. It begins with a somewhat elaborate confession of sins and prayer for pardon, each paragraph concluding with: "Bless, spare us" (*Benedicite, parcite nobis*). Then follows the ceremony of the reception by a believer of the Lord's Prayer. The believer appears fasting and washed, performs with considerable ceremony his *Melioramentum*, or act of contrition, and receives the book from the hand of an elder. An elaborate exhortation to purity and fidelity precedes the delivery to him of the Lord's Prayer. He now for the first time receives from God, the elders, and the church the right to use this prayer. This impartation of the power carries with it the obligation henceforth

[1] "Key of Truth," Appendix VI.

"to say it all the time of" his "life, by day and by night, alone and in company." It is to be used always before eating and drinking.

Directions for the administration of the *Consolamentum* follow, with elaborate ceremonial. Abundant scriptural authority is given for the laying-on of hands and the impartation therewith of the Holy Spirit. "This holy baptism by the imposition of hands was instituted by Jesus Christ." It corresponds with the baptism with the Holy Ghost and with fire spoken of by John the Baptist. It is claimed that "this holy baptism by which the Holy Spirit is given, the church of God [meaning their own communion] hath kept from the apostles until now, and it hath passed from good men to good men until the present, and will continue to do so until the end of the world."

The person thus "baptized" puts himself under obligation to live according to the Sermon on the Mount and places himself and his property at the disposal of the church.

The Ritual closes with directions for the administration of the *Consolamentum* to the sick.

The Ritual shows a firm grasp of New Testament principles. It makes no reference to the Old Testament, which was probably rejected by its authors. There is nothing distinctively dualistic in the document, but it probably represents the moderate dualism of the Concorricii. There is no reference to the Lord's Supper. This ordinance was probably identified with their regular meals, which must be preceded by the Lord's Prayer. It is altogether likely that this ritual was used by a large party of Catharistic Christians, in whom, by contact with Petrobrusians, Waldenses, etc., dualistic elements had been reduced to a minimum, and evangelical conceptions had been brought into prominence.

(4) *The Diffusion and Fate of Catharism.* Within a few years of their first appearance in France and Italy, the Cathari had spread over France, Italy, Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, and even into England. They are represented by a monkish opponent as like the sands of the sea for multitude.

a. Through the influence of Peter de Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, and their followers, and of the Cathari, who had already gained many adherents, almost the whole of

Southern France had become anti-Catholic by the middle of the twelfth century.

In 1147 Bernard, the great preacher of his age, traversed the country with a view to recalling the people from their heretical pravity, but could not get a hearing. Princes and nobles protected the heretics. In 1178 a cardinal legate, Peter, attended by numerous prelates and monks, made a similar attempt with like results. In 1180 Alexander III. sent forth a Cardinal Henry to preach a crusade against the Albigenses. Many were slain, and others forced to abjure, but the heresy remained as powerful as before. At the beginning of the thirteenth century nearly all the princes and barons of the south of France were favorers of the heretics, and the heretics were allowed to assemble for worship in castles and fortified towns.

The Albigenses[1] are represented by Catholic writers indiscriminately as Cathari or Manichæans. That many of them were such, rejecting the Old Testament, outward ordinances, etc., and holding to a dualistic idea of God and the universe, is probable. Yet there were undoubtedly among them many evangelical followers of Peter de Bruys and Henry. See below.

b. After the many vain attempts to suppress the Albigensian heresy, Innocent III., when he became pope, resolved to extirpate it. He sent forth two legates, with full power over bishops and princes, and offered indulgences to those that should aid them. Diego, bishop of Osma, with Dominic (afterward founder of the Dominican order), persuaded the legates to adopt more apostolical measures. Accordingly the legates, with a number of others, wandered barefooted from place to place, without money, etc., and held several conferences with the heretics. This failing, they resorted to violent measures. The legate, Peter of Castelnau, was murdered in 1208. Count Raymond of Toulouse was suspected of complicity in the murder. Innocent III. now caused a crusade to be preached against the region: the extirpators of heresy were to have the territory and the spoils, and plenary indulgence was to be granted to those that should

[1] The name Albigenses is derived from the region of Albi, in Southern France.

take part. A large army was soon raised, with the fanatical Arnold, the papal legate who had preached the crusade, at its head. City after city was sacked, and the inhabitants slaughtered and outraged. The work of devastation went on for years, and the country was almost depopulated. Some of the heretics escaped to Spain, where they were afterward hunted down by the Inquisition. Many took refuge in the Netherlands, where heretics were numerous till the Reformation. In a word, they were scattered throughout Europe. They seem to have continued throughout the period, though they were doubtless gradually absorbed by the more evangelical parties. The blending of the more evangelical types of Catharism with the non-dualistic evangelical life enables us to account for the dualistic features sometimes ascribed to parties that were otherwise thoroughly evangelical.

II. CHILIASTIC AND ENTHUSIASTIC SECTS.

As the hierarchy grew more and more corrupt and oppressive, and as the hopes of reform from within became less and less, enthusiasts arose, who on the basis of the apocalyptic Scriptures undertook to prophesy regarding the course of events that should lead through a time of still greater disaster to a glorious age in which righteousness and blessedness should prevail.

1. *Joachim of Floris and the Joachimites.*

LITERATURE: Works of Joachim; Döllinger, "The Prophetic Spirit and the Prophecies of the Christian Era," ed. H. B. Smith; Renan, "*Joachim de Flore et l'Evangile Eternel*" (in "*Rev. de Deux Mondes*," 1866, pp. 94–142); Preger, "*Gesch. d. Mystik*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 196, *seq.*, and "*Das Evangelium Eternum u. Joach. von Floris*"; Reuter, "*Gesch. d. Aufklärung im M. A.*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 191–218; Lea, "Hist. of the Inquis.," Vol. III., p. 10, *seq.*; Tocco, "*L' Eresia nel Medio Evo*," p. 265, *seq.*; Hahn, "*Gesch. d. Ketzer im M. A.*," *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 72–175 and 259–346; Haupt, "*Zur Gesch. d. Joachimismus*" ("*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*," *Bd.* VII., *Seit.* 372, *seq.*); Denifle, "*Das Evang. Aetern.*" (in "*Archiv f. Lit. u. Kirchengesch. d. M. A.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 49, *seq.*).

(1) *Sketch of Joachim.* Joachim, a Sicilian (b. *c.* 1145), made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and soon afterward became abbot of a Cistercian monastery in Italy (*c.* 1178),

and began to prophesy (*c.* 1183 or earlier). He conferred with and greatly interested three popes, Lucius III. (1183), Urban III. (1185), and Clement III. (1188). About 1190 he left his monastery and went into retirement, but soon afterward, supported by the Emperor Henry VI., he founded a new monastery at Floris, whose rigorous rules were approved by Pope Cœlestine III. (1196). The order spread rapidly and Joachim's fantastic expositions of Scripture were highly appreciated by popes and people. A large body of apocalyptic literature, in addition to his own products, became associated with his name, and his influence in later enthusiastic chiliastic movements was very great. He claimed to have had the entire fullness of the meaning of the Apocalypse miraculously revealed to him, and he supposed that all the mysteries of Scripture were as clear to him as to the biblical prophets themselves. Joachim died *c.* 1202.

(2) *Joachim's Prophetical Scheme.* He divided the history of the world into three epochs: that of the Father (or the Petrine), up to Christ; that of the Son (Pauline), from the birth of Christ to 1260; and that of the Holy Ghost (Johannean), 1260 onward. He attempted to give in detail the events from 1200 to 1260. The papacy, which had made the church "a house of prostitution" and "a den of robbers" and which he identified with Antichrist, was to fall into utter ruin at the hands of the emperor, who was to deprive it of power and possessions. The empire was then to be destroyed by the Saracens and ten kings from the East, who in turn were to be annihilated by the Tartars from the North. The divine instrument for the reformation of the church and the ushering in of the epoch of the Holy Ghost was to be an order of contemplative monks. Such a spirited programme, announced by himself and his disciples with the utmost confidence and enthusiasm, naturally caused intense excitement. The complete failure of these prophecies, including that of the inauguration of a new age in 1260, was somewhat discouraging, but the prophets were ready with their explanations, and they modified their scheme from time to time to suit the exigencies as they arose.

Joachim was not the originator of this type of religious thought, but he wrought it out with great fullness, and from him, directly or indirectly, most later chiliastic systems have derived their impulse. It is surprising how little freshness there is in modern chiliastic schemes.

2. *The Spirituales.*

LITERATURE: Lea, "Hist. of the Inquisition," Vol. III., pp. 1–89; Müller, "*Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens*"; Döllinger (as on Joachim); Loofs, "*Das Testament d. Franz von Assisi*" ("*Christl. Welt*," 1894); Lives of Francis of Assisi, by Sabatier, Hase, Wilkens, Knox-Little, Böhringer, Monnier, etc.; Zöckler, "*Askese u. Mönchthum*"; and art. on "*Franz von Assisi*," in Herzog-Hauck, third ed., where a full bibliography is given.

(1) *The Early Spiritual Franciscans.* It was among the stricter element of the Franciscan order that the doctrines of Joachim found most acceptance and the Spirituales or the Spiritual Franciscans are to be regarded as essentially Joachimites. Francis was an ascetic of the most extreme type, and it was his intention that the rule of absolute poverty should be perpetually enforced by his order as regards individuals and the community as a whole. To assure this end, he left behind him a will in which he made the rules of the order unchangeable. Some time before his death (1226) a party of progress had appeared, led by Elias of Cortona, who repudiated the principle of communal poverty and insisted that the order could do its proper work only by accumulating all the wealth possible, erecting imposing buildings, etc. After Francis' death discord in the order soon became acute. Elias was not at once appointed his successor, but he controlled the policy of the new general and began at once to collect funds for the erection of a magnificent church as a receptacle of the bones of Francis. This provoked controversy. In 1230 Elias sought, on the occasion of the translation of the corpse of Francis to its new abiding place, to secure by intrigue the deposition of the general and his own election. Turbulent proceedings resulted in his temporary defeat, but in 1232 the general, Giovanni, was deposed and Elias elected. He soon showed himself a most unscrupulous and cruel tyrant. Those who resisted his measures were scourged, imprisoned, and some of them put to death. Pope Honorius III. had refused to sustain the will of Francis. Gregory IX. was

appealed to by the persecuted party and was induced to condemn and excommunicate Elias, who took refuge with the Emperor Frederick II., the enemy of the pope. But the lax party speedily gained the ascendency. The order was spreading rapidly and with the pope's consent acquiring property. In 1248 the strict party secured the election of John of Parma as general, who earnestly sought to restore the order to its original purity and simplicity and was unsparing in his denunciations of the lax party. Innocent IV. supported the lax party and Alexander IV. removed all restrictions to the academic activity of the order (1257), facilitating their access to the professorships of the universities.

(2) *The Everlasting Gospel.* By this time the leaders of the strict party had become imbued with the prophetic spirit and the chiliasm of the Joachimites. In 1254 appeared "The Everlasting Gospel" (referring to Rev. 14 : 6). It consisted of three of Joachim's prophetical works, with introduction, notes, and applications to current events. Joachim's date for the end of the age (1260) still held good, and the dispensation of the Holy Ghost would be inaugurated in six years. The publication of this work created immense excitement. Gherardo, a leader of the strict party, who had obtained a chair in the University of Paris, seems to have been the editor. It constituted one of the boldest attacks on the papacy that had yet been made, and the Spiritual Franciscans who sympathized with it thereby put themselves in the position of a heretical sect. Gherardo was thrown into prison where, on a diet of bread and water, he languished for eighteen years, remaining faithful to his convictions. John of Parma resigned and retracted, and is said for thirty-two years to have lived the life of an angel and to have remained a faithful Joachimite. Bonaventura, his successor, sought to harmonize the discordant elements and to curb the laxity of the dominant party.

(3) *Persecution of the Spirituales.* The council of Lyons (1374) gave the Mendicants the right to hold property. This action intensified the inner strife of the Franciscans. The Spirituales were now cruelly persecuted, large numbers of them rotting in prison, deprived of spiritual as well as material help. Boniface IX. surrendered them

to the tender mercies of the Inquisition (1296–1297). The details of their sufferings cannot here be given.

(4) *Pierre Jean Olivi.* The most noted representative of the Spirituales during the latter part of the thirteenth century was Pierre Jean Olivi, whose writings were condemned and who, after his death (1298), was adjudged a heretic.

The modified Joachimism of the Spiritual Franciscans became widespread through persecution and we need henceforth never be at a loss to account for the appearance of this mode of thought. The identification of the papacy with Antichrist became one of the fixed thoughts in the minds of chiliastic reformers everywhere. We see the influence of Joachim and the Spirituales in Wycliffe, in the predecessors of Huss in Bohemia, such as Militz, Matthias of Janow, etc., in the Taborites, and in the chiliastic Anabaptists of the sixteenth century.

III. PANTHEISTIC HERESY.

1. *Amalric of Bena* (*d.* 1207).

LITERATURE: Preger, "*Gesch. d. deutschen Mystik*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 166, *seq.*, and 173, *seq.*; Jundt, "*Hist. du Panthéisme populaire au M. A.*"; Lea, "Hist. of the Inquisition," Vol. II., p. 320, *seq.*; art. "Amalric" in Herzog-Hauck, third ed.

(1) *Sketch of Amalric.* Amalric was professor of philosophy and then of theology in the University of Paris and was a favorite of Prince Louis, the heir apparent. Condemned for heresy by the university (1204), he appealed to the pope, who compelled him to abjure (1207). He is said to have died of mortification shortly afterward. He was charged with teaching that "God is everything (or all things), that each Christian is bound to believe that he is a member of Christ, no one who does not believe this being saved, and that to those constituted in love no sin is imputed."

(2) *The Amalricians.* His followers are said to have divided religious history into three ages: the age of the Father, beginning with the incarnation of God in Abraham; the age of the Son, beginning with the incarnation of God in Mary (Jesus); the age of the Spirit, beginning with the incarnation of God in the Amalricians. With the inauguration of the age of the Son the Mosaic law ceased to be binding (antinomianism). With the inaugu-

ration of the age of the Spirit the ordinances of Christ were abrogated. They rejected therefore all external ordinances. The resurrection of the dead they supposed to be accomplished in the regeneration of the believer. Hell they identified with a consciousness of sin. They claimed that God spoke in Ovid as much as in Augustine, and that every man is God in precisely the same sense as Christ is God. They are said to have held that to one who is in the Spirit the deeds of the flesh do not constitute sin.

The Amalricians seem never to have become very numerous. From time to time they fell into the hands of the Inquisition. Their influence on later bodies will appear hereafter.

2. *Beghards and Beguines.*

LITERATURE: Mosheim, "*De Beghardis*"; Hahn, "*Gesch. d. Ketzer*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 420, *seq.*; Jundt, "*Hist. du Panthéisme pop.*," p. 42, *seq.*; Lea, "Hist. of the Inq.," Vol. II., p. 350, *seq.*; Haupt, "*D. rel. Sekten in Franken*," *Seit.* 5, *seq.*, and art. in Herzog-Hauck, third ed.; Döllinger, "*Sektengeschichte*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 378, *seq.*, and 702, *seq.*

These semi-monastic brotherhoods and sisterhoods probably owed their origin to the priest Lambert de Bègue (d. 1187). The sisterhoods seem first to have come into prominence. The age was one of great religious excitement, and the Crusades had withdrawn hundreds of thousands of men from the population, leaving multitudes of women without opportunity of marriage and unprovided for. This accounts in part for the founding of these institutions, whose members engaged largely in the work of caring for the sick, and who supported themselves by manual labor and if necessary by begging. Many of them became fanatical under the influence of the Spiritual Franciscans and from other causes. Similar institutions for men appeared early in the thirteenth century. They spread rapidly throughout Europe, being especially numerous in the Netherlands and adjoining countries. Some of the brotherhoods and sisterhoods came under the influence of the pantheistic teachings of the Amalricians and adopted the immoral views and practices ascribed to the latter.

3. *Brethren of the Free Spirit.*

LITERATURE: Hahn, "*Gesch. d. Ketzer*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 470, *seq.*; Lea, "Hist. of the Inq.," Vol. II., p. 123, *seq.*, 322, *seq.*, 404, *seq.*; Wattenbach, "*Ueber d. Sekte d. Brüder v. fr. Geiste*" (in the "Proceedings of the Bav. Acad.," 1887); Jundt, "*Hist. du Panthéisme*"; Preger, "*Gesch. d. deutschen Mystik*"; Reuter, "*Gesch. d. rel. Aufklärung im M. A.*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 240, *seq.*; Haupt, in Herzog-Hauck, third ed., "*Brüder d. fr. Geistes.*"

The Brethren of the Free Spirit are not accurately distinguished in mediæval writings from the Amalricians and the Beghards. It is not probable that all the parties thus designated, who were arraigned from time to time in different parts of Europe from the middle of the thirteenth century onward, were historically connected the one with the other, but all alike were directly or indirectly related to Amalric. It is probable that the later Brethren of the Free Spirit owed their origin more directly to the pantheistic teachings of Master Eckart, which the unlearned and less churchly could easily have perverted into the antinomianism with which they are charged. Some of the Brethren are represented as ascetical and pure in their lives, but as rejecting all church ordinances and holding to the set of views known as Amalrician, while others are represented as, like some of the Amalricians, denying that carnal indulgences are sinful for the spiritual man.

There is no sufficient reason for connecting the Brethren of the Free Spirit with the Ortidiebarians, who seem to have been fundamentally a Catharistic sect with Waldensian antecedents, or with Nicholas of Basel, the "Friend of God" (d. 1397).

There was no doubt in some cases a blending of the apocalyptic-chiliastic teaching of the Joachimites with the pantheistic teachings of Amalric.

The popular pantheism of the Middle Ages persisted until the sixteenth century, when it reappeared in the Libertines and related parties. In one form or other it still reappears from time to time (as in "Christian Science," etc.).

IV. EVANGELICAL SEPARATISM.

1. *The Petrobrusians and the Henricians.*

LITERATURE: Peter the Venerable, "*Tractatus adversus Petrobrusianos Hæreticos*"; Döllinger, "*Sektengeschichte*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 75, *seq.*;

Gieseler, "Ecc. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 533, *seq.*; Lea, "Hist. of the Inquisition," Vol. I., p. 69, *seq.*; Neander, "*Der heil. Bernard u. sein Zeitalter*"; Hahn, "*Gesch. d. Ketzer im M. A.*," *Bd.* I.; Füsslin, "*Kirchen- und Ketzergesch.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 189, *seq.*

(1) *Antecedents and Rise of these Parties.* It is impossible to determine with certainty the source of the impulse that started the Roman Catholic priest Peter de Bruys and the Roman Catholic monk Henry of Lausanne on their reformatory careers. No doubt a considerable amount of evangelical life and thought had been perpetuated in the corrupt churches that had come under the control of the Roman hierarchy. Protests against ecclesiastical corruption had been uttered by churchmen from time to time during the period of growing corruption.

a. Claudius of Turin (d. 832 or earlier), a native of Spain, sent by the Emperor Louis the Pious as bishop of Turin to counteract Mohammedan influence and to contend against the prevailing heathenism in northern Italy, adopted Augustine's theology, after eliminating its sacerdotal elements, and on the basis of the Scriptures insisted upon the immediateness of the relation of the believer to God. "Whoever seeks from any creature in heaven or on earth the salvation which he should seek from God alone, is an idolater." He denounced image worship and removed images from the churches over which he presided. Departed saints, he taught, do not wish to be worshiped and can render us no service. Prayers for the dead are of no avail. The worship of the cross he regarded as absurd. We had as well worship every virgin, because Christ was born of a virgin, and every manger because he rested in one. We are to bear the cross, not worship it. Crucifixes were an abomination to him. Pilgrimages to Rome and elsewhere for merit he discountenanced, holding to the futility of all external works as means of gaining the divine favor. He denied that any one is apostolical because he sits in the seat of an apostle. He denied that Peter had received any power to bind and to loose and regarded him as the divinely commissioned founder of the Jewish, as Paul was of the Gentile, church. That so thoroughgoing and aggressive an evangelical should have been permitted to end his life in the episcopate of the hierarchical church is

evidence of the comparative freedom that still existed, and there can be no doubt but that his influence long continued to be felt in Northern Italy and Southern France. Claudius may be regarded as having revived or perpetuated the influence of Jovinian and Vigilantius, and as a connecting link between these early reformers and the evangelicals of the twelfth century.

b. Again, it is possible that side by side with the dualistic heresy that from time to time attracted the attention of the authorities during the eleventh century a purer form of evangelical dissent may have found place. From the considerations set forth in the preceding section it is evident that the Cathari differed greatly among themselves in the nature and degree of their dualism. It is probable that in some the dualistic element did not much exceed the bounds of orthodoxy, and that the evangelical element closely approached in its strength and purity what we find in the Petrobrusians and their successors. Men educated in the Roman Catholic Church, like Peter and Henry, might well have been awakened by the purity of life, the zeal, and the self-sacrificing spirit of the better class of Cathari, while their knowledge of the Scriptures and of the evangelical writings of the earlier time would have sufficed to guard them from dualistic error.

To conclude with Döllinger, that because we can find only Catharistic antecedents for the Petrobrusians and Henricians, and because the latter agreed with the former in rejecting infant baptism, image worship, cross worship, saint worship, the use of consecrated church buildings, and all of the non-scriptural appurtenances of the hierarchical church, Peter and Henry were themselves Cathari, is wholly unjustified. That they were not Cathari is evident from the following considerations: (*a*) The Cathari, as we know them, rejected water baptism; the Petrobrusians are charged with rejecting infant baptism and with rebaptizing those christened in infancy. (*b*) The Cathari abstained from animal food; the Petrobrusians are accused of violating fasts. (*c*) The Cathari rejected marriage; Peter is charged with compelling monks "by terrors and torments to marry," and Henry with removing impediments to marriage and urging men and women who had lived irregularly to enter the married state. (*d*) Their chief Catholic opponent does not stigmatize them as Manichæan and refrains from accusing them of rejecting the Old Testament.[1]

[1] For fuller refutation of Döllinger's position see article by the author in "Proceedings of the American Society of Church History," Vol. IV., p. 183, *seq.*

(2) *Sketches of Peter and Henry.* *a.* Little is known of the life of Peter de Bruys before his appearance as a reformer (*c.* 1104). For the facts of his career we are dependent almost wholly on the polemical writing of Peter the Venerable, and a slight notice in Abelard's "Introduction to Theology." From these we learn that he was a priest; that he was a pupil of Abelard, the great free-thinker of the century; that for over twenty years he preached throughout Southern France, where the Cathari already abounded, with enthusiasm and success, baptizing large numbers on a profession of their faith, denouncing the use of crosses and destroying them when he could, and causing priests and monks to be despised and sometimes roughly handled by the people; that, though his preaching was subversive of the established order, he was able for many years to defy the hierarchy and to preserve life and liberty; and that he was at last burned (*c.* 1126) on a heap of crosses that he had lighted, are the chief facts recorded.

Peter the Venerable, addressing the authorities in a region where Peter and Henry had been at work, wrote: "In your parts the people are rebaptized, the churches profaned, the altars overthrown, crosses burned, on the very day of our Lord's passion flesh is publicly eaten, priests are scourged, monks imprisoned and compelled by terrors and tortures to marry." Again: "O miserable men, whoever you are, who have yielded not to many nations, but to two wretched little men only, Peter de Bruys and Henry, his pseudo-apostle."

b. To the wonderful eloquence and popularity of Henry of Lausanne abundant testimony is borne by his Catholic contemporaries. We first meet him (*c.* 1116) as a Clugniac monk, left in charge of the spiritual work of his diocese by the bishop of Mans during his visit to Rome. The records of the diocese show how he utilized his position. He had already gained a great reputation for strictness of living, humility, and courage. "By his speech," it was said, "a heart of stone could easily be moved to compunction." He soon had the diocese thoroughly awakened regarding spiritual things. Clergy and people were moved to tears by his earnest appeals. He is said to have resounded in so oracular a manner that it appeared as if legions of demons howled forth their murmurs at one opening of his mouth. "Nevertheless he

was in a wonderful manner eloquent, his speech infused through their ears adhered to the minds of the common people like fresh poison." The people rose up in fury against the clergy and their familiars, regarding them as heathen and publicans, and refusing to sell to them or buy from them. It was thought that had not the civil authorities intervened they would have destroyed the priests' houses, scattered their goods, and would have stoned the priests themselves. Immoral women were induced publicly to burn their meretricious attire and their hair. He convinced the people that they need not insist upon receiving with their wives, gold, silver, possessions, or marriage portions, or bestow a dowry, but that an empty-handed man might marry an empty-handed woman, and that all conventionalities in regard to marriage might be ignored. Some who had lived unchastely together were induced to marry. He took up collections in order that some provision might be made for the extremely poor. He seems to have regarded marriage as the best remedy for the terrible immorality that prevailed in the diocese.

Henry is said to have associated himself with Peter de Bruys and for ten years these zealous preachers carried on conjointly their evangelistic work. In 1134 he was arrested by the archbishop of Arles and was pronounced a heretic in the Council of Pisa, but he was on some ground permitted to depart and he resumed his propaganda with unabated zeal. In 1147 Pope Eugenius III. commissioned Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cardinal Albericus to counteract his destructive work in Languedoc, etc. It was found that the people would not come near the churches, despised the "divine mystery," and refused to pay the customary dues or to accord the customary reverence to the priests. Henry was thrown into prison, where he probably died in 1148.

(3) *Doctrines and Practices of Peter and his Followers.* Peter the Venerable, a contemporary, charges them with the following heretical (?) views:

a. They denied that children before they had come to an intelligible age could be saved by the baptism of Christ; that another person's faith could profit those that could not use their own—according to the Scripture:

"He that believeth," etc. They protested against the charge that they rebaptized, regarding the christening of infants as unworthy of the name.

b. They maintained that temples and churches ought not to be built, and that those built ought to be torn down; that sacred places were not necessary for worship; that God hears prayers as well in a tavern as in a church, in a market-place as in a temple, before a stable as before an altar.

c. They maintained that crosses ought to be broken to pieces and burned, denying that the instruments by which Christ was cruelly slain should be adored, or venerated, or supplicated.

d. They denied that the body and blood of Christ could be wrought and offered by the priest, regarding the claim to do so as absurd and sacrilegious. They are charged not simply with rejecting the papal view of the Lord's Supper, but also, apparently, with rejecting the outward ordinance altogether. If so, it was probably on account of its superstitious associations.

e. Sacrifices, prayers, alms, and other works for the dead, made by the living, they derided, holding that such things were of no avail, each one's lot being decided permanently at death.

f. That God is mocked by ecclesiastical chanting, because he who delights in pious feelings alone, can neither be appealed to by high tones, nor soothed by musical modulations.

g. In addition to these points, Peter the Venerable informs us casually that Peter de Bruys rejected the authority of the Fathers and of tradition, adhering to the Scriptures alone. Peter the Venerable had heard that they held only to the Gospels, rejecting the Old Testament and parts of the New Testament, but was not sure that this was true.

2. *Arnold of Brescia, the Arnoldists, the Humiliati, and the Poor Men of Lombardy.*

LITERATURE: R. Breyer, "*Arnold von Brescia*" (in Maurenbrecher's "*Historischen Taschenbuch*," 1889), "*Die Arnoldisten*," (in Brieger's "*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*," XII., 1891); Giesebrecht, "*Arnold von Brescia*," 1873; Tocco, "*L' Eresia nel Medio Evo*,"

1884; Hausrath, "*Arnold von Brescia*," 1891; excellent art. by Deutsch in Herzog-Hauck, third ed., *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 117–122.

(1) *Sketch of Arnold.* The main facts of Arnold's remarkable career are well known. He was of noble lineage, and was born and reared at Brescia. Like Peter de Bruys he studied under the famous teacher and free-thinker, Peter Abelard. On his return to Italy, full of zeal for the reformation of Church and State, he was admitted into one of the lower grades of the clergy. But he saw in the secularization of the church, and in the devotion of clergy, high and low, and of the monastic orders as well, to the accumulation of wealth as means of luxury and oppression, the root of the corruptions of the time, and he was able to give all the greater emphasis to his scathing denunciations of ecclesiastical corruption by reason of his own austerity and sanctity of life. He demanded the complete renunciation of all wealth, on the part of the church as a whole and of individual clergy and monks, high and low, and a complete withdrawal from all secular affairs, insisting that to the civil rulers alone all property rightly belongs, to be administered for the well-being of the people, and that the clergy should be supported entirely by the freewill offerings of the people. Owing to a general recognition of the extreme corruptions of the time, his views met with general acceptance throughout Northern Italy, but having been accused of heresy by his bishop in a Lateran synod he was obliged to leave Italy in 1139. He returned to France, where he defended Abelard against Bernard and others, and soon had this fierce and unrelenting heresy-hunter on his track. He went thence to Switzerland, where he labored with acceptance and success for a time under the protection of the liberally inclined bishop of Constance, until the zeal of Bernard, who warned the bishop not to harbor this "roaring lion," this "enemy of the church," wrought his expulsion from Switzerland. He found protection with a papal legate who soon became Pope Cœlestin II., and in Rome during a decade (1145–1155) he was at the head of a popular movement that aimed at the restoration of the ancient form of government and was able to expel the pope and to establish and

maintain for a while a new *régime*. In the treaty between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III. he was basely sacrificed by the former to the latter, and executed in pursuance of this arrangement. He was hanged, his dead body was burned, and his ashes were cast into the Tiber, lest his followers should gather his remains for sacred relics.

(2) *Arnold's Reformatory Views.* The questions about which there has been difference of opinion are the following: Was Arnold a religious schismatic as well as a social and political agitator? Did he attack the doctrinal system of the church? Did he found a sect? We should attach very little importance to Bernard's railings, who stigmatizes him as a schismatic, if we had no better evidence to rely upon.

Otto, of Freising, one of the best informed and most judicial of the contemporary authorities, remarks that "besides these things (that is, his demand for reform in the directions mentioned above), he is said to have been astray with reference to the sacrament of the altar and the baptism of infants." The former part of this statement is confirmed by several writers; the second part has commonly been supposed to be unconfirmed and to rest upon a confounding of Arnold with Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne.

It has recently been claimed by Breyer, to whom the writer is deeply indebted, that Durandus confirms Otto's report as to Arnold's unsatisfactory views on infant baptism,[1] and that this notice of Otto's can no longer be looked upon as resting on a confounding of Arnold with the Petrobrusians. It is pretty certain, at all events, that Arnold was no mere churchly reformer, but that he held to views radically antagonistic to the current orthodoxy. It would be natural to suppose, in view of his long-continued activity and his strong influence over the masses, that he impressed his views regarding the sacra-

[1] The passage cited by Breyer has reference not directly to Arnold, but rather to the Arnoldists. The use made of it by Breyer is justifiable only on the supposition that the Arnoldists derived their views from Arnold of Brescia. Durandus does not even say directly that the Arnoldists were astray as regards infant baptism; but their denial that the Holy Spirit is received in connection with the baptismal act is probably thought by Breyer to imply a radically anti-Romanist conception of the ordinance as such. The passage is as follows: "*Arnoldistæ . . . asserunt, quod nunquam per baptismum aquæ homines Spiritum sanctum accipiunt, nec Samaritani baptizati illum receperunt, donec manus impositionem acceperunt.*"

ments, as well as regarding political, social, and religious reform, on large numbers of his contemporaries.

It is highly probable in itself that he founded a sect. The testimony of contemporaries changes the probability into a certainty. It is related by Johannes Saresberiensis in his "*Historia Pontificalis*," that during his stay in Rome Arnold "founded a sect of men which is still (about 1164) called the heresy of the Lombards," and that its adherents, on account of the uprightness, rigor, and piety of their lives, had found the most enthusiastic support among the people and especially among pious women. Johannes was resident in Rome during Arnold's time, and must have known whereof he affirmed. Arnold was beyond doubt the founder of a sect.

(3) *The Arnoldists*. The next question to be settled is, whether he was founder of the sect known during the succeeding century as the *Arnoldists*. The affirmative has been maintained by most writers, including Leger, Füsslin, Muratori, Dieckhoff, Tocco, and Keller; the negative by Gottfried Arnold, Guadagnini, and Giesebrecht. The latter view has rested, no doubt, on a failure to find convincing evidence that Arnold held to anti-Catholic views, or that he was the founder of any sect. Those who accept the evidence that Arnold founded a sect can hardly fail to regard it as highly probable that the Arnoldists of history derived their impulse as well as their name from Arnold of Brescia. The fact that the Arnoldists flourished in Lombardy, where Arnold's influence is known to have been greatest, is, moreover, strongly favorable to the identification of the Arnoldists with the followers of Arnold of Brescia.

What, then, were the views of the Arnoldists, and what do we know of their history? They agreed with Cathari, Petrobrusians, and other sects, in their uncompromising hostility to the Roman Catholic Church, directed especially against the secularization and the corrupt lives of the clergy, whose ministration of the sacraments they considered invalid. They denied the efficacy of water baptism to secure remission of sins, and laid considerable stress upon the imposition of hands as complementary to baptism. That, like the Cathari, they rejected water baptism and substituted therefor the *Consolamentum*,

there is no credible evidence. Our information about the Arnoldists is extremely meager; but they are mentioned with sufficient frequency in the Roman Catholic literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to prove that they persisted as a distinct party until long after the rise of the Waldenses. It is certain that, like Arnold and Peter de Bruys, they made the apostolic church their model, and aimed to restore Christianity to its primitive purity and simplicity. Tocco affirms "that the Poor Men of Lombardy descended in a direct line from the Arnoldists."

(4) *The Humiliati.* The origin of this party as regards circumstances and date is exceedingly obscure. It seems to have arisen some time between 1017 and 1184, probably during the reign of Frederick I. There is an old tradition, not improbable in itself, that it was organized by a party of Italian noblemen who were taken captive to Germany, and on their return resolved to abandon rank, to devote themselves to a semi-monastic communal life, and to support themselves by the labor of their hands. Their chief industry seems to have been wool-weaving, and they are said to have had almost a monopoly of this industry in certain parts of Italy.

Little is known of their views, except that they rejected oaths. The party seems at first to have been composed chiefly of laymen, and celibacy was not required. Before the close of the twelfth century there were two parties, one of which was in harmony with the church, and the other classed by the church among heretics. It is highly probable that the heretical Humiliati became so through Arnoldistic influence.

In 1184 Pope Lucius III., in a bull against the heresies of the time in Lombardy, mentioned the Humiliati and the Poor Men of Lyons as if they were one and the same party (*qui se humiliatos vel pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur*). It is improbable that such a statement would have found place in an official document emanating from the Roman Curia with reference to contemporary Italian sects, unless at that time some sort of relationship was known to have been established between the anti-churchly Humiliati and the followers of Peter Waldo.

3. *Early Evangelical Movements in the Netherlands and the Rhine Valley.*

LITERATURE: Hahn, "*Gesch. d. Ketzer im M. A.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 459, *seq.*, and 463, *seq.*; Schmidt, "*Hist. et. Doctr. de la Secte des Cathares*," Vol. I., p. 48, *seq.*; Lea, "Hist. of the Inquisition," Vol. I., p. 64, *seq.*; Gieseler, "Eccl. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 532, *seq.*; Müller, "*Kirchengesch.*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 495, *seq.*

(1) *Tanchelm* (1115–1124), a contemporary of Peter de Bruys, preached with enthusiasm and success in the Netherlands. Multitudes thronged his discourses and treated him like a king. He denounced the churches as brothels; denied that the priestly consecration in the Supper was of any value,—their rites being pollutions rather than sacraments; insisted that the virtue of sacraments depends upon the character of the administrator, and dissuaded the people from receiving the eucharist at the hands of the priests and from paying tithes for their support. He is charged with claiming to be equal to Christ in sanctity and in the possession of the plenitude of the Holy Spirit. His disciples are said to have held him in such reverence that they drank the water in which he bathed. These reports have the appearance of gross exaggerations. Apart from the fanaticism that seems to be involved in these charges, his teaching seems to have closely resembled that of Peter de Bruys.

(2) *Eudo de Stella* (d. *c.* 1148), preached with like fervor in Brittany. He was of noble birth, but is said to have been illiterate. He is charged with having made fanatical claims regarding his divine commission to reform Christendom. The people were attracted to him in great numbers and followed him, it is said, as if he had been the Lord of lords. Under the influence of his violent denunciations of ecclesiastical corruptions the people went forth destroying churches and monasteries. The civil authorities long sought in vain to apprehend him. In 1148 he was seized and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment by the council of Rouen under Pope Eugenius III. He probably died soon afterward.

The following description of the heresy that abounded in this region by Hugo, archbishop of Rouen (1145), is thought to refer to the

teachings of Eudo and his disciples: "The sacraments profit only the intelligent, not the ignorant; they profit adults, they bestow nothing upon little children. They condemn the baptism of little children and infants and say: 'In the gospel we read, *Whosoever shall have believed*, etc.; but little children do not believe. Therefore baptisms do not profit little children.' Again: 'If justification is of faith and salvation is of baptism, what does confirmation, made by the hand of a pontiff, add to those who believe and have been baptized, to those who are justified and saved?'"

(3) Similar bands of dissenters appeared at about the same time in the Rhenish provinces. About 1115 a number of heretics, among them two presbyters, were brought before the authorities at Treves. They denied the transmutation of the bread and the wine into the body and blood of Christ in the hands of the priests, "nor did they say that the sacrament of baptism profits little children unto salvation." The reporter charged them with having taught many other erroneous things that he thought it wrong to record.

In a letter to Bernard (1146), Evervin, provost at Steinfeld, describes certain Catharistic heretics that infested the neighborhood of Cologne and carefully distinguished from these, as "absolutely at variance with them, certain other heretics in our land":

> They deny that the body of Christ is made at the altar, on the ground that all the priests of the church are not consecrated. For the apostolic dignity, they say, has been corrupted, implicating itself in secular affairs; and in the chair of Peter not fighting with God, as did Peter, it has deprived itself of the power of consecrating, which was given to Peter. . . And so they make void the priesthood of the church, and condemn the sacraments, except baptism alone, and this in adults, who, they say, are baptized by Christ, whoever may be the administrator of the sacrament. In the baptism of little children they have no confidence on account of that gospel passage: "Whosoever shall have believed," etc. They are further represented as rejecting marriage unless both parties are virgins, as repudiating the suffrages of the saints and fasts and other afflictions for sins, and as calling "superstitions" all observances in the church that "Christ and his apostles have not established." They rejected the doctrine of purgatory, maintaining "that immediately after they go forth from the body souls pass either into eternal rest or eternal punishment."

4. *The Waldenses.*

LITERATURE: Waldensian documents published in Leger, Hahn, Herzog, etc.; "*Rescriptum Heresiarcharum Lombardie ad Pau-*

peres de Lugduno qui sunt in Alamania," recently discovered and edited by Preger—a most important document; Bernhard, "*Adv. Waldensium Sectam*" (*Max. Bib.* XXIV.); Alanus ab Insulis, "*Summa quadripartita adv. Hær.*"; Walter Mapes, of Oxford, "*De Secta Waldensium*" (in Hahn, Vol. II., p. 257, *seq.*); Petrus Vall. Sern., "*Hist. Albigensium*" (in Duchesne); Stephanus de Borbonne (in D'Argentré, I.); Rainerius, "*Summa de Catharis et Leonistis seu Pauperibus de Lugduno*" (Martène *et* Durand, V.); Moneta, "*Adv. Catharos et Waldenses*"; "*De Hær. Pauper. de Lugduno*" (in Martène *et* Durand, V.); Limborch, "*Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosanæ*"; Hahn, "*Gesch. d. Waldenser*"; Dieckhoff, "*Die Waldenser*"; Herzog, "*Die Romanischen Waldenser*"; Preger, "*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter*," 1875, "*Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über die Waldesier*," 1878, "*Ueber das Verhältnis der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern des XIV. Jahrhunderts*," 1887, "*Ueber die Verfassung der französischen Waldesier in den älteren Zeit*," 1890; Müller, "*Die Waldenser und ihre einzelnen Gruppen bis zum Anfang des XIV. Jahrhunderts*" (first published in the "*Theol. Studien und Kritiken*," 1886, *Heft* IV., and 1887, *Heft* I.), Review of writings of Keller, Haupt, and Jostes on the "*Codex Teplensis*," in the "*Theol. Studien und Kritiken*," *Heft* II., 1886, and *Heft* III., 1887; Haupt, "*Die religiösen Sekten in Franken vor der Reformation*," 1882, "*Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung der mittelalterlichen Waldenser*," 1885, "*Der Waldensische Ursprung des Codex Teplensis und der vorlutherischen deutschen Bibeldrucke*," 1886, "*Waldensia*" (in "*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* X., *Heft.* II., 1888), "*Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland*," 1890; Keller, "*Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien*," 1885, "*Die Waldenser und die Deutschen Bibelübersetzungen. Nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Reformation*," 1886, "*Zur Geschichte der Altevangelischen Gemeinden. Vortrag, gehalten zu Berlin am 20 April, 1887*," 1887, "*Johann von Staupitz und die Anfänge der Reformation*," 1888; W. Wattenbach, "*Ueber die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg*," 1886; Comba, "*Valdo ed i Valdesi avanti la Riforma*," 1880, "*Storia della Riforma in Italia narrata col Sussidio di Nuovi Documenti*," 1881, "*Histoire des Vaudois d'Italie depuis leurs Origines jusqu'a nos Jours. Première Partie: Avant la Réforme*," 1887 (also Eng. tr. "The Waldenses of Italy, from their Origin to the Reformation," London, 1888); Döllinger, "*Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*," *1 Theil:* "*Geschichte der Gnostisch-Manichäischen Sekten*"; *2 Theil:* "*Dokumente vornehmlich zur Geschichte der Valdesier und Katharer*," 1890; Lea, "A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages," New York, 1888, *passim*; C. Douais, "*Practica Inquisitionis Heretice Pravitatis, Auctore Bernardo Guidonis Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum. Document publié pour la première fois*," Paris, 1886; Friess, "*Patarener, Begharden und Waldenser in Oesterreich während des Mittelalters*," 1872; Knatz, "*Vaudois et Taborites*," 1889; Fredericq, "*Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Neerlandicæ*," 1889; Duverger, "*L'Inquisition en Belgique*," 1888; Goll, "*Die Waldenser im Mittelalter und ihre Literatur*" (in "*Mittheilungen des Inst. für Oesterr. Gesch.*," *Bd.* IX., 1888), "*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder*," Prag, 1878–1882; Klimesch, "*Der Codex Teplensis*," 1881–1884; Jostes, "*Die Waldenser und die vor-*

lutherische deutsche Bibelübersetzungen," 1885, "*Die Tepler Bibelübersetzung. Eine zweite Kritik*," 1886; Weiss, "*Untersuchungen zur Bestimmung des Dialectes des Codex Teplensis*," 1887; Rachel, "*Ueber die Freiberger Bibelhandschrift nebst Beiträgen zur Gesch. d. vorlutherischen Bibelübersetzung*," 1886; S. Berger, "*La Bible Française au Moyen Age*," 1884; Montet, "*Histoire Littéraire des Vaudois du Piemont*," Paris, 1885; Kolde, "*J. von Staupitz, ein Waldenser und ein Wiedertäufer*" ("*Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.*," 1885); W. Böhm, "*Friedrich Reiser's 'Reformation des K. Sigmund,'*" 1876; Tocco, "*L' Eresia nel Medio Evo*," 1884; F. Palacky, "*Ueber die Beziehungen und das Verhältnis der Waldenser zu den ehemiligen Sekten in Böhmen*," 1869; Möller, Review of Preger's "*Ueber die Verfassung der französischen Waldesier*," and of Haupt's "*Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland*," in "*Theologische Litteratur-Zeitung*," No. 15, 1891; L. Lemme, Review of Keller's "*J. von Staupitz und die Anfänge der Reformation*," in "*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*," *Heft* I., 1890; Melia, "The Origin, Persecutions, and Doctrines of the Waldenses," 1870.

(1) *Origin of the Waldenses.* According to early accounts, the founder of the sect was Peter Waldo, a wealthy merchant of Lyons, who, from curiosity to know the contents of the Scriptures, which he was accustomed to hear in Latin, employed two priests, the one to translate, and the other to copy into the vernacular, large portions of the Scriptures. It is probable that he was already inclined to make the Scriptures his guide. Certainly, when he came to a knowledge of scriptural truth he was not slow to put it into practice. Following the command given by Christ, when sending forth the Seventy, and in view of Christ's expressions with regard to the danger of wealth to the Christian life, Peter distributed his means to the poor, secured numerous followers, and, both personally and through his disciples, taught the Scriptures to all that would hear throughout that region, urging them to turn from their sins (*c.* 1170).

The Archbishop of Lyons forbade their preaching, on the ground that they were laymen; but they replied: "We must obey God rather than men." When the archbishop insisted upon a cessation of their work, they appealed to Pope Alexander III. (1179), sending him some of their translated books. Alexander commended their poverty, but refused to come between them and the archbishop. They continued to teach and preach, and appealed to Lucius III., successor to Alexander (1183). At the synod of Verona they were excommunicated (1184).

They now assumed a more decidedly hostile attitude toward the hierarchical church, and through their evangelical zeal spread rapidly all over the South of France and Piedmont, and into Italy, Spain, the Rhine Valley, etc.

Even as late as 1212 some of the Waldenses appealed to Innocent III., who gave them permission at Metz to assemble and read the Scriptures.

It is probable that Peter Waldo had been to some extent affected by the evangelical life developed in connection with the labors of Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne, though there is no evidence that he entered into any relations with these. He was content to carry on his evangelistic work within the church. His object at first was to reform the church by teaching the Scriptures and preaching the gospel to the common people in their own language. If the church had allowed him this liberty, he would probably not have become a separatist.

(2) *The Poor Men of Lyons, the Poor Men of Lombardy, their Relations to Each Other, and to the German and Austrian Evangelical Parties.* We have decisive proof that the followers of Peter Waldo entered into relations of some kind with some evangelical party in Lombardy. According to the "Rescript of the Heresiarchs of Lombardy to the Poor Men of Lyons who are in Germany,"[1] a convention was held at Bergamo, Lombardy, in 1218, between representatives of the Poor Men of Lombardy and the Poor Men of Lyons or followers of Peter Waldo, for the purpose of endeavoring to harmonize differences that had arisen between the two parties. From this document it is evident that the Waldenses had some time before formed a more or less closely cemented union with an evangelical party that they found already in Italy.

The chief points of difference were as follows: *a.* The Italians, like Arnold and his followers, insisted that the validity of the sacraments depends on the character of the person administering them; the Waldenses attributed the efficacy to the words of consecration.

b. The Italians insisted on the toleration of "congregations of workmen" for such as preferred this mode of

[1] "*Rescriptum Heresiarchum Lombardie ad Pauperes de Lugduno, qui sunt in Alamania,*" written about 1230 or earlier, and first edited by Preger in 1875.

life; while the Waldenses were strenuous in their demand for the abolition of such congregations. In this they doubtless reflected the opinion of Waldo himself, who had opposed this institution because of its incompatibility with the enthusiastic evangelism for which he stood. It is probable, as the Italians seem to admit, that the life of these institutions was far below the standard required by the Poor Men of Lyons and that reform was urgently needed. These congregations of workmen were probably heretical Humiliati.

These two points of difference furnish a highly probable ground for the conclusion reached by Preger (and in this conclusion Breyer and Karl Müller concur), that the party of Italians that entered into relationship with the followers of Waldo represents a blending of Arnoldist with Humiliatist elements. If this conclusion is accepted as valid, the thoroughgoing Protestantism of the Arnoldists, otherwise probable, is strongly confirmed. Since the publication of Döllinger's volume of documents, we are able to speak more positively than was possible before as to the early relations of the Poor Men of Lombardy and the Poor Men of Lyons. According to a writing called "*Supra Stella*" (1235), certain Italian brethren, under John Roncho, separated themselves from the Poor Men of Lyons. The mention of Roncho as the leader of the Lombardy party enables us to identify the Runcarians, mentioned by David of Augsburg as, along with the Poor Men of Lyons, the Ortidiebarians, the Arnoldists, and the Waldenses, having formerly constituted one sect with the Italian party of the "*Rescriptum*."

The "*Rescriptum*" and the "*Supra Stella*," mentioned in the preceding section, when taken in connection with statements of David of Augsburg and of an anonymous writer in Martène and Durand,[1] show that the followers of Peter Waldo had, soon after the beginning of his reformatory career, formed a union more or less complete with certain evangelical Christians in Lombardy; that the union was soon dissolved (1205) owing to serious differences of view; that representatives of the two parties met in convention at Bergamo in 1218 with a view to harmonizing these differences; that some time afterward, when the "*Rescriptum*" was written, the breach is as far as ever from being healed; and that at the date of the writing of "*Supra Stella*" (1235) the two parties are still recognized as distinct.

c. Another point at issue was that of a general superintendency. The Italians had asked to be assured as to the position of the Ultramontanes. Waldo, they had been informed, had strongly opposed the appointment during his lifetime or after his death of a general super-

[1] *Omnes Pauperes utriusque sectæ eundem modum consecrandi tenebant . . . ante divisionem quæ fuit inter eos.*

intendent (*prepositus*), and they had asked to be informed whether the Ultramontanes were resolved to adhere to this position. The Ultramontanes had expressed a willingness to meet with the Italians and in co-operation with them to elect superintendents for life or rectors for a time, as might be thought more useful to the community of believers or more in the interest of peace. The Italians, it would seem, had adopted the former practice, the Ultramontanes the latter. The practice of the two parties in the matter of appointing and ordaining ministers was likewise at variance, the Italians appointing for life, the Ultramontanes for a limited time.

d. The next question regards baptism. To certain inquiries of the Ultramontanes the Italians had replied: "We say that no one rejecting baptism of material waters can be saved, least of all do we believe that children not truly baptized are saved, and this we beseech them (the Ultramontanes) to believe and acknowledge." The Ultramontanes had mildly assented to this position in the following words: "We believe that no one is saved unless he shall have been baptized materially in water."

e. As regards the permanence of the married relation the Italians had expressed themselves thus: "We believe that no one ought to separate those lawfully married except for cause of fornication or by the consent of both parties." The Ultramontanes expressed a somewhat laxer view as follows: lawful wedlock "should not be dissolved except through the will of both parties, unless, in the opinion of the congregation of believers, just occasion should intervene."

The Poor Men of Lyons insisted upon the celibacy of the inner circle of evangelists, and did not hesitate to dissolve the marriage relation in favor of evangelism, which they emphasized above everything else.

On the foregoing points the two parties, though they were not entirely at one, were able to come to a good understanding. On two points they failed to reach a satisfactory basis of agreement.

f. The Ultramontanes insisted that the Italians should acknowledge that Waldo and Vivetus (one of his chief co-

laborers) "are in God's Paradise," and made such acknowledgment an indispensable condition of peace. The Italians would go no further than to say that "if before their death Waldo and Vivetus satisfied God for all their faults and offenses, they could be saved."

Six representatives of each party had held a prolonged conference over this question without reaching a more satisfactory result. The significance of this contention about Waldo and Vivetus has been pointed out in an instructive way by Müller. The probability is that Waldo had recently died and that his death was the occasion of the efforts to reunite the parties. The "faults and offenses" referred to would doubtless denote the Italians' view of the proceedings of Waldo and others that led to the schism.

g. The other point of serious difference was with regard to the Eucharist. Both parties believed in the real presence, apparently in transubstantiation. The question at issue was, whether transubstantiation takes place through the simple utterance of the divine words, so that even a Jew, a heathen, or a harlot can work the change; or whether it takes place only in answer to the sincere prayer of a believer who has been set apart for the administration of the ordinances. The Ultramontanes held to the former view, the Italians to the latter. The Ultramontanes based their contention on the theory that the administration of baptism and that of the Supper are to be placed on the same level. Both parties admitted that even a harlot could in an emergency validly baptize; if so, said the Ultramontanes, why could she not validly administer the Supper?

Such are the chief points of agreement and difference between the two parties, according to this interesting and important document. It must be confessed that neither party is as evangelical, according to this document, as we would fain regard it. Of the two parties the Italian is clearly the more anti-Catholic. Both alike hold to infant baptism; both alike insist on the necessity of water baptism to salvation—the Italians more emphatically than the Ultramontanes; both hold to transubstantiation, or something bordering on it, the Ultramontanes placing the transubstantiating efficacy in the words of celebration, the Italians in the personal character of the ministrant.

(3) *The Waldenses as Represented by Catholic Writers, about 1260.* Fortunately we are not wholly dependent on the "*Rescriptum*" for our information concerning the

Poor Men of Lyons. During the generation that followed the negotiations between the two parties a marked advance toward an evangelical position seems to have been made by both parties. Two contemporary writings are available, both describing the views and work of the Poor Men, but one representing a party more closely related to the Italian party of the "Rescript," the other to the Ultramontane party (*c.* 1260). These writings are abundantly confirmed by other documents of the immediately succeeding time.

a. The writer of the first document to be considered is designated by Preger the "Passau Anonymous." It is in connection with his work that the "Rescript" has been preserved. This is one indication of the close relationship of the Passau "Leonists" of 1260 with the Italian Poor Men of the "Rescript."

The author mentions forty-two places in the diocese of Passau that were infested with the heresy described. In twelve of these there were "schools" (conventicles) and in one of them a "bishop." He characterizes them as free from pride in the matter of attire, dressing neither luxuriously nor meanly. Their teachers are weavers and shoemakers. They avoid lying, swearing, and deceit. They are content with the necessaries of life and free from avarice. They live chastely. They are moderate in eating and drinking. They avoid all kinds of frivolous pastimes. They are all the time working, learning, or teaching. Both men and women among them commit large portions of Scripture, some of them the entire New Testament, to memory. The writer is frank enough to say that a clergyman can rarely be found who can repeat three chapters of Scripture. They labor with great caution, but very effectively, among the upper classes of the people. He gives us some interesting information as to their method of inculcating their views. He enumerates the abuses in the church that lead to heretical reaction, and a frightful exhibition of depravity this enumeration surely is.

He represents the heretics as decidedly hostile to the church and the clergy. He says that in Lombardy the heretics (meaning the same party whose presence in Austria he bewails) have more "schools" (conventicles) than the theologians and also more hearers. They dispute publicly and call the people to solemn assemblies in the market-place or in the open field. Nobody dares hinder them on account of their numbers.

A Roman Catholic document of 1398 represents the Austrian Waldenses as rejecting ninety-two points of papal doctrine and practice, and holding to thoroughly evangelical views. There is evidence, therefore, that the party in Austria became more and more evangelical, and it is certain that this party had much to do with the later evangelical movement in Bohemia and Moravia, and so with the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

b. The other Roman Catholic document which we must consider is the "Tractate of David of Augsburg,"[1] a Franciscan friar. David's writing is almost contemporary with that of the "Passau Anonymous." Like the latter he was an inquisitor, and the aim of his writing was to aid future inquisitors in detecting heresy. The heretics he has in view are the Poor Men of Lyons, whom he declares to be more noxious than others on account of their cautious methods of work, and their apparent simplicity of life and piety. He gives with some modifications the usual Roman Catholic account of the rise of the Poor Men of Lyons. He makes no mention of Waldo, but simply of "certain simple laymen" who, in a spirit of presumption, undertook "to live absolutely according to the doctrine of the gospel and to keep it perfectly to the letter." Having sought and failed to secure papal recognition, they began to claim that they were, in an especial manner, "disciples of Christ and successors of the apostles," and that "they alone were the imitators of Christ."

Having been excommunicated for presuming to teach and preach without papal authority, they "reputed that excommunication an eternal benediction to themselves, glorying in being successors of the apostles," in suffering persecution, as did the apostles, at the hands of "scribes and Pharisees."

He represents these heretics as rejecting absolutely all ecclesiastical miracles, all statutes of the church enacted after Christ's ascension, all festivals, fasts, orders, benedictions, and offices of the church, saying that these things had been introduced into the church by the clergy for avaricious ends. "They say that a man is then first baptized when he has been inducted into their heresy. But some say that baptism is of no avail to little children, inasmuch as they are not yet able actually to believe." "The sacrament of confirmation they reject, but their leaders (*magistri*) impose their hands upon their disciples instead of this sacrament." "They do not believe that the body and blood of Christ are truly present (in the Eucharist), but only blessed bread which in a certain figure is called the body of Christ." "But this (the valid administration of the Supper) some say is done only through good men, but others through all who know the words

[1] This document was published in a fragmentary form by Martène and Durand in their "*Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*," and the author was long supposed to be a Dominican friar named Yvonetus. Preger discovered the real author and published a full and critical text with prolegomena under the title, "*Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über die Waldesier*," München, 1878.

of consecration.[1] This also they celebrate in their own conventicles, reciting those words of the gospel," etc.

"They say also that a priest who is a sinner cannot bind or loose any one, since he himself is bound by sin, and that any good and intelligent layman whatever can absolve another and impose penance."

"They say that matrimony is sworn fornication unless they live continently."

"They say that every oath, even concerning what is true, is unlawful and is a mortal sin." Yet he says they allow those whose lives are in danger, etc., to swear. "They say that it is not lawful to slay evil-doers through secular judgment."

He subjoins certain Manichæan views which he attributes to "some," but which are quit antagonistic to the rest of the views of the Waldensian party he describes.

"They say there is no purgatory, but all the dying pass immediately into heaven or hell." Accordingly they rejected prayers, offerings, etc., for the dead. So also they had no faith in prayers to departed saints, or in their intercession for believers.

"The Old Testament they do not receive for believing, but only to learn some things from it in order therewith to attack us or to defend themselves."

The fact seems to be, that they rejected the use that was made of the Old Testament by the monks and clergy of the time, in support of the persecution of heretics, concubinage, sacerdotalism, legalism, etc., and held, in David's own words, that "the gospel supervening, all old things passed away."

He mentions also the use made by them of the patristic writings in defense of their dogmas.

"But not only do the men among them teach, but also the women, because to women there is better opportunity for perverting women, that through them they may also pervert the men."

According to David, there were two classes among the Poor Men of Lyons: the "perfect" (by whom he doubtless means the masters or ministers), who practised voluntary poverty and celibacy, and who devoted themselves entirely to religious work; and the "disciples," who ministered to the temporal wants of the masters, provided places of meeting, collected congregations, and in every way strove to promote the objects of the party.[2] Our

[1] This reminds us of the controversy between the Italian and the Ultramontane brethren; yet the change of sentiment as to the nature of the ordinance is remarkable.

[2] The relation between the "perfect" and the "disciples," as David represents it,

author gives an interesting account of the secret methods which they were obliged to adopt, and of the inaccessible and remote places, such as subterranean caverns, where for safety they were in the habit of holding their meetings.

He naïvely mentions the fact that "they do not call themselves heretics, which they are, but 'true Christians,' 'friends of God,' 'poor men of God,'" etc.

He calls attention to the existence of various parties among the heretics, and mentions four of them: The Poor Men of Lyons, the Ortidiebarians, the Arnostustians (probably the Arnoldists are meant), the Runcharians, and the Waltenses. He does not mention the particulars in which they are at variance, but says that "they all unanimously hold the church in detestation."

(4) *Church Polity of the Waldenses.* As has already appeared, the Waldenses consisted of an inner and outer circle. The inner circle (the *perfecti*, or the Poor Men proper) constituted the officers and the itinerant evangelists of the party. Only after years of training and testing were candidates admitted to the inner circle. This took place at the great annual meetings of the body (usually held in Lombardy). Renunciation of private property, celibacy, and a promise to devote themselves unreservedly to religious work, were conditions of admission. This inner circle had much in common with the monastic orders, especially with the Franciscan. The annual meeting of these initiated workers received reports of work from the entire field, received and distributed the funds collected during the year, appointed each worker to his sphere of labor, admitted candidates into the ranks of the *perfecti*, appointed and consecrated the general superintendent, elders, and deacons, as occasion arose, disciplined or excluded the unworthy, etc. The organization combined the features of a connectional church and a missionary society. The general superintendent, usually appointed for life, was virtually the monarchical head of the body. Presbyters and deacons constituted the other ranks of their three-fold ministry.

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is very similar to that which subsisted between the various monastic orders and the Tertiaries of these orders. These Tertiaries were very general after the rise of the Dominican and Franciscan orders.

Bernard Guy[1] gives in an apparently authentic form full information regarding the three-fold ministry and the methods of appointing and consecrating members of each rank. He supposes the possible presence of another bishop (*major*) at the ordination of a bishop. It is probable that at certain epochs, if not throughout the later Middle Ages, the territory covered by Waldensian work was subdivided into two or more provinces. There are some other indications of such subdivision. It is possible that bishops disabled by age and infirmities sometimes retired from the active superintendency and assisted in choosing and setting apart their successors.

Each newly appointed evangelist was obliged to travel for years in company with an experienced man before he was allowed to itinerate independently. Waldensian evangelists became familiar with all of the by-ways and became experts in disguising themselves and evading their persecutors.

Hospices, presided over usually by elderly women, were maintained by the society in each center of work, for the entertainment of itinerant preachers and as places of meeting for the outer circle. The organization of the body was so complete that it was possible, even in times of dire persecution, to carry forward the work with considerable vigor. The trade guilds were no doubt in many cases largely under their influence and furnished important aid for their propaganda.

As a means of avoiding detection the Waldenses usually allowed themselves to conform outwardly, as far as seemed necessary, to the Roman Catholic Church. In many cases they had their infants baptized by the priests and occasionally attended mass. When brought before the Inquisition a large proportion usually recanted, but the inquisitors soon learned that such recantation amounted to nothing and that they almost invariably relapsed.

(5) *Concluding Remarks.* *a.* From the materials that have been presented it appears that Waldo and his immediate followers differed little from enthusiastic churchly reformers like Dominic and Francis, who secured recognition from the hierarchy and constituted monastic orders. When freedom to teach was refused them they repudiated church authority and followed their religious impulses. It was some time after Waldo's death, and after his followers had come into influential contact with the more radical reformers of an earlier type, that they attained to a thoroughly evangelical position.

b. The Waldenses, like most of the churchly and non-churchly reforming parties of the Middle Ages, were anti-Augustinian in their theological conceptions. They laid especial stress on the direct teachings and the example of our Lord. The Sermon on the Mount they interpreted

[1] "*Practica Inquisitionis*," ed. Douais, p. 136, *seq.*

somewhat literally and attempted to carry out its precepts in their lives. On this ground they rejected oaths, warfare, magistracy, capital punishment, and usually even the right of self-defense. They laid great stress on suffering for and with Christ as a test of true discipleship. Private property, especially in the case of the inner circle, was renounced. Marriage was thought to be inconsistent with unreserved devotion to evangelistic work and was even dissolved in favor of such work. The ascetical principle was not carried by them to the extreme reached in monasticism, asceticism being regarded by them not as an end in itself but as a means to the great end of evangelizing the world.

c. From the middle of the thirteenth century onward the Waldenses and related parties seem to have repudiated the papal church with all its corruptions and departures from New Testament Christianity, and to have earnestly striven for the realization of apostolic simplicity and purity. They rejected the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation and insisted that Christ is present in the bread and the wine only spiritually. Many of them rejected infant baptism, as did Peter de Bruys and most of the evangelicals whom we meet in the twelfth century before Waldo. The New Testament was their text-book and even the women and children mastered it in a manner that surprised the ignorant priests of the time. This they circulated in vernacular versions.

The "*Codex Teplensis*," discovered a few years ago in a Bohemian monastery, has been proved to be a copy of an early Waldensian version and to represent the text of the earliest German printed Bible. Romance versions have also been preserved.[1]

d. It is impossible to form any well-assured estimate as to the numbers of the Waldenses and related parties during the later Middle Ages. But we have enough facts to justify a belief that they existed in nearly every part of Europe and that their adherents numbered tens, if not hundreds, of thousands. The fifteenth century was highly favorable for the spread of the old evangelical Christianity because of the continued and flagrant corruption of the papal church and the relaxation of the work of the

[1] See the author's "Recent Researches Conc. Med. Sects," p. 215, *seq.*

Inquisition. It was unfavorable to the preservation of historical data regarding their work precisely because of the lethargy of the authorities to whose inquisitorial proceedings we are chiefly indebted for information.

5. *The Taborites.*

LITERATURE: Krummel, "*Utraquisten u. Taboriten*"; Preger, "*Ueber d. Verhältnis d. Taboriten zu d. Waldesiern d. XIV. Jahrh.*"; Palacky, "*Ueber d. Beziehungen u. d. Verhältnis d. Waldenser zu d. ehemaligen Sekten in Böhmen*"; Zezschwitz, "*D. Katechismen d. Waldenser u. Böhmischen Brüder*"; Gindely, "*Gesch. d. Böhm. Brüder*"; Bezold, "*Zur Gesch. d. Husitismus*"; Haupt, "*Waldenserthum u. Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland*"; Loserth, "*Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Husitischen Bewegung*"; Goll, "*Quellen u. Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. Böhm. Brüder*," esp. Part II., pp. 47–64.

The Taborites represent the extreme democratic and religious development in connection with the Hussite movement in Bohemia. Owing to the fearful persecution to which they were subjected, the Taborites came to despair of the resources that are available for Christians under the present dispensation and to take refuge in millenarian expectations. But fundamentally they were so evangelical that they may properly be considered here.

(1) *Relation of the Taborites to the Waldenses.* This question has been much discussed within recent years. It has been abundantly proved by Preger and others that the Waldenses of the stricter (Italian) party were numerous and aggressive in Bohemia during the fourteenth century. Heretics supposed to have been Waldenses were so numerous in the possessions of the Baron of Neuhaus (southern Bohemia) about 1340 as to defy their Catholic adversaries, whom they are said to have threatened to destroy in case their liberties were interfered with. The teachings of the Taborites were almost identical with those of the more evangelical Waldenses. On the other hand, Loserth has proved the identity of most of the teachings of the Taborites with those of Wycliffe, whose writings were at this time widely circulated in Bohemia and whose thoughts had been popularized by Huss. It seems best to suppose that these two sets of influences were combined in the Taborite movement.

(2) *Sketch of the Movement.* The execution of John Huss and Jerome of Prague by the council of Constance (1415) and the measures adopted by the council for the extirpation of heresy from Bohemia, led to a popular uprising under the leadership of Nicholas of Hussinetz and John Ziska. Mount Tabor became their chief stronghold and thousands gathered there to enjoy religious privileges and to resist their enemies (1419). The ecclesiastical leaders of Prague were inclined to make the best compromise they could with the imperial and papal authorities. This exasperated the radicals, who, under Ziska, marched upon Prague and administered terrible chastisement. The death of King Wenceslaus and the refusal of the Bohemians to submit to the Emperor Sigismund threw the country into anarchy. The Taborites formulated their teachings, constituted themselves into a theocracy, and for years resisted the efforts of the Catholics and of the Hussites to subdue them. They remind us of the Paulicians in the fierceness with which they resisted their oppressors and in their iconoclastic zeal, as well as in the evangelical character of their teachings. For years they carried on a devastating warfare. The terrible stress of conflict with the powers of Antichrist drove many of the Taborites into a fanatical expectation of special divine interposition and of the setting up of a millennial kingdom through the sword of Gideon.

In 1433 peace was made between the Hussites and the Catholics. For a number of years the Taborites enjoyed a measure of freedom under Sigismund. After many efforts at conciliation on the part of the dominant party they were conquered and scattered by George Podiebrad (1453). They ceased from this time to exist as an organized party, but many congregations long continued to propagate their radical reformatory views in secret and many of the more moderate were absorbed by the Bohemian Brethren.

(2) *Doctrines and Practices of the Taborites. a.* The Taborites were just as decided as the Italian Waldenses in their rejection of the apocryphal Scriptures, of tradition, and of ecclesiastical authority, and in their assertion of the sole and absolute authority of the canonical Scriptures in matters of faith and practice. In their Confession of

Faith of 1420 it is asserted, "That no written or spoken statements of any doctors whatsoever are to be held or universally (*catholice*) believed, except what are explicitly contained in the canon of the Bible," and that "no decrees of the holy fathers or institutions of the elders, no rites of any sort or tradition humanly invented, are to be held; but all such things are to be abolished and destroyed as traditions of Antichrist." The Masters of Prague, or the Hussites proper, were just as explicit in their denial of this principle: "Let no one dare to say that only those things are to be believed for faith or otherwise held that are expressed and explicitly posited in Sacred Scripture," etc.

b. Like the Waldenses of all parties in the later time, and those of the Italian party from the beginning, the Taborites believed their own sect to constitute the true church of Christ, in which alone salvation was to be found, regarded the Roman Catholic Church as "the church of the malignant and of the beast and of the harlot," as "the house of lies," and maintained that "all Catholics, little children alone excepted, are worthy of damnation," etc.

c. As regards the ordinances, the Taborites took a position, in most respects, alongside of the more advanced of the Waldenses. They maintained that "no chrism, or sacred oil, or baptismal water ought to be consecrated or sanctified." They rejected the use of exorcism, and maintained the sufficiency of any fresh water, anywhere, for baptismal purposes. In one respect alone they seem to have been less radical than the most radical of the Waldenses, namely, in the retention of infant baptism. Their theory and practice in reference to the Supper were equally at variance with Roman Catholic and Hussite, and equally accordant with the most advanced Waldensian theory and practice. They rejected the entire body of ceremonies that had grown up in connection with the mass, insisting on the use of an ordinary unconsecrated cup and simple bread, and making the validity of the ordinance, thus simply administered, independent of consecrated places. They rejected transubstantiation and consubstantiation alike, and held to the spiritual presence of Christ in the devout celebration of the ordinance.

d. Like the Petrobrusians and the Waldenses, they rejected with the utmost decision all ecclesiastical fasts and festivals, except such as have apostolic sanction, and ecclesiastical chanting and all liturgical devices, and repudiated the doctrines of purgatory, prayers for the dead, intercession of saints, the veneration of relics, shrines, images, etc. They agreed with the Waldenses and earlier evangelical parties in condemning all forms of luxury and frivolity in food, drink, dress, social intercourse, etc., insisting on the greatest simplicity and purity of life. Like the Waldenses of all parties they rejected oaths.

6. *Marsilius of Padua.*

LITERATURE: His "*Defensor Pacis*" (first printed at Basel, 1522, then at Frankfurt, 1598, and more recently in Goldast, "*Monarchia Sancti Rom. Imperii*," Vol. II., pp. 154–312, copious extracts in Gieseler, "Eccl. Hist.," Vol. III., pp. 29–33); Lechler, "*J. von Wiclif*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 107, *seq.*; Riezler, "*Die literar. Widersacher d. Päpste zur Zeit Ludwigs d. Bayers*," *Seit.* 30, *seq.*, 76, *seq.*, 122, *seq.*, 193–240; Müller, "*Der Kampf Ludwigs d. Bay. mit d. Röm. Kurie*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 161, *seq.*, *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 159, *seq.*, etc.; Meyer, "*Etude sur Marsile de Padoue*"; Jourdan, "*Etude sur Marsile de Padoue*," 1892; Sullivan, "Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockam" (in "Am. Hist. Rev.," Apr. and Jul., 1897); articles in Herzog-Hauck and Lichtenberger.

(1) *Sketch of Marsilius.* Marsilius of Padua, rector of the University of Paris (1312), espoused the cause of the Emperor Louis the Bavarian against Pope John XXII. (1323 onward), and wrote, in collaboration with John of Jandun, the "*Defensor Pacis*" (1324), in which he set forth views in almost every respect thoroughly in accord with those of the Waldenses and related parties, with a philosophical insight that was for the most part foreign to the evangelical teachers. For years he was court physician to the emperor and no doubt powerfully influenced the sentiments and the policy of his patron. The friends of the excommunicated emperor treated the hierarchy with the utmost contempt. In some cases the clergy were driven out of the cities and otherwise abused, and a large measure of freedom was given to the various forms of dissent.

(2) *Views of Marsilius.* Marsilius insisted on the exclusive authority of the canonical Scriptures naturally

interpreted by the consensus of believers, without priestly interference. "For defining doubtful opinions regarding the divine law a general council of believers, and not any kind of partial body of men or any individual person of whatever condition he may be, ought to be solely authoritative." "There is no gospel precept for compelling any one by pains and penalties to observe the precepts of the divine law." "The precepts of the new divine law alone (the New Testament), and the things that are necessarily involved in these," and "by no means all the precepts of the ancient law," are obligatory for Christians. "In regard to the divine precepts or prohibitions of the new law no one can grant dispensation." To prohibit things permitted by the New Testament belongs only to a general council or to a Christian civil legislator. "The sole human legislator is the entire body of the citizens, or the stronger part (*valentiorem partem*) thereof." "Decretals or decrees of Roman pontiffs or of any pontiffs whatsoever, unitedly or dividedly, constituted without the concession of the human legislator (a majority of the citizens) oblige no one to inflict or suffer temporal pains and penalties." "To excommunicate any one or to interdict the performance of religious services, without the authority of the Christian legislator, is lawful for no bishop or priest or body of them." "All bishops are of equal authority, immediately through Christ." He insists on the right of other bishops to excommunicate the bishop of Rome, denies the right of the latter to promote men to ecclesiastical dignities, urges the right of the people as the sole legislators to determine the number of churches and church officials that shall be maintained, and the right of the human legislator (the people) to use the revenues from ecclesiastical property for purposes of public utility and defense as well as for charitable and purely religious purposes. It belongs to a general council alone to prohibit the marriage of the clergy, if this be thought expedient. He insists that the terms "presbyter" and "bishop" were synonymous in the primitive church, the former having reference to age, the latter to dignity or to watchcare over others. He repudiated the claim of the Roman church to be the *Cathedra Petri*, or to have

any superiority over other churches. As regards Peter he denies that there is any scriptural proof that he was bishop of the Roman church or even that he ever visited Rome. Paul rather than Peter was indubitably a Roman bishop. Peter was bishop of Antioch. He explains intelligently the rise of the papal power and its growth until it reached the arrogance of Boniface VIII. and his successors.

7. *Peter Chelcicky.*

LITERATURE: Goll, "*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. Böhm. Brüder*," *Theil* II. (an excellent exposition of Chelcicky's teachings, with copious extracts from his writings). See also the Literature on the Bohemian Brethren.

(1) *Sketch.* Peter, called Chelcicky from his native town Chelcic, in Bohemia, was born about 1585. Nothing is known of his earlier life, or of his educational advantages. We first meet him in Prague about 1419, when he protested vehemently against the proposal of Nicholas of Hussinetz and John of Ziska to take up arms in defense of religious freedom. He was one of the foremost thinkers and popular writers of the fifteenth century, and was deeply indebted to the writings of Wycliffe and Huss, to the Waldenses, and probably to the Taborites. He has been fittingly called the spiritual father of the Bohemian Brethren. For years he sustained intimate relations with Rokycana, the leader of the Utraquist Hussites.

(2) *His Teachings and Influence.* In a far more emphatic way than Marsilius, he contrasts the old law with the new. In his discussion with Rokycana, the head of the Hussite party that had compromised with Rome, he shows the utter inadmissibility of defending hierarchical church government by connecting it with the sacerdotal system of the Old Testament. The old law was corporeal and had to be observed according to the letter. It is otherwise with the new law. This is spiritual, and is embraced in a few words, in which, however, great things are implicitly contained. It has nothing in common with men who do not possess God's wisdom and Christ's spirit. He repudiates with decision all prelatical or churchly authority.

The only source of faith, according to Chelcicky, is the

will of God as made known authoritatively and exhaustively, once for all, through the apostles in the New Testament Scriptures. The idea of development or of change by church authority was intolerable to him. This law of God is absolutely sufficient in all things. Christians live in the State, but have no part in it. They must not bring their disputes for decision before worldly magistrates. Apostasy began when the relations of Church and State changed. If all the heathen who by baptism became nominally Christian had become such in reality, the State would thereby have ceased to exist; for its whole organism would have become unnecessary and superfluous. For non-Christian people the State is necessary, but it is a necessary evil; the greater evil, however, is the so-called Christian State; the greatest of all the civil power in its union with the church. Before the union of Church and State, under Constantine, Christians lived under heathen; since that time good and true Christians live under bad ones. The only advantage he can see in this arrangement for true Christians is that thereby they have an opportunity to endure suffering and so to confirm their faith. The very expression "Christian State" involves an insoluble contradiction. It is Christian only in name, for it belongs to the essence of the State to use compulsion and violence, which is completely foreign to the spirit of Christianity. In seeking to reconcile the State and Christianity Augustine sucked blood, instead of milk, from Scripture. All dominion, all class divisions, he regarded as a violation of Christ's command of brotherly equality (Luke 22 : 24–27). Equality and brotherhood he considered fundamental requirements of God's law, and he was able to conceive of no form of civil government in which these could be realized. Like most of the old evangelicals of the Middle Ages, and like the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, he rejected, along with magistracy, as a Christian institution, oaths, warfare, and capital punishment.

He laid great emphasis upon the imitation of Christ, but did not lose sight of his atoning work. Christ is not only teacher and exemplar, but also Saviour and eternal Mediator between the creature and the Creator. Through his blood he has cleansed the human race from sin and

as high priest stands continually before God to intercede for believers.

Man's will even after the fall has remained free. Good and evil stand before it: choose! Only the freely chosen good is truly good and valuable. Yet man does not attain to this choice without God's help. Inner regeneration cannot be introduced without God's grace, nor can the will of man be brought into harmony with the divine will. It is the inner regeneration that gives man a new heart, a new understanding, new thoughts, new works. He derives salvation from God's grace alone; yet so that man is not passive but active in the appropriation of it. Good works are to be performed not of compulsion, not from fear of hell, but from love to God. The idea of meriting salvation he regarded as absurd. No man in this life can be perfectly well pleasing to God. As Christ transformed water into wine, so our imperfect works may be transformed so as to be found sufficient. On Christ's death and the grace of God alone rests our hope of salvation.

Chelcicky recognized only two sacraments, in the strict sense, baptism and the Supper. Regarding the former, after quoting the Great Commission, he proceeds:

"Open and clear is the word of the Son of God: first he speaks of faith, then of baptism . . . and since we find this doctrine in the gospel we should now also hold fast to it. But the priests err grievously in baptizing the great mass, and no one is found whether old or young who knows God and believes his Scripture, and this is evident in their works . . . nevertheless all without discrimination are baptized and receive the body and blood of Christ. . . But we should rather hold fast to the view that baptism belongs to those who know God and believe his Scripture. . . In order to receive baptism in truth, a man must have the will to die to sin."

He regarded baptism as freeing the recipient from the guilt of hereditary sin, but not from hereditary sin itself, which remains as long as life lasts. The above teachings would seem to involve a rejection of infant baptism; but he found a place for it in his system: "If true Christians desire baptism for their children they cannot be blamed for it." Again: "If such have children, baptism should be bestowed upon their children in their (the parents') conscience."

His view of the Supper involved denial of transubstantiation and probably fell short of consubstantiation; yet he does not seem to have regarded it as a mere memorial.

He seems to teach that the body and blood of Christ are partaken of spiritually by the believer.

Chelcicky made an earnest effort to win Rokycana (archbishop elect) to his evangelical position, and was in close communication with those who organized themselves as the Bohemian Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*). He seems not to have entered into this organization, preferring to keep aloof from parties and to conserve his wider influence as an independent teacher.

8. *The Lollards.*

LITERATURE: Wilkins, "*Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*," Tom. III.; Foxe, "Acts and Monuments"; Lechler, "*Joh. von Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte d. Reformation*" (Eng. trans. of part of the work by Lorimer); Green, "Hist. of the Eng. People"; Trevelyan, "England in the Age of Wycliffe."

The history of evangelical life in England before and after the time of Wycliffe has received little attention in comparison with that given to Continental parties. No doubt there is a relative sparsity of materials, due in some measure to the fact that the Inquisition was never fully established in England. It is certain that the influence of the early British and Iro-Scottish form of Christianity survived the strenuous efforts to suppress it and persisted until long after the Norman conquest. We have occasional notices of the appearance in England, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of heretics from the Continent, especially from the Netherlands. That many of the persecuted sectaries of the Continent should have taken refuge in England, where the authorities were less vigilant than in most other countries, was to be expected. The comparatively evangelical teachings of several of Wycliffe's predecessors were doubtless due in some measure to the prevalence of evangelical views among the people and in turn greatly promoted evangelical life and thought. It seems certain that in Wales and the neighboring English counties a large part of the population remained comparatively free from Roman Catholic influence. The circulation of the popular writings of Wycliffe and of his version of the Bible, and the evangelizing activity of his "Poor Priests," brought out into

publicity and aggressiveness much of the older evangelical life that had long been latent and multiplied the numbers of those who would recognize no other authority in religion than the word of God.

It is remarkable that Wycliffe's followers consisted largely of the noble and educated classes. This was due in part to the fact that his reformatory teachings had a distinctively patriotic basis.

The Lollards were not hampered by Wycliffe's philosophical realism, and did not hesitate to become schismatics.

The history of the Lollards may be conveniently divided into four stages: (1) From Wycliffe's death till the elevation to the throne of the house of Lancaster (1384–1399). (2) From 1399 till the execution of Lord Cobham (1417). (3) From 1417 till the close of the persecution (1431). (4) From 1431 till the Reformation.

(1) *The Lollards until 1399.* The Lollards spread rapidly during this time. We know of many evangelists who preached with great power throughout England and Wales. It is asserted by a Roman Catholic writer of the time, that one could scarcely see two men on the road, but that one was a Wycliffite. These evangelists were also active in forming a popular literature, and many of their writings have been preserved. The most noted of these preachers and writers were Hereford, Aston, and Purvey, who, with many other Lollards, had received university training, and were thoroughly versed in Scripture. These were protected by such noblemen as John of Montacute, Count of Salisbury, Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir Thomas Trussell, and Sir Lewis Clifford. In fact, most of the gentry and many of the nobility seem to have been favorers of the new party.

In 1395 the Lollards presented a memorial to Parliament, in which it is declared that the corruption of the church is the result of pride; that the priesthood which began in Rome is not that priesthood that Christ ordained; that the law of celibacy induces unnatural vice; that the doctrine of transubstantiation leads to idolatry; that exorcisms and blessings made on wine, bread, water, wax, etc., are practices of necromancy; that prayers for the dead are a false foundation of alms;

that auricular confession exalts the pride of the priests, and gives them opportunity for secret conversations for vicious purposes; that homicide through war, or under pretence of law, is expressly contrary to the New Testament; that vows of celibacy made in the church by women are the cause of the most horrible crimes (sins); that arts that do not minister to actual wants, but to pride, should be abolished.

This memorial is of interest, as showing the boldness and zeal of the reforming party, as well as the spirit of the reform—a return to primitive simplicity and purity of doctrine and life.

The Lollards of Leicester denied the power of pope or prelates to excommunicate any one not previously excommunicated by God, or to grant indulgences. They held that any layman has a right to preach and teach the gospel anywhere; that every good man is a priest whether he knows literature or not; and that no ecclesiastic in a sinful state is able to administer ordinances validly.

In 1391 Walter Brute, a Welshman, who had studied at Oxford and had been for some time engaged in evangelistic work, was arraigned before the Bishop of Hereford. After a prolonged examination he submitted.

The following particulars with regard to the belief of the Lollards, may be learned from his statements:

He agreed with Wycliffe in putting all authority in Scripture, and in making Christ the sole head of the church. In the Lord's Supper, he held that the body and blood of Christ are present only symbolically. He rejected, as Wycliffe did not, the idea of sacrifice in the Eucharist. He denied the power of papal excommunication, the validity of ordinances performed by vicious priests, etc. He had a clear insight into the nature of the gospel and its distinction from the law. He set forth the doctrine of justification by faith far more clearly than Wycliffe had done.

We may say of the Lollards of this time, that they had attained to a position far more evangelical than that of Wycliffe. With regard to infant baptism, and the rebaptism of those baptized in the Roman Catholic Church, the writer has not found any expressions.

Up to 1395 no adequate measures had been adopted for the suppression of the reforming party. The presentation of the memorial to Parliament, the accession to the archbishopric of Canterbury of Thomas Arundel,

the deposition of Richard II., and the accession of Henry IV., of the house of Lancaster (1399), led to the adoption of more rigorous measures. Archbishop Arundel was a violent opponent of the reform party, and from the beginning took the side of the house of Lancaster against Richard.

(2) *The Lollards from 1399 till 1417.* Henry IV. at once threw himself into the arms of the papists, promised the clergy immunity from taxation, and offered all needful aid in the extirpation of heresy. In 1400 an act was passed for the burning of Lollards, with full provisions for the arrest and trial of such. All unauthorized conventicles, schools, books, and preaching were to be suppressed. Under this legislation, together with other legislation in the same direction (1414), the inquisition of heresy was now pushed forward with vigor. Many Lollards were burned, especially preachers; the University of Oxford was harassed; Wycliffe's books were destroyed in large numbers.

Lord Cobham (Sir John Oldcastle), distinguished for military ability and for uprightness of character, had long been a follower of Wycliffe. He disregarded the legislation against heretics, and continued to promote evangelical preaching in his extended domain. After the death of Henry IV. (1413), Convocation brought accusation against Oldcastle, and urged Archbishop Arundel to take steps against him. This did not seem advisable to Arundel, on account of the confidential relations that existed between Oldcastle and the king. The king, having been informed of Oldcastle's heresy, had an interview with him and endeavored to persuade him to renounce his heresy. This failing, the king urged the archbishop to proceed against Oldcastle. Oldcastle protected himself for some time, but was at length brought before parliament (1417) and condemned to the stake. Up to this time the Lollard movement had been looked upon as political rather than ecclesiastical, and little notice had been taken of it outside of England. Now it came to be regarded as a heresy in the same sense in which the Waldenses were heretics. Before the death of Cobham, the party had hoped by political influence to carry out its reformatory plan. This hope was now at an end.

(3) *The Lollards after 1417.* After this time the party was driven into secrecy, and necessarily declined. From time to time Lollards were discovered, and numerous martyrdoms occurred. From 1431 onward the authorities seem to have thought that the heresy was utterly exterminated. Yet the Lollards persisted in considerable numbers till the Reformation.

9. *The Bohemian Brethren.*

LITERATURE: Besides the pertinent items in the Literature on the Taborites, Czerwenka, "*Gesch. d. Evang. Kirche im Böhmen*"; Cröger, "*Gesch. d. alten Brüderkirche*"; De Schweinitz, "The Hist. of the Church known as the *Unitas Fratrum*"; J. Müller, "*Bischofthum d. Brüderunität*," and his comprehensive account of the Brethren in Herzog-Hauck, third ed., *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 445–467.

(1) *Origin of the Party.* In general it may be said that the Bohemian Brethren embodied the thorough-going evangelical results of the Hussite movement. After the compromise of the moderate Hussite party (Utraquists or Calixtines) with Rome on the basis of the *Compactata*, which it was well understood the Roman Curia had no intention of permanently observing, and the overthrow of the Taborites that resulted from this compromise, a large number of earnest men in various parts of the country felt that something must be done for the conservation and expansion of the evangelical life that had been developed during the preceding half-century in Bohemia and Moravia. The evangelical teachings of Wycliffe and Huss had pervaded the land. The Waldenses were numerous in Bohemia and were in close contact with the still more numerous body in Austria. Their influence was widespread and profound in favor of evangelical teaching and practice.

The Taborites, though their power was broken and their membership scattered, still exercised a considerable influence in favor of radical reform. It is probable that after the failure of the Taborite theocracy a large proportion of the membership had their eyes opened to the unreality of their millenarian expectations and came to understand that the kingdom of God is not to be set up by "the sword of Gideon." The writings and the per-

sonal influence of Peter Chelcicky were highly influential in the organization of the *Unitas Fratrum.*

Rokycana as archbishop-elect of Prague wrought zealously (1448 onward) in favor of moral reform and inner piety. He had insisted that the law of God is the highest of all laws and that the lives of individuals and the civil and ecclesiastical power must be brought into subjection thereto. He had made a profound impression by the sharpness of his criticism of Catholics and Utraquists. In fact he was looked upon by the thorough-going evangelicals as one who would lead them in their struggle for the restoration of primitive Christianity.

His nephew Gregory, a young noble, adopted an ascetical mode of life and became zealous for religious reform. He was the center of a small group of enthusiasts (1453–1454), who insisted on carrying out practically the reformatory teachings of Rokycana. It was Rokycana's insistence on a spiritual ministry that had particularly impressed the Brethren. They made it their business to get into communication with all the good priests of whom they could learn and to draw them into their circle. Rokycana directed them to Peter Chelcicky, whom he had long known as one of the ablest and devoutest of religious thinkers.

In 1457–1458 they obtained through Rokycana permission from the regent, George Podiebrad, to settle in the village of Kunwald, in the province of Lititz, for the working out of their religious ideals. The people of this district were largely Taborites.

(2) *Early Organization of the Brethren and their Proceedings to 1464.* The aims of the Brethren were in many respects similar to those of the founders of monastic orders. A community in which every detail of life should be prescribed and brought into harmony with the law of Christ was their ideal. An organization was privately effected soon after their settlement at Kunwald (1457–1458). They called themselves at first "Brethren of the Law of Christ." Fearing lest this should cause them to be looked upon as monks, they afterward changed it to "Brethren," and again to "Unity of Brethren" (*Unitas Fratrum*).

They had no thought, it appears, of organizing a new

church. Like John Wesley and his associates in the eighteenth century, they aimed to establish a fraternal association which should cultivate a high type of piety and should labor earnestly for the reformation of the national church. Twenty-eight elders were appointed for the spiritual guidance of the people. The names of these have been preserved.[1] Other elders or directors were added a little later.

During the years 1458–1459 the numbers of the Brethren increased. Rokycana treated them with consideration until after the election of George Podiebrad, who had for some years been regent, to the Bohemian throne.

Since 1434 Rokycana's great ambition had been to secure papal recognition of his election to the archbishopric of Prague. When this seemed utterly hopeless he became a bold reformer (as about 1454–1458. He now hoped that his friend Podiebrad might be able to make favorable terms with the papacy and it would not do for him to show friendship for the Brethren. He may be designated as the Cranmer of his time.

Difficulties arose among the Brethren about 1459 regarding the Supper, some insisting on the simple Taborite view, which denied the real presence, others holding to the Utraquist or even the Roman Catholic view (consubstantiation or transubstantiation). A compromise was reached in the adoption of Peter Chelcicky's view, which was formulated thus: "All who receive the sacrament in truth, through faith, believe and confess that it is the true body and blood of Christ, according to his word and mind without adding anything or taking away anything, and rejecting all human explanations."

Later it was resolved that the Brethren "should be satisfied with God's word and simply believe what it taught, avoiding all tracts (referring to the polemical discussions of the time); and that even such as seemed to approximate to the truth ought not to be read until they had been examined and approved by the elders." It is manifest that they were pursuing an unwise course in seeking to maintain harmony by stifling discussion. But it answered the purpose for the time. Large numbers of Taborites from Moravia united with the Brethren in 1460.

[1] See De Schweinitz, p. 109, *seq.*

George Podiebrad, though a liberal at heart, had accepted the crown on condition that he should be obedient to the pope and destroy all heresy. Complaints came to the throne regarding the rapid increase and the proceedings of the Brethren and of the growing influence of the Taborites in the movement. It was found that several professors and masters and many students in the University of Prague were sympathetic with the Brethren. A royal edict of banishment was issued (1461) against all who should refuse to be Utraquist or Catholic. Gregory, who was in Prague for conference with sympathizers there, was imprisoned and tortured, along with several others. The rest recanted, but he abode steadfast. Many of the Brethren were cast into prison in various places; some were burned alive. Rokycana felt obliged to acquiesce in these shameful proceedings. Only thus could he retain the favor of the king or hope to be recognized by the pope. The Brethren remonstrated with him and when they could gain no satisfaction declared: "Thou art of the world and wilt perish with the world." This angered him and he now joined more heartily in their persecution. Political complications soon afterward led the king to discontinue his persecuting measures.

(3) *The Completed Organization* (*1464–1467*). The policy of persecution pursued by Podiebrad and Rokycana convinced the Brethren that there was no place for them in the national church and that a separate church organization was a necessity. At a synod held at Reichenau in 1464 statutes were agreed upon for the government of the Brethren in all their inner and outer relations. Community of goods is not insisted upon therein, but is highly recommended; and the care of the needy and the persecuted is made a matter of Christian obligation. The type of life advocated is that of gentleness, submissiveness, helpfulness to each other and to those who are without, obedience to elders and other leaders, disregard of temporal comforts, and absorption in spiritual things. These rules are probably similar to those privately adopted in 1457–1458. Doctrinal matters are kept out of sight. The question of a complete church organization was discussed, but the time for decision was not yet. Three of the elders, Gregory, Procopius, and John

Klevonsky, were appointed chief elders for the general superintendency of the body.

The question of a separate church organization and an independent ministry continued to be a subject of prayerful consideration. Among the most earnest advocates of independent organization was Martin Lupac, who had been a Taborite and who had afterward been appointed suffragan bishop under Rokycana.

Another synod was called about 1465 for the consideration of this question. The Brethren determined to let the Lord decide the matter through the use of the lot. The lot was cast and answered affirmatively the questions: "Is it God's will that we shall separate entirely from the power of the papacy and hence from its priesthood? Is it God's will that we shall institute, according to the model of the primitive church, a ministerial order of our own?"

In 1467 a synod was held at Lhota for the completion of the organization. After Gregory had voiced the sentiments of the body in favor of the action about to be taken, a hymn of thanksgiving and praise composed for the occasion was devoutly sung. Then, in token of their separation from Rome and its corruptions, each member of the synod received a new baptism. Until 1535 the Brethren regularly rebaptized all that came to them from the Roman Catholic Church. They abandoned the practice then to avoid the odium of Anabaptism.

As the lot had convinced them that God willed the constitution of a separate church organization and a separate ministry, so they were content to leave the selection of the leaders to God speaking through the lot. First of all nine men distinguished for piety and zeal were nominated by ballot. Then twelve strips of paper, three of them marked, were placed in a vessel. After prayer for divine guidance, a lad was called in to draw out the slips and distribute them to the nominees. All three of the marked slips were drawn. Two priests, Matthias of Kunwald and Elias of Chrenovik, and Thomas of Prelouc, a layman, were the chosen. There were present two other priests, Michael of Bradacius, and an aged Waldensian. It was determined by lot that the latter should ordain the brethren who had been chosen.

Some of the brethren were dissatisfied with this merely presbyterial ordination and felt episcopal ordination to be desirable. The synod appointed a deputation to seek episcopal ordination from the Waldensian bishop Stephen, who resided in Moravia. The priest Michael was consecrated by Stephen and bestowed consecration on Matthias, from whom in turn he received it (his third consecration), and Matthias ordained again Thomas and Elias. The Waldenses claimed apostolic succession for their episcopacy and the Brethren felt that they had made their position doubly sure by adding to their Roman Catholic succession that of these old evangelicals. Michael laid down his episcopal dignity in favor of Matthias, who thus became the general superintendent of the body.

To satisfy such scruples as still remained, a deputation was sent to the far East to confer with old Christian parties and, if they were satisfied with the teachings and life of these Christians, to secure episcopal ordination from this source. But they found the Oriental churches so corrupt and unevangelical that succession through such a channel was thought undesirable.

It is apparent from the above that the church order of the Brethren, like that of the Waldenses, was connectional and episcopal. A three-fold ministry was provided for. The ministers were required to abandon private property and to depend wholly for support on the offerings of the private members. Like the Waldenses they rejected oaths, magistracy, warfare, capital punishment, and such pursuits as seemed to involve the seeking of advantages at the expense of others or to minister to luxury, vice, or war.

(4) *Later History of the Movement.* The proceedings of 1467 intensified the wrath of Podiebrad and Rokycana against the Brethren and caused a renewal of persecution. Both of these dignitaries died in 1471 and a considerable measure of freedom was for some years the portion of the *Unitas Fratrum.* They spread rapidly over Bohemia and Moravia, absorbing most of the remnants of the Taborites and a considerable number of the Waldenses. They were commonly called, in the Catholic and Utraquist writings of the time, Waldenses or Pickards (Beghards).

Efforts were made from time to time to consummate an organic union with the Waldenses; but the latter could not be induced to declare in favor of absolute separation from Rome or to abandon occasional conformity to the ceremonies of the established church.

Large numbers of Bohemian and Moravian noblemen were sympathetic with the Brethren and protected them on their estates. Some desired membership in the body. By 1490 the rule against magistracy, including all exercise of public civil functions, and the rule prohibiting engagement in military service even in case of urgent need for warding off hostile attacks, had become exceedingly embarrassing. Violation of these rules provoked controversy. Procopius of Neuhaus, one of the constituent members of the body, advocated the modification of the rules. He received the support of Lukas of Prague, a university graduate, who from 1496 to 1528 (from 1517 he was the bishop or official head) was the leading spirit in the body. The more liberal principle prevailed and the more radical elements in some cases withdrew.

Under the leadership of Lukas the Brethren still further perfected their organization and defined their doctrine. Education was systematically promoted. The Brethren made the freest use of the printing press soon after it came into general use, and printed and circulated during the last years of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth far more literature than the Catholics and Utraquists of Bohemia and Moravia combined. They had numerous schools, that drew students from Austria and Germany as well as from their immediate constituencies.

The Brethren differed among themselves regarding infant baptism. A contemporary document states: "Some baptize children, but many do not." "To sum up," says the writer referred to, "almost all the articles of the Anabaptists have place in the synagogue of the Waldenses."[1]

About 1500 onward, King Wladislaus, at the instigation of Pope Alexander VI. and some courtiers, undertook to deprive the Brethren and the Waldenses of their privileges. In 1508 their meetings were prohibited, their

[1] See Döllinger, "*Sektengesch.*," *Bd.* II., *Sect.* 66I.

writings were condemned to the flames, and they themselves were ordered to unite with the Catholic or the Utraquist Church. Considerable suffering ensued in Bohemia; but the Moravian Diet peremptorily refused to accept or to execute these measures.

At the close of the present period the Bohemian Brethren and the Waldenses together constituted a widely distributed, intelligent, aggressive, evangelical force in the religious life of Europe. Through them many editions of the Bible and of Bible portions were being widely circulated in several of the vernaculars of the territories covered. Their public activities were considerably hampered by the unfriendliness of the ecclesiastical and the civil authorities; but they were thoroughly organized and had learned to do efficient work under adverse circumstances. It is a great mistake to suppose that the Lutheran Reformation represents the inauguration of evangelical life and thought in Germany. Luther himself recognized the evangelical character of the Brethren and made no claim to originality in his efforts at religious reform.

V. EVANGELICAL CHURCHLY REFORMERS.

The movements to be here considered have much in common with the more or less separatist parties that have just been considered and stand in the closest relationship to these as effects and causes. The Wycliffite and the Hussite movements were to a great extent due to the older evangelical influence that manifested itself chiefly in the Waldenses and related parties, and in turn exercised a considerable influence on the subsequent history of these parties. They were in many respects thoroughly evangelical, but they were hampered seriously in their reformatory efforts by their horror of schism, based in most cases upon their realistic view of the church.

1. *The Wycliffite Movement*

LITERATURE: Only a few of Wycliffe's writings were published until the present generation. The Wycliffe Society of England undertook some years ago to publish a complete critical edition of his voluminous Latin works. Several volumes have already ap-

peared, edited by Buddenseig, Poole, Loserth, Beer, Pollard, and Dziewicky. See also Wycliffe's "Select English Works," ed. Arnold; "*Fasciculi Zizaniorum Mag. J. Wiclif*," ed. Shirley; "The Eng. Works (of W.) Hitherto Unpublished," ed. Mathew; the "*Trialogus*" and the "*De Officio Pastorali*" (of W.), ed. Lechler; Grossetête, "*Epistolæ*," ed. Luard; Foxe, "Acts and Monuments," ed. Townsend; Lechler, "*J. von Wiclif u. d. Vorgeschichte d. Reformation*" (Eng. tr. in part by Lorimer); Loserth, "Wycliffe and Huss"; Burrows, "Wycliffe's Place in History"; Trevelyan, "England in the Age of Wycliffe"; Green, "Hist. of the English People"; Buddenseig, "*J. Wiclif u. seine Zeit*."

(1) *Antecedents.* *a.* The enslavement of England to the papacy, and the uprising of the barons, which resulted in the securing of Magna Charta (1215) under John, produced a powerful reaction against the papal absolutism that Innocent III. was attempting to establish in England. England was now recovering from the confusion that had followed the blending of nations at the Norman conquest. The spirit of national unity was developing. In 1240 the students at Oxford almost mobbed a cardinal legate.

b. In 1235, Robert Grossetête, was appointed to the bishopric of Lincoln. He was a man of profound religious convictions, great learning, and great pertinacity. He set to work to reform his diocese, deposing without scruple unworthy priests. He held it to be the duty of a bishop to preach to everybody in the diocese; and as this was impracticable, he determined to assemble the whole body of clergy at stated times, and so to instruct them that they should be able to instruct the people. He resisted with great zeal plurality of benefices, insisting that every holder of a benefice should reside in the parish. As few of the clergy could preach, he encouraged the mendicant monks to enter their parishes and preach to the people.

About 1250 he presented a memorial to Pope Innocent IV., in which he bewailed the corrupt state of the church. The cause of this corrupt state is the want of good pastors, the prevalence of bad ones, and the limitation of the power of the parish clergy. The Roman Curia is the source of this want, not only because it does not suppress corruption, but because by dispensations, provisions, collations, etc., the parishes are thrown into the

hands of bad shepherds, who care for the flock not for its own sake, but for the sake of the milk and the wool, and thus the souls of men are delivered over to perdition. The bishops themselves, when they would reform their own dioceses, are hampered by the privileges of cloisters, and the right of appeal to the archbishop or pope. He exhorts the pope to abolish these abuses.

In 1258, Innocent IV. appointed one of his relations to a benefice in Robert's cathedral without consulting him, making the threat that if any one should oppose his entering upon his benefice, the opposer should appear at Rome in two months to answer for it. The bishop, now eighty years of age, defied the pope and thus became more popular than ever.

The influence of Robert upon the English thought of the next century, and especially upon Wycliffe, is clearly discernible. He was regarded by the people in general as a saint. Heavenly music was reported to have been heard at his death, and miracles to have been wrought at his tomb. The spirit of Robert was perpetuated in England till the time of Wycliffe, who quoted him as a high authority.

c. In 1299 Boniface VIII. set forth in a bull the claim that Scotland belonged to the pope. If Edward I. thought he had any right to it, he might submit to the pope the documents on which his claim was based. Edward I. put the matter before Parliament, which boldly sided with the king against the papal claims. Parliament decided that it would not allow the king, even if he desired it, to submit his claims to papal jurisdiction. Great surprise and disgust were expressed by the nobles at the audacity of the pope.

d. From 1339 England was at war with France, and the dependence of the papacy on the king of France, together with the notorious corruption of the papal court, tended still further to promote the spirit of independence.

When, in 1343, Clement IV. bestowed English benefices on two newly appointed cardinals (one of them his nephew or illegitimate son), Parliament united in an open letter to the pope, demanding a reversion of this action, maintaining that the revenues of church property in England ought to be employed entirely in

maintaining worship and assisting the poor in England, and that it was contrary to the intention of those who endowed English churches that the revenues should be bestowed on non-resident foreigners. When these cardinals sent their agents to collect their revenues they were driven away in disgrace. The pope appealed to the king, who, in turn, wrote with great boldness and severity against the unrighteousness of the papal proceedings. Edward I. had thus attempted to shake off the papal oppression, but under Edward II. the pope regained the power he had lost in England.

Edward III., during his long and vigorous reign, took still more decisive measures. In 1350 the Statute against Provisors was enacted by Parliament. In this are set forth at length the great evils that England has suffered from the bestowment of provisions contrary to the design of those who endowed benefices, upon unworthy men, foreigners, etc., who performed no service for the English people; and it is ordered and established that the free elections of archbishops and bishops and of all other dignities and benefices elective in England shall be henceforth according to the original intention of the endowments. And in case reservations, collations, or prohibitions be made by the pope, in disturbance of free elections, collations, etc., the king shall have the revenues from the time when the benefice becomes void, etc. In case the papal provisors cause disturbance in trying to collect their revenues, contrary to the law, they shall be imprisoned and fined according to the king's will.

In 1352 the Statute of Præmunire was enacted, in accordance with which it was made treason for any subject of England to be arraigned before any foreign tribunal, or to take any case that falls within the jurisdiction of the king, to a foreign court. This was a blow aimed at the Roman Curia, which was usurping the rights of civil rulers by calling Englishmen, etc., to account in matters of church property, etc. In 1363 the Statute of Provisors was reaffirmed. In 1386 it was enacted that no English subject should go or send beyond the sea for the purchase of a benefice.

We see, therefore, that at the time of Wycliffe there

was a widespread opposition to papal usurpations—a strong national feeling for the maintenance of English independence. This feeling was chiefly political, but it afforded a grand opportunity for an able religious leader to combat the hierarchical church on religious grounds. Such a man was Wycliffe, combining patriotism and religious zeal in a remarkable degree, one of the greatest theologians of his day, and in every way fitted to lead all classes of Englishmen.

(2) *Wycliffe's Reformatory Plan.* *a.* Wycliffe, like his predecessors, was, at first, a thorough churchman. He had strong convictions with regard to the unity of the church. As a *Realist* he looked upon schism as the greatest of evils. As the church is one, so it ought to have a single head. Yet he was led little by little to assume positions decidedly at variance with the hierarchical church. We can trace three stages in his attitude toward the papacy.

(*a*) Previous to the time of the papal schism (1378), he recognized to some extent the pope's authority as the head of the church, while rejecting boldly his usurpations. Even before the schism he declared that "they blaspheme who extol the pope above all that is called God," etc.

(*b*) The papal schism made upon Wycliffe a deep impression, and from this time forth he declared that it would be better for the church of Christ if both popes were deposed.

(*c*) During Wycliffe's controversy on the Lord's Supper, he was led, by the opposition that he met, to pronounce the pope to be Antichrist, and to see in the papacy the fulfillment of the Apocalyptic prophecies with regard to Antichrist. He now declared that only two orders of ministry were established by Christ—presbyters and deacons—and that the introduction of other orders was the result of the secularization of the church. Wycliffe's reformation, if it could not succeed throughout the whole church, must necessarily lead to schism.

b. The aspects of the papacy that most offended Wycliffe were: the extortion of funds from England, involving the impoverishing of the State and the robbing of the poor; the appointment of foreigners to benefices, rather

than such as would minister to the people; and the sending forth of mendicant monks, who were at this time gaining predominance in the University of Oxford, and whose mendicant proceedings in robbing the poor filled him with indignation.

Wycliffe's first public appearance was in a contest with the monks in the university. At first he was sustained by the archbishop (1363), but after the death of the archbishop Wycliffe lost his place (1366). He appealed to the Roman Chancery. While his case was pending the pope demanded a large sum of money as quit rent in virtue of the feudal relation to the papacy in which England was placed by King John. Parliament was determined to resist, and Wycliffe wrote in defense of parliament. By this proceeding he gained the favor of the court, was made chaplain to the king, and at once entered upon a brilliant career in the university.

In 1374 Wycliffe was sent as an ambassador to Avignon, where he remained about two years. Observation of the proceedings at Avignon confirmed him in his opposition to the avarice and unscrupulousness of the papal court. The fundamental point in Wycliffe's earlier activity was the deliverance of England from the oppression and extortion of this court, and his polemics were chiefly against the monks, who were the agents and instruments of this oppression and extortion.

c. As a means of counteracting the influence of the monks, Wycliffe wrote numerous popular treatises in English, and appointed what he called "poor priests" to evangelize throughout England. In 1380 he published his translation of the Bible, which was distributed by his "poor priests." These missionaries met with great acceptance wherever they went, and large numbers were brought through them to reject the papal church, and to despise the monks.

d. Although Wycliffe was, in the first instance, moved to oppose the papacy by political considerations, there is no reason to doubt but that he was actuated at the same time by religious motives. Certain it is, that from the time of his entrance upon public life, his zeal for the purity of the church of Christ, and for the instruction of the people in the way of salvation, knew no bounds, and

he would, apparently, have been ready to die for his principles.

e. In general, Wycliffe aimed to reform the church by abolishing the corrupt financial system which he believed had led the church into apostasy, and by bringing the Bible into general use as a guide for doctrine and life.

The monks he regarded as an abomination, and as the cause of much evil. They begged not for the supplying of their wants, but for the enriching of the monasteries, and used all sorts of methods for extorting money from rich and poor. Hence he aimed to abolish mendicancy. In some of his Latin polemical tracts he seeks to identify the mendicants with every class of evil-doers denounced in the New Testament. His exceeding bitterness against these "four sects" is one of the most marked features of these tracts, in which he passes by no opportunity to rebuke them.

(3) *Wycliffe's Doctrinal Position.* It is difficult to determine precisely Wycliffe's doctrinal views. We may say in general that he tended to depart more and more from Roman Catholic dogma. From his "Trialogue," one of his latest productions, we gather the following:

1. He maintained a rigorous predestinarianism, amounting almost to fatalism. He says: "It seems probable to me that God necessitates each active creature to each of its acts." He did not hesitate to express the supralapsarian view of man's fall. This view of the relation of God to man was necessitated by his extreme realism. It was inconceivable to him that there should be in the divine mind ideas that were not real. Hence God himself could do only what he actually did.

2. He rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, maintaining that before the loosing of Satan (A. D. 1000) all the teachers of the church were in accord with his own view. When it is said, this bread is the body of Christ, it is implicitly affirmed that it is *bread* and remains *bread*, and is, at the same time bread and the body of Christ. The eucharistic controversy occupied a very important place in Wycliffe's polemics. The Roman Catholic view was, that in the same sacrament we have "*accidens sine subjecto*," *i. e.*, that while the bread and the wine maintain their form and taste, the substance is annihilated, or

transformed into the body and blood of Christ. This Wycliffe denied on realistic grounds. He supposed that the cause of men's falling into this error was that they discredited the gospel, and accepted rather papal laws and apocryphal sayings. "If there were one hundred popes, and all the friars were turned into cardinals, their opinion ought not to be acceded to in matters of faith except in so far as they base themselves on Scripture."

3. While he believed in baptismal regeneration, he thought it possible that God might save such infants as died without it, but denied that any injustice would be involved in case he should damn such.

With all of his doctrinal rigidity, Wycliffe possessed a truly evangelical spirit. He spent much of his time in preaching the gospel, as he understood it, to the people, and sent forth scores of tracts in the vernacular language for their instruction.

(4) *Proceedings against Wycliffe.* No public proceedings were instituted against Wycliffe until about 1381, when he began to impugn the doctrine of transubstantiation. The chancellor of the university at once condemned Wycliffe's view, whereupon he appealed to the king. He was prohibited from speaking again on that doctrine. He disregarded the prohibition, and expressed his views more elaborately than before. About the same time occurred a great insurrection of the peasants. This was attributed to the influence of Wycliffe's doctrines, as disseminated by the "poor priests." In 1382 the archbishop of Canterbury, at a council in London, condemned a series of propositions from Wycliffe's writings as heretical. Wycliffe was now obliged to leave Oxford, and to withdraw to his parish at Lutterworth. The rest of his life he spent in writing and preaching. Forty-four years after his death (Dec. 31, 1384) he was condemned as a heretic by the council of Constance (1428), and it was ordered that his bones be removed from consecrated ground. They were burned and the ashes were thrown into the Severn.

2. *The Hussite Movement.*

LITERATURE: "*Historia et Monumenta J. Huss atque Hieronymi* (contains also the extant writings of Matthias of Janow); Palacky,

"*Documenta Mag. J. Huss Vitam . . . illustrantia*"; Hardt, "*Conc. Constantiensis*," *Lib.* IV.; Æneas Sylvius, "*Hist. Bohemiæ*"; Bonnechose, "Letters of J. Huss"; Denis, "*Huss et la Guerre des Hussites*"; Gillet, "The Life and Times of John Huss"; Neander, "Ch. H.," Vol. V.; Lechler, "*Johann von Wiclif*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 110–489 (this part of Lechler's great work has been unfortunately omitted from Lorimer's translation); Krummel, "*Gesch. d. Böhmischen Ref.*," also "*Utraquisten u. Taboriten*"; Palacky, "*Urkundliche Beiträge zur Gesch. Böhmens*"; Höfler, "*Urkunden zur Beleuchtung d. Ges. Böhmens*"; Loserth, "Wycliffe and Huss"; Creighton, "History of the Papacy," Vol. I., pp. 37–60, and *passim*; Friedrich, "*Die Lehre d. J. Hus*"; Berger, "*J. Huss u. König Sigismund.*"

(1) *Antecedents.* *a.* Bohemia received the gospel, not from the Roman, but from the Greek Church (ninth century). The invasion of Bohemia by the Magyars (eleventh century) led the Bohemians to seek German alliances, and gradually the forms of the Latin Church were introduced. Yet up to the time of Huss there seems always to have been considerable opposition to the Roman rule, and the Bohemians were always ready to receive those who opposed the pretensions of Rome, as the Bogomiles and the Waldenses.

Under Charles IV. (1346–1378), a most zealous Roman Catholic, Bohemia was brought fully under papal control; the bishopric of Prague was erected into an archbishopric; and the University of Prague was established with its thousands of students. Magnificent cathedrals were erected in various places. The most rigorous laws against heretics were enacted.

Yet the apparent triumph of the papal church was to be succeeded immediately by an almost complete defection. The very means by which it seemed to triumph led to a reaction. The university, established for the propagation of papal doctrine throughout Bohemia, Moravia, etc., became the chief stronghold of opposition to the papacy. The enrichment of the churches led to such a degradation of morals among the clergy as to cause a general desire for reform.

Here, as in England, the papal financial system was in full operation, and had the same effect on civil rulers and people. In 1379–1380 a grand inspection of the morals of the Bohemian clergy was undertaken. Of thirty-nine curates that were visited, sixteen were convicted of im-

moralities, and the manner in which they answered the charges showed great lack of moral sense.

b. The Archbishop of Prague. Pardobitz was a man of great purity of life, and was earnest in his efforts to reform the morals of clergy and monks. From 1439 onward he held synods in which measures were taken for the purification of the church. It was forbidden to the clergy to keep concubines, to frequent the taverns, gamble, bear arms, etc. It was enjoined upon them to teach the people the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments. All efforts for the reformation of the clergy were favored by Charles IV.

c. A Number of Eloquent and Zealous Evangelical Preachers now Appeared. (*a*) *Conrad of Waldhausen,* an Austrian, an Augustinian monk, having previously gained a high reputation for eloquence at Vienna, was called to Prague through the influence of Charles IV. (1360 or 1362). He was full of zeal, feeling that the salvation of his own soul and that of the people depended upon his preaching of repentance to the utmost of his ability. He rebuked in the most thoroughgoing way the sins of high and low, laymen and clergy. The more severe his preaching, the more the people flocked to hear him. Women laid aside their costly dresses; usurers made haste to restore their ill-gotten gains; libertines made vows of chastity. His denunciation of monks and clergy aroused their animosity. They brought various accusations against him, and a day for trial was appointed; but the monks prudently failed to appear. Conrad preached in German and Latin; hence a large part of the population of Prague were affected only indirectly by his preaching.

(*b*) But before his death (1369) a native Bohemian of greater genius than Conrad had appeared, *Militsch of Kremsier.* Militsch already held a high ecclesiastical position when Conrad appeared in Bohemia, and was also private secretary to Charles IV. As archdeacon, in his visitation journeys, he had an opportunity to observe the extreme corruption of the church. In 1363 he renounced his dignities and income, adopted an ascetical mode of life, and resolved in humility and poverty to follow Christ in preaching the gospel.

He soon began to preach in Bohemian—a new thing. At first he had few hearers, but in a short time his ministry was thronged, so that he preached every day two or three hours at a time, and on Sundays and fast days from two to five times. He soon had great influence with all classes. When he was not preaching, most of his time was taken up in ministering consolation and direction in private to the multitudes that visited him. More than two hundred prostitutes were induced to abandon their life of shame. An ill-famed part of the town—the "Little Venice"—was destroyed by his direction, and in its place was built a house of refuge for these reformed women —"Little Jerusalem."

By a study of the apocalyptic Scriptures, Militsch became convinced that Antichrist had come in the corruption of the church. In 1367 he went to Rome to inform the pope of the new light that he had received, and to urge him to take in hand the reformation of the church. The pope was absent, and he published his views on the door of St. Peter's. For this he was arrested and imprisoned until the pope returned, when he was liberated. He returned to Prague much discouraged, but soon went to work with renewed zeal, and in addition to his former activities, undertook the work of training evangelists. In 1372 the monks brought accusation against him, but in 1374 he journeyed to Avignon and vindicated his orthodoxy. While there he fell sick and died.

(*c*) *Matthias of Janow*, son of a Bohemian knight, had spent six years in the University of Paris as a student of philosophy and theology. He had also traveled much in Germany and Italy, and was one of the most cultivated men of the time. He represents himself as having been, during his early student life at Prague, a slave to his passions. But, probably under the influence of Militsch, there "entered into his breast a certain fire, subtle, new, strong, and unusual, but exceedingly sweet." He now came to feel himself called to preach the pure gospel, and by his writings to diffuse the truth. In 1381 he became a prebendary at Prague, where he spent much time in preaching and in pastoral work. But Matthias' chief merit is as a writer. As a theological writer he stands second only to Huss among Bohemian reformers, while in

some matters he seems to have gone beyond Huss himself. His work, "Concerning the Rules of the Old and New Testament," is one of the most remarkable of the reformatory productions of the Middle Ages. It was read and admired by professors and students and learned men in general, but being written in Latin it could have only an indirect influence upon the people. Matthias, with his clear reformatory views, seems "to have lacked only exterior action for becoming the chief of the Bohemian revolution." The papal schism had already been consummated when he entered upon active life. Two or three rival popes were demanding the allegiance of the people and anathematizing one another. He was therefore enabled more definitely than Militsch to center his notions of Antichrist upon the papacy.

A leading thought with Matthias, therefore, is, that Antichrist is in the world. Antichrist and his doings are alluded to and condemned on almost every page. He inquires as to the cause of the papal schism. It arose, "not because they loved Jesus Christ and his church, but because they loved themselves and this world." The body of Antichrist is thus rent asunder, but not the body of Christ. Matthias believed in the church as an organic unity, with its one head and its gradation of officers. His great complaint was of the selfishness, tyranny, and secularization of pope and bishops. He regarded the guidance of the church by means of the word of God taught by the parish clergy as a most important thing, and he bewailed the viciousness of the great body of the clergy and their utter neglect of duty.

The multiplication of ecclesiastical laws seemed to him to be at the bottom of much of the corruption of clergy and people. Human ordinances, with superiors whose business it was to enforce them, had come to make more impression on men's minds than divine ordinances, whose nature is spiritual. Thus men lose sight of Christ crucified, so that they are ashamed even to mention his name.

Matthias combated the notion that the clergy are the church, and that ordinary Christians should be admitted to the Lord's Supper as seldom as possible. He regarded the Supper as a most important means of grace, which

ought to be provided frequently for the people. He strongly emphasized the universal priesthood of believers. This was one of the burning ideas in the Bohemian revolution, and involved the right of laymen to communion under both kinds.

Matthias' exposition of the corruption of monks and clergy drew upon him the ill-will of these classes. At a synod held in Prague (1389) he was called to account, especially with regard to his expressions in favor of the full right of laymen to the Lord's Supper; yet he continued to strive for the reformation of the church till his death (1394).

d. What Matthias did toward awakening the reformatory spirit among the learned, *Thomas of Stitny* did among the masses. The requirement made of each bachelor of arts in the university, that he should devote at least two years to teaching, had diffused intelligence throughout a large part of the community. Stitny was educated in the University of Prague, a thorough Bohemian, and a charming writer in the Bohemian language. His writings combine religious earnestness with Bohemian patriotism and recognition of the rights of the lower classes. The tendency of his writings was strongly revolutionary, and they did more than any other agency, perhaps, to prepare the great mass of the Bohemian people for the uprising against Roman and German oppression.

The Bohemians belonged to the Slavic race, and could never be induced to merge themselves in the German. For generations they had been dependent upon Germany. Most of the great landed proprietors and nobles were German, as were also the wealthy tradesmen and officials of the cities. Bohemians were ineligible to high civil offices. The great body of serfs was Bohemian, as were many of the laborers and artisans in the cities.

The Bohemian people, through hatred of their oppressors, were ready for revolution. They required only strong leaders. The landed proprietors and the rich mercantile class opposed revolution with all their might. Stitny had awakened the mass of the Bohemian population.

The great university was attended by thousands of

Germans, and here, also, the Germans were attempting to dominate. The Bohemians, under the leadership of Huss, resisted their encroachments, and the revolution may be said to have begun with the departure from Prague of the German students (1409).

e. The arbitrary manner in which Waclav IV., the successor of Charles IV., a weak and vicious ruler, had proceeded with the clergy (arresting and treating with indignity the archbishop, and ordering a monastery to be pillaged), and the support he had lent to the Bohemians in the university against the Germans, tended to decrease the respect of the Bohemians for the Roman Catholic Church, and to prepare the peasants to rise up against their oppressors.

f. The writings of Wycliffe had been introduced into the University of Prague before the close of the fourteenth century. After the marriage of Anne, daughter of Charles IV., to Richard II. of England (1382), considerable intercourse had been established between the universities of Oxford and Prague; and by the time of Huss' public appearance Wycliffe's writings were held in high esteem, and were subjects of frequent discussion. The immediate influence of these writings on Huss was very great.

(2) *Reformatory Work of John Huss*. John Huss, born 1367, was educated at the University of Prague, where he became bachelor in 1393, master in 1396, lecturer in 1398, dean of the philosophical faculty in 1401, and rector of the university in 1403. In 1402 he was appointed preacher in the "Bethlehem" chapel, which had been established some years earlier by two wealthy citizens of Prague, for the purpose of promoting evangelical preaching in the Bohemian language—a result of the labors of Militsch.

Up to 1402 Huss had taken more interest in philosophy and scholastic theology than in evangelical work. He had studied the philosophical writings of Wycliffe, and had used them in his lectures. He had adopted the realism of Wycliffe, and had already come into controversy with the nominalistic Germans.

His duty as preacher to the people, and his sense of the responsibility of his position, led him to study the Scrip-

tures as he had never done before. He came to feel that the great evils in the church had resulted largely from neglect of biblical study. About the same time he became acquainted with Wycliffe's theological works through Jerome of Prague, who had studied at Oxford, and who became even more zealous than Huss for reform.

Huss soon won great reputation as a moral preacher. In 1405 he began to denounce the corruption of the clergy in the synods, in which he was supported by King Waclav. By preaching against the clergy he made many enemies, and his Bohemian patriotism and his zeal in defending Wycliffe and disseminating his views, made him odious to the Germans in the university.

In the church at Wilsnack miracles were supposed to be wrought by the pretended blood of Christ there exhibited. In 1405 Huss was appointed on a commission to visit the place and investigate the matter. The fraud was exposed, and pilgrimages to Wilsnack forbidden.

The strife between the Bohemian nation and the German, in the university, induced partly by the strong national aversion of Bohemians to Germans, partly by differences of philosophical views, led in 1409 to the diminution of the privileges of the Germans, and their withdrawal from Bohemia.

Huss was now completely dominant in the university. The archbishop had become jealous of Huss' influence, especially as he felt himself rebuked by some of the reformer's denunciations of the clergy. In 1410 he procured from Pope Alexander V. a bull forbidding preaching in private chapels and requiring the burning of Wycliffe's works. Huss, supported by king and queen, nobility and university, continued to preach in the "Bethlehem" chapel and to write in defense of Wycliffe; and Archbishop Sbynko revoked his accusation of heresy.

In 1412 the pope issued a crusading bull against Waclav, with the usual promise of indulgences. Huss and Jerome now protested with greater zeal than before against indulgences and their abuses. This led to the condemnation of Wycliffe's works at Rome and to the excommunication of Huss (1413).

Huss now wrote his great work on the church, and retired from Prague. He was summoned to appear be-

fore the council of Constance (1414), and went under the safe-conduct of the Emperor Sigismund. He felt secure from the fact that he was not charged with heresy, and that the object of the council was reformation. But it was made known at Constance about the time of his arrival, that James of Misa, a priest of Prague, had begun giving the communion to the laity under both kinds, and this was considered the result of Huss' teaching. Moreover, Huss was regarded as the chief cause of the expulsion of the Germans from the university. On November 28, 1414, Huss was thrown into prison on the charge of heresy. Despite the protest of the Prague University and the Bohemian nobles, the safe-conduct of the emperor was violated, and without the show of a fair trial Huss was burned, July, 1415.

(3) *Reasons for the Condemnation of Huss.* *a.* The condemnation of Huss was due, probably, not to any doctrinal aberration on his part, but to the fact that he was the leader of a party that threatened the existence of the hierarchical church. His unsparing denunciations of the clergy had brought the latter into disrepute. The visible striving of the Bohemian nation for political freedom from the Germans was seen to tend toward freedom from ecclesiastical authority. Moreover, Huss was a zealous defender of Wycliffe, and the results of Wycliffe's views, as seen in Lollardism, were well known. It required no extraordinary amount of penetration to see that similar results would follow the teachings of Huss and Jerome.

b. Again, Huss appeared to the council to be obstinate and self-willed, and to set up his own views of truth in opposition to those of the universal church.

c. Again, the very fact that the Council of Constance was a reformatory council, led by such spirits as John Gerson, Peter d'Ailly, etc., helps us to account for the condemnation of the reformer Huss. The members of the council felt that they were taking a bold step in assembling without papal summons, and to deal with popes. They must guard against any appearance of sympathy with revolutionary spirits, else the council would fail to secure the general recognition necessary to the accomplishment of its ends. It was clear that Huss was a revolutionary spirit. If allowed to return to Bohemia,

he would, without fail, carry on a revolution which would result in the alienation of Bohemia from the church.

d. Again, the council was called by Sigismund, who was hated by Bohemians, and who had no sympathy with them. The preponderance of power in the council was German; Huss was looked upon as the great champion of Bohemian liberty, and it was remembered that he had been chiefly instrumental in driving away the Germans from Prague. The members of the council were, therefore, extremely prejudiced against him.

(4) *Doctrinal Position of Huss. a. On the Church.* The holy Catholic Church is, according to Huss, the whole number of all the predestinated—present, past, and future. Hence, he distinguished between being *in* the church and being *of* the church. Of this universal church Christ alone is the head. Neither pope nor cardinals are necessary to the regimen of the church.

b. The Eucharist. Huss was accused of holding, with Wycliffe, that the bread and wine remain bread and wine after consecration. This he absolutely denied.

Apart from his view with regard to the church, and his denial of the authority of popes and clergy, when corrupt, nothing like heresy could be established against Huss. He was a man of less originality and power than Wycliffe. In fact, most of his writings are made up almost wholly of excerpts from Wycliffe.[1]

(5) *The Hussite Wars.* The contempt which the council of Constance showed for Bohemia, the decree pronouncing heretics those who should insist on communion under both kinds, the execution of Huss and afterward of Jerome of Prague, exasperated the Bohemians, already restless and desirous of revolution.

James of Misa defended communion under both kinds against the council; Huss was honored as a martyr; the Bohemian and Moravian nobles assembled and wrote a condemnatory letter to the council, and formed a league for six years for the protection of purity of doctrine; the university pronounced for communion under both kinds, and the Bohemian people were now ready to defend this view with their lives.

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[1] See Loserth, "Wiclif and Hus," p. 181, *seq.*

The council issued instructions for the putting down of the schism, and the pope sent legates to carry out the plan of the council. Under Nicolas of Hussinecz, and John Ziska, noblemen, thousands of Bohemians gathered for self-defense. This enthusiastic host ascended Mount Tabor, and there celebrated the Lord's Supper under both kinds. The city of Tabor was founded, and the Taborites became fanatical in their zeal for reform. Waclav was utterly unable to control the different parties or to keep order.

In 1419 Ziska moved upon Prague, and in a most sanguinary manner took vengeance upon the council. When Waclav died (1419) the people were so determinedly opposed to Sigismund that complete anarchy prevailed.

There now appeared two parties of Hussites: the Hussites of Prague, who did not go beyond Huss and James of Misa, who simply demanded the cup (Calixtines or Utraquists, from *calix*, a "cup," and *sub utraque specie*, "under both kinds"), who did not desire to make a complete schism with the hierarchical church, who held in general to the doctrine of the Romish Church, but desired to see the church reformed in morals; and the Taborites, who assumed a position of the most uncompromising hostility to the papal church, and under the influence of the Waldenses and other older sects, made the Scriptures their absolute authority and guide.

3. *Brethren of the Common Life.*

LITERATURE: Ullmann, "Reformers Before the Reformation"; Preger, "*Beiträge zur Gesch. d. rel. Bewegung in d. Niederlanden in d. zweiten Hälfte d. XIV. Jahrh.*"; Kettlewell, "Thomas a Kempis and the Brethren of the Common Life"; art. by Schultze on "*Brüder d. gemeinsamen Lebens*" in Herzog-Hauck, third ed., *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 472–507 (this able account of the Brethren is preceded by a full bibliography).

The Brethren of the Common Life originated in the Netherlands as a result of the evangelical mysticism of Joh. Ruysbroek. Its founders were Gerhard Groot and Florentius. It combined the most evangelical type of mysticism with semi-monastic life and enthusiastic devotion to evangelistic work, to education, and to literary production. It arose about the middle of the fourteenth

century, during the "Babylonish exile" of the papacy. With the permission of his bishop and with the counsel of the aged Ruysbroek, Groot began preaching repentance and conversion to multitudes of eager listeners at Deventer, Zwoll, Leyden, Delft, Gouda, and Amsterdam (*c.* 1379). A number of well-educated, evangelical men were soon at his side, ready to carry forward the work thus inaugurated. Florentius was among his earliest converts and succeeded him in the leadership of the movement (1384).

Religious houses were soon organized in these and a number of other places in the Netherlands and in many of the chief centers of Northern Germany. Similar houses for sisters were speedily founded in a number of places, and the influence of the brotherhood became widespread and beneficent. It was at its height about the close of the period, and many of the Brethren welcomed the Protestant revolution and joined hands with the Reformers.

There was no intention on the part of Groot and his coadjutors to break with the Roman Catholic Church. Groot hesitated to introduce the communal principle, believing that the mendicant orders would never tolerate them, but he was persuaded by Florentius to make the experiment and to leave the results to God.

The peculiarity of their organization consisted in their dispensing with vows, and voluntarily associating on the basis of devout living combined with labor for support. Mendicancy was forbidden. The Brethren copied books and did various other kinds of remunerative work for their support, and engaged as far as practicable in teaching and preaching.

They have been compared by Acquoy to the modern Methodists and by Ritschl to the Pietists. While they preached justification by faith, they were careful to insist on the necessity of upright and devout living. They emphasized the freedom of the will, like most of the evangelicals of the Middle Ages and like the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. No doubt their piety was of a somewhat ascetical type and fell somewhat short in its freedom and joyfulness of the best types of modern evangelical life.

4. "*Reformers Before the Reformation.*"

LITERATURE: Ullmann, "Reformers Before the Reformation"; Clemen, "*Joh. Pupper von Goch*"; Friedrich, "*Joh. Wessel, ein Bild aus d. Kirchengesch. d. XV. Jahrh.*"; Gieseler, "Eccl. Hist.," Vol. III., p. 453, *seq.*; Lea, "Hist. of the Inquisition," Vol. III., p. 209, *seq.* (on Savonarola); Villari, "Life of Savonarola"; Creighton, "Hist. of the Papacy," Vol. III., *passim.*

The designation "Reformers before the Reformation" has been somewhat exclusively applied, without any sufficient reason, to a number of able reforming spirits of the fifteenth century, including John Pupper of Goch, John of Wesel, John of Wessel, and Savonarola.

(1) *Savonarola* (d. 1498) was a Dominican monk of the extreme ascetical type, who attempted in Florence by bold (rash) denunciations of political and ecclesiastical corruption, to bring about a reformation of abuses. The stress of his enthusiastic efforts for reform seems to have destroyed his mental equipoise, and he assumed the rôle of a prophet with the usual fanatical manifestations. Savonarola was not an evangelical Christian in the modern sense of the term, and his success would not have meant the restoration of Christianity to its primitive simplicity and purity. He fell a victim to civil and papal intolerance.

(2) *John Pupper of Goch* (d. 1475), under the influence of the Brethren of the Common Life, of the Renaissance, of the revived study of the works of Augustine, and of evangelical mysticism, emphasized the authority of the Scriptures rightly interpreted, over against traditionalism and ecclesiastical authority. He laid great stress on love to God and love to man as embodying the essence of religion. He was an extreme nominalist in philosophy and repudiated the speculations of scholasticism as vain and useless. He denied that reason could penetrate the realms of the supernatural. Only the "light of faith and of grace" can apprehend the "supremely true" and the "supremely good." He preached justification by faith in the Augustinian sense, and repudiated Pelagianism and Semi-pelagianism as well as the whole mediæval system of justification by works. He regarded saving faith as a transforming process wherein the subject is not simply declared righteous but made righteous.

He probably received his early training in a school of the Brethren of the Common Life. He studied at Cologne and then in the University of Paris. From 1459 onward he presided over an Augustinian monastery for women that he had founded.

(3) *John of Wesel* (d. 1482) was professor in the University of Erfurt during the middle years of the century (*c.* 1445–1456). He had been profoundly influenced by the new learning and by the revived study of Augustine. As preacher at Worms he denounced indulgences and the entire sacerdotal system of the hierarchical church on which indulgences rested. "Whom God wishes to save he would save by giving him grace, if all the priests should wish to damn and excommunicate him." He repudiated the authority of the church to interpret the Scriptures for believers. The personal authority of the church extends no farther than its agreement with the gospel. The law of Christ he made supreme. He insisted that the elect are saved by grace alone. He rejected the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, holding that the substance of the bread and the wine remain. He was arraigned before the church authorities at Maintz and after defending his positions as well as he could he felt obliged to recant (1479). He died in prison three years later.

(4) *John of Wessel* (d. 1489), educated in a school of the Brethren of the Common Life, in the University of Cologne, and in the University of Paris, was one of the most eminent scholars and thinkers of his age. He was called by his contemporaries the "light of the world." He taught in the universities of Cologne, Louvain, Paris, and Heidelberg, and ended his wonderful career in peace. Luther said: "If he had been read by me beforehand, it might well have seemed to my enemies that I had drawn everything from Wessel, so completely does the spirit of us two conspire into one." In him also we see a convergence of the influence of the Renaissance, of the revived study of Augustine, and of evangelical mysticism. Like John of Wesel he clearly proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith. "He who thinks to be justified through his own works does not know what it is to be just." Like John of Wesel, and on the same grounds,

he attacked indulgences. Works of supererogation on which they were in part based he declares to be impossible for sinful man.

The possibility of carrying on with so little interruption the evangelical work of the Brethren of the Common Life and of the great reforming teachers whose activity has been considered, was due in a large measure to the widespread popular desire for evangelical teaching and in part to the tolerant spirit of the Renaissance.

If we consider the civilizing forces that were at work at the close of the present period, as set forth very briefly and imperfectly in Chapter I., the appalling corruption of the hierarchical church, as set forth in Chapter II., the evangelical forces that were leavening the population of Europe, which have been only partially described in the present chapter, and the widespread discontent of the masses with the social and economic conditions that prevailed, the Protestant Revolution of the sixteenth century, with its true and its false elements, can be easily understood.

END OF VOLUME I

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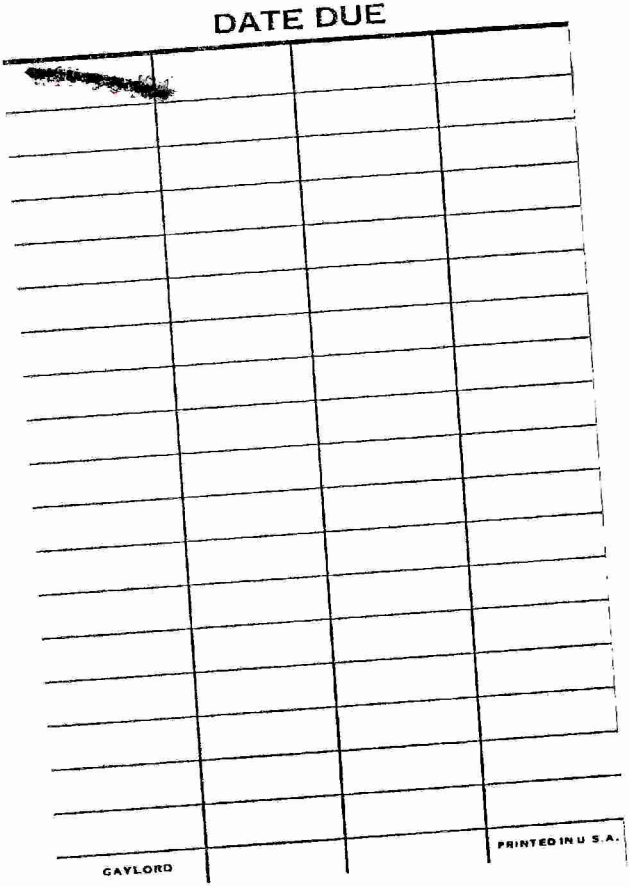
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v. 2

A Manual of Church History

BY

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Volume II

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TO

Mary Augusta Ware

the wife of my youth, to whose self-sacrificing devotion and constant encouragement I am indebted to an incalculable extent for whatever I have been able to accomplish as student, teacher, and writer

THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

PREFACE

THE second volume of the "Manual of Church History" is now put forth as the completion of a task assumed about twenty-five years ago, when the author was just half his present age. If it should be found measurably to fulfill the purposes for which it was planned and has been laboriously prepared, the publication of the volume will be to the author a two-fold source of satisfaction as involving relief from the pressure of a long-borne burden and a consciousness of having contributed something toward the advancement of one of the noblest departments of study.

The unanimous and hearty commendation of the first volume by professors of church history and other scholars of the various evangelical denominations on both sides of the Atlantic, and the extent to which it has been adopted as a text-book in theological seminaries and universities of different denominations has stimulated the author to endeavor to make the present volume even worthier of acceptance. He is well aware that the ground traversed in this portion of the work abounds in matters that are still controverted among evangelical Christians, and he can only hope that scholars of other denominations who have praised him for fair-mindedness on the ground of his handling of difficult and delicate questions in his earlier volumes will give him credit for single-minded devotion to truth even when his conclusions involve the censure of positions that they may cherish. The author is not conscious of having swerved a hair's breadth from his conception of what absolute truth required him to state because of devotion to the interests of his own denomination or of animosity toward another.

It will be noticed that no attempt is made to sketch the history of the Oriental churches during the past four

centuries. It was felt that anything like an adequate treatment of the subject would require more space than could be spared in a volume already overcrowded with the history of Occidental Christianity during the time covered.

It is a pleasure to the author to express his gratitude to Rev. Joseph Leeming Gilmour, B. D., now pastor of the Olivet Baptist Church, Montreal, for the preparation of the index to the present volume. His index to Vol. I. was appreciated by many readers.

A. H. N.

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY, WACO, TEXAS,
October, 1902.

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PERIOD V

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (A. D. 1517–1648)

CHAPTER I

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION

I. INTRODUCTORY

AN attentive reading of the chapters of Period IV. must have made it abundantly evident that the hierarchical church, while it had covered Europe with its organized activities and had constituted a leading factor in the onward march of civilization, had become hopelessly corrupt. All efforts at reform from within had apparently ended in dismal failure. Evangelical influences of many types and under divers names had been manifestly and powerfully at work since the beginning of the eleventh century throughout Europe and had shown themselves capable of enduring all the fiery tests that for centuries the persecuting hierarchy had been able to bring to bear for their destruction. New modes of thought and study and new views of life had been developed, with the good-will and co-operation of the papacy itself, which could not fail to revolutionize theology and with it ecclesiastical polity and Christian living. It seems important at this stage to pass in review the religious, economic, social, and political forces that necessitated revolution and determined its character.

1. *Survey of the Reformatory Forces that had been at work during the later Middle Ages.*

(1) *Non-political, Biblical Reform.* The Reformation was not inaugurated by Martin Luther, nor by the representatives of the New Learning, nor yet by Wycliffe or Huss. It began much earlier. We have seen the so-called "heretical" (properly biblical) parties protesting with terrible earnestness against the corrupt hierarchy just as it was reaching the summit of its powers, rigid insistence on uniformity of belief and worship bringing out and greatly increasing the latent Christian life.

(2) *Patriotic-Realistic Reform.* These biblical opponents of the hierarchy persecuted, scattered, and in some regions almost exterminated; the hierarchy made still more arrogant and unscrupulous by its cruel triumph; the papacy captured by the king of France and made subservient to French interests; the papal schism resulting from efforts to free the papacy from French thraldom; the national spirit having already, from various causes, been developed; it would have been strange if Christian patriots had not arisen in the various States of Europe to cry out against the extortions and oppressions to which their fatherlands were subjected by a foreign and unfriendly hierarchy, and it would have been still stranger if such patriotic churchmen had not met with a hearty response from all classes of society. Such movements were the Wycliffite in England and the Hussite in Bohemia. In these movements the following elements entered: *a. Patriotic.*—Directed chiefly against the fleecing of the people by foreign priests, who performed no service in return for their extorted revenues. *b. Realistic.*—The leaders of these movements, being realists, believed in the reality of the one universal church, corresponding to an exalted ideal. The church of their day had apostatized. Financial corruption lay at the root of the degeneracy of the age. The corrupt hierarchy represented in their view Antichrist. They sought to purge the church of corruption while maintaining a hierarchy. A reform based upon realism could be only transient. Unless the roots of the hierarchy are destroyed, it avails little to lop off an excrescence here and there. *c. Biblical.*—The biblical element was partially apprehended, but was shorn of its power by the realism just mentioned.

These movements offered, for a time, stout resistance to ecclesiastical tyranny. But they were destined to be swept away in the tide of corruption which they made no adequate effort to stay.

(3) *Mystical Reform.* Then came the *Mystics*, men of profoundly speculative minds, led by despair of reforming and spiritualizing the church and through the study of the Neo-Platonic writings to an exaggeration of the importance and capacity of the inner life to a pantheistic identification of man with God. Here the vital

idea, taken apart from its pantheistic setting, is the need of a personal appropriation of Christ. Outward forms are of no account. We must become united with God, God being in us and we in God. By contemplating God we become one with God. By contemplating Christ we become one with Christ. The pantheistic element was so transcendental as to affect comparatively few. The tendency toward striving after individual and conscious union with Christ had a much wider influence. But mysticism was indifferent to external church order, and could not of itself bring about a radical reform.

(4) *Humanistic Reform.* Next came the *Revival of Learning*, with its contempt for scholasticism, its temporary return to Platonic paganism, its restoration of the study of the Scriptures in their original languages, its contempt for human authority, and its consequent promotion of freedom of thought.

Here, then, we have five grand elements of opposition to the corrupt hierarchy: The *Biblical*, the *Realistic*, the *Patriotic*, the *Mystical*, the *Humanistic*. From the realistic not much could be expected. Its antagonism to the biblical would be likely to more than counterbalance its power for good; the patriotic was likely to be contaminated by avarice and to introduce a vast amount of corruption into any religious movement with which it might be connected. The position of humanism in a religious reformation could be only an ancillary one, yet its aid was absolutely indispensable. Singly, each of these elements had entered the arena, and each had failed of immediate success. The time was coming when all of these elements of opposition were to combine, and the fabric of the hierarchy might well have trembled in the face of such a combination.

We might form a useful and interesting classification of the various reforming parties of the sixteenth century, on the basis of the degree in which these elements entered into each. We should say, *e. g.*, that the Erasmic movement was preponderatingly humanistic. The biblical element was, theoretically at least, taken account of by Erasmus, but with so little moral aggressiveness as to be of minor moment—there was no mysticism, little patriotism, little financial interest. The Lutheran Reformation represents a combination of all five of the reformatory forces, with a marvelous capacity to shift ground from one to another, according to the exigencies of

the occasion. Few religious leaders ever expressed greater devotion to the Scriptures than Luther, and in controversy with the Romanists he made the Scriptures the only rule of faith and practice. Yet we shall see that even the Scriptures must adapt themselves to his theories or suffer the penalty of decanonization, and church authority was of some account when rites retained by him were shown to lack clear scriptural authorization. So, also, Luther was, from the first, impelled largely by patriotic motives. Nothing contributed more to his success than the contagion of his patriotism. "There never has been a German," writes the Catholic historian Döllinger, "who so intuitively understood his fellow-countrymen, and who, in return, has been so thoroughly understood; nay, whose spirit, I should say, has been so completely imbibed by his nation, as this Augustinian friar of Wittenberg. The mind and the spirit of the Germans were under his control like the lyre in the hands of a musician." Like Wycliffe and Huss he believed, at the outset, in a universal organic church, with a single head, and desired only to restore the existing church to a state of purity. Again, Luther was greatly indebted to mediæval mysticism. His personal absorption in religious matters, as well as some features of his theology, was due to this influence. Again, Luther owed much to humanism, and was himself essentially a humanist. His contempt for Aristotle and the Schoolmen, his devotion to the study of the Scriptures in the original languages, his love of freedom (for himself), resulted directly from humanistic influence. Luther's enormous power and success were due largely to the fact that he combined in his own person all the reformatory elements that had come down to him from the past.

In Zwingli and Œcolampadius, leaders of the Swiss Reformation, the patriotic, the humanistic, and the biblical elements prevailed, the second in a stronger form, and the third less intensely than with Luther. We see in them almost none of Luther's churchly realism, and almost no mysticism.

In Calvin the patriotic spirit had become cosmopolitan zeal for the spread of the gospel. He could say, "to the French first," but he was sure to add, "and also to all the world"—at least "to all Europe." He was humanistic to the extent of fully appreciating the importance of classical and philological learning; but humanistic indifference and humanistic liberalism found no place in him. He was intensely biblical; yet he interpreted the Bible by Augustine rather than Augustine by the Bible. The Bible, as he understood it,—that is, the Augustinian system of doctrine as elaborated by himself,—was to Calvin no loosely fitting garment, which he could assume or doff as expediency might dictate, but rather bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh. He would have died for these views, just as he did live and labor for them.

The Socinians represented humanism with its Erasmic external respect for authority laid aside. They had all of Luther's contempt for extra-Lutheran authority, and, in addition to this, a contempt for Luther's own. They had no remnant of realism, no mysticism. They respected biblical authority, but insisted on interpreting the Scriptures in accordance with the requirements of reason. Their apprehension of the Scriptures was not profound, and their religious zeal rarely led them to court persecution.

With the Anabaptists the biblical principle, apprehended on its positive and on its negative side, held the first place. This was combined with mysticism (in some cases a purely biblical mysticism, in other cases a Neo-platonic, semi-pantheistic mysticism), and, in some cases, with pre-millennialism: the false mysticism, when it preponderated, leading to the rejection of fundamental doctrines—denial of the importance of the written word in comparison with the divine *Logos* always present to enlighten the believer, indifference to external ordinances, modification of the commonly received views of the person and work of Christ, etc.; the pre-millennialism sometimes leading to fanaticism, and to an utter wrecking of Christian life. Pre-millennialism, in connection with a desperate and frenzied socialistic movement, is responsible for the Münster Kingdom, with its horrors.

2. *Economic and Social Conditions that favored Civil and Religious Revolution, especially in Germany.*

(1) *The Development of the Mineral Resources of Germany.* As the exploitation of the mineral wealth of Bohemia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been among the most influential causes of the Hussite and Taborite revolution of the fifteenth century, so the development of the mineral wealth of Saxony and the adjoining provinces during the fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth centuries was among the most potent factors in precipitating the Protestant Revolution. The following are some of the ways in which this influence wrought:

a. The great increase of wealth in Germany excited the cupidity of the Roman Curia and led to the employment of extortionate methods of raising money beyond what was practicable at the time in most other countries. The papacy came to be looked upon by all classes of Germans as a corrupt foreign power whose chief concern in relation to Germany was that of exploitation.

b. The extensive mining operations in Freiberg, Schneeberg, Schreckenstein, Annaberg, Joachimsthal, etc., withdrew from the agricultural population a large number of laborers. Under ordinary circumstances this fact should have redounded to the advantage of the laboring class, but as a matter of fact it had the opposite effect. There was so little economic freedom that the miners were unable to secure remunerative wages and were in a chronic state of discontent, while the agricultural

laborers were compelled to work harder and were more ruthlessly exploited than before. The aggregations of mining populations greatly increased the demand for food products, as did also the growth of cities by reason of the increase of wealth and the demand for imported and manufactured goods. This increased demand for farm products stimulated the landowners to use every means for increasing production and to extort from the laborers as much as possible of the results of their industry. The growth of the cities brought in many artisans from a distance and gave employment to many peasants. The decimation of the peasant population by pestilence had still further aggravated the grievances of the survivors. The forests, which had hitherto been regarded as of little value and had been freely available for the purposes of the peasants, had come to be jealously guarded by the nobility as important sources of wealth. Vast quantities of wood and timber were consumed by the mines and the growth of the cities created an increasing demand for fuel and lumber. The increasing luxury of the nobles, who shared in the prosperity of the country, caused them to pay more attention than ever to the preservation of fish and game and to inflict upon the peasants the severest penalties for the violation of their regulations. A large and wealthy merchant class had grown up in the cities, and these, like the prosperous nobles, looked with disfavor on the extortions of the papacy as a draining of the country of its resources without corresponding advantages. It is to be noted that all classes, except clergy and monks, however much at variance they may have been with each other, were at one in resenting the extortions of the papacy.

(2) *The Organization of Artisans.* The artisans, now numerous and influential, were thoroughly organized in guilds. They had their assembly halls, where they could discuss municipal and other questions, and where they were free from the intrusion of clerical or magisterial authority. From the early Middle Ages the trade guilds had been important means of evangelical propagandism. A large proportion of the evangelical workers among the Waldenses and related parties were artisans and as members of guilds had ready access to the artisan classes

and enjoyed everywhere the hospitality and protection of their fellow-workmen. A fresh impetus was doubtless given to evangelical life in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century by the growth of German cities and the development of manufacturing industry. It is not to be supposed that all artisans were evangelical Christians; but it is certain that many of them were, and that the immunities enjoyed by the guilds greatly furthered the cause of evangelical dissent.

(3) *Diffusion of Secret Societies.* Nothing is more characteristic of the time immediately preceding the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution than the wide diffusion of secret societies (brotherhoods, sodalities, etc.). The influence of the new learning, with its skepticism and its desire to probe all questions of science, philosophy, and religion, in disregard of ecclesiastical authority, was doubtless paramount in this movement. Many of these societies were no doubt liberalistic or even infidel. Some of them were certainly made up of earnest Christians anxiously striving for higher attainments in Christian experience and knowledge, and it is probable that not a few of them were essentially evangelical churches. All alike were conducted in defiance of papal authority and wrought mightily for its overthrow.

(4) *Communism or Semi-communism.* Most of the evangelical parties of the Middle Ages were communistic or semi-communistic in doctrine and in practice, their communism being consciously based upon what they understood to be the teachings of Christ and the practice of the apostolic church. This is true of the Beghards and Beguines, of the Brethren of the Common Life, of the inner circle of the Waldenses, of the Taborites, and of the Bohemian Brethren, of the earlier time. While in some of these parties communism was not practised in a complete or consistent way, owing to the unfavorable conditions, it was their ideal, and the obligation of sharing with brethren in distress, even to the point of self-impoverishment, was almost universally recognized. That this type of Christianity should have appealed powerfully to the down-trodden peasantry and to the artisan classes in the cities was what might have been expected. The monastic orders had preached the doctrine

of poverty, but had soon become enormously wealthy in landed estates and notorious exploiters of labor. The common people had learned the hollowness of their pretensions and were ready to follow those who repudiated the papacy with all its institutions and insisted on an unconditional return to primitive Christianity. It is probable that a large proportion of those who accepted the social views of the evangelical Christians were without personal experience of saving grace and knew little of Scripture teaching; but it is certain that there was a general readiness to follow any leader who making the "pure word of God" his watchword should promise deliverance from ecclesiastical and civil bondage and the liberty and equality that they believed to be the inalienable right of Christian men. This propagandism of revolutionary social and religious views was conducted as secretly as possible; but it had accomplished its work in a pretty thorough way long before Luther appeared as a champion of Christian liberty.

3. *Political Relations and Conditions that Favored the Outbreak of the Protestant Revolution and Determined its Course.*

(1) *The Holy Roman Empire and the Hapsburgers.* The organization of the empire under the Golden Bull (1356) was still in force in the sixteenth century. The Hapsburg princes, starting out with a small Swiss province, had by conquest, diplomacy, and advantageous marriages, become by far the most powerful of the political forces of Europe and had long been at the head of the empire. The imperial office, though elective and at this time purchasable by the highest bidder, had become virtually hereditary, few even of the wealthy princes being able to compete with the powerful Hapsburgers, and some of the wealthier being unwilling to assume the responsibilities of the office. Some time before the imperial throne became vacant by the death of Maximilian (Jan. 12, 1519), negotiations for the succession had begun. The principal competitors were the king of France, who was distasteful to the Germans, and Charles, the grandson of Maximilian, who had become heir not only to

Austria and its eastern and Italian dependencies, but to Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and the vast colonial possessions of Spain as well. All the electors, except Frederick of Saxony, are said to have received bribes from the representatives of both of these potentates; and yet a majority of them offered the succession to Frederick of Saxony, whose territorial possessions were insignificant in comparison with those of Francis I. and Charles, but who had become, by virtue of his exploitation of the mineral wealth of Saxony, possessed of more ready money than either of the candidates. He refused to pay the price and no doubt shrank from the responsibilities of imperial administration. Besides he had committed himself to ecclesiastical reform, and would probably have hesitated to take the oath of allegiance to the Roman Catholic hierarchy required of incumbents of the imperial office. The invasion of eastern Europe by the Turks, moreover, made it peculiarly desirable that the Hapsburgers, a large part of whose possessions was in the East, should continue in the office. Apart from his control of his hereditary domains, the emperor's power in Germany was very slight, the more important principalities being able and disposed to resist any interference with the internal affairs of their provinces and even the petty principalities being exceedingly jealous in guarding their autonomy.

(2) *Germany*. Though included in the Holy Roman Empire, Germany was still in a thoroughly feudalized and disintegrated condition. By virtue of the German law of inheritance, the land had been almost endlessly subdivided among the sons of the lords and in only a few cases was there any considerable aggregation of territorial possessions and political power. These petty princes claimed and exercised the right of private warfare and many of them were little better than robber chieftains. Fist-law (*Faust-recht*) still largely prevailed. These petty principalities were interspersed with ecclesiastical estates of varying magnitude (archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, etc.), which, apart from the recognition of papal sovereignty, were governed in very much the same way as the secular principalities. With the growth of commerce during the later Middle Ages a large number of

cities had been able by reason of their wealth to emancipate themselves from the feudal lords and to obtain imperial charters as free cities. The imperial free cities had their representation in the imperial Diet side by side with the electors and with the princes, lay and ecclesiastical. These cities, with their wealth, self-government, intelligence, and diversified industries, constituted the strength of Germany at the beginning of the present period. They were usually strongly fortified and provisioned for a year. In many of them a spirit of religious toleration prevailed that enabled the older forms of evangelical Christianity to flourish even in times when exterminating persecution generally prevailed. These were the seats of the trade-guilds that did so much for the conservation and diffusion of evangelical principles and that promoted in so large a measure the democratic spirit. As early as the thirteenth century sixty cities in the Rhenish regions had leagued themselves together for the protection of commerce and the defense of their liberties. A similar organization (Hanseatic League) of the cities of northern Germany had been formed a little later. These leagues of cities did more than any other single agency for the establishment and maintenance of law and order and for the advancement of civilization in its higher forms.

The most important aggregation of territorial possessions in Germany at this time was the Wettin lands, made up of the electorate and the archduchy of Saxony. This territory was all the more important, as suggested above, because of its vast mineral wealth which was already being exploited on a large scale. Among the other more important political entities were the archduchy of Mecklenburg, the electorate of Brandenburg (later to develop into Prussia), the landgravate of Hesse, the archduchy of Bavaria, the electorate of the Palatinate, the archduchy of Lorraine, the archduchy of Luxenburg, the archduchy of Brabant, the county of Wurtemburg, the duchy of Brabant, the county of Holland, the duchy of Gelders, and the duchy of Westphalia. Among the provinces in central Germany that were already dependent on the Hapsburg princes, besides the archduchy of Austria (including the duchy of Styria, the duchy of Car-

niola, the duchy of Carinthia, and the county of Tirol), were the kingdom of Bohemia, the margravate of Moravia, and the duchy of Silesia.

(3) *Spain*, which was never an integral part of the empire, though its king was emperor, was at this time approaching the height of its glory. By the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, Castile and Aragon had been united (1481), and the opportunity came for the conquest of Grenada and the expulsion of the Moors (1492). Perpignan was acquired from France shortly afterward and Navarre was annexed in 1512. Sardinia, Sicily, and Southern Italy (Naples) were added, as well as the Netherlands. The discovery of America by Columbus (1492) redounded to the glory of Spain, and the exploitation of America and the East was already enriching this great maritime power. The expulsion of the Moors was followed by inquisitorial proceedings against the Jews, and over a hundred thousand are said to have been driven from their homes. Many of them found a temporary abiding-place in Portugal and thence scattered over Europe. Though ardent Catholics, Ferdinand and Isabella were far from being slavishly subservient to the papacy. They made some earnest efforts at reform and threatened to chastise Alexander VI. for his scandalous conduct. A ferocious type of Roman Catholicism had been developed in Spain, partly as a result of contact and conflict with Mohammedanism, that manifested itself in the Inquisition, in the Order of Jesuits, in the enslavement and enforced conversion of heathen peoples, in the uncompromising warfare with Protestantism. The ambition of Spain at this time was boundless, but her schemes for aggrandizement were fortunately held in check by similar ambitions on the part of France, by the revolt of a large part of Germany against the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and by the aggressive attitude of the Turkish Empire in relation to Europe in general and especially in relation to the eastern possessions of the Hapsburgers.

(4) *France* had become a mighty and thoroughly centralized monarchy. The application of the law of primogeniture, fortunate marriages, and conquest had brought the feudal provinces one by one under the dominion of

the successors of Hugh Capet. Guyenne and Aquitaine were annexed in 1461, Brittany, in 1491, Burgundy, in 1477, Provence, in 1491, and Milan and Genoa (by conquest), in 1516. Moreover, a claim had been laid to Naples. This last was long one of the bones of contention between France and Spain. France was not only a mighty nation, second only to Spain, but she had already been mastered by the ambition to be mightiest of all. She was not content with any permanent eastern boundary west of the Rhine and aspired to the government of Savoy and the whole of Italy. France had long been in the van of progress. Educationally and commercially she occupied a leading position. Francis I. had abandoned the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, the charter of the liberties of the Gallican church, and had entered into a concordat with the pope (1516), in accordance with which the king was to nominate the prelates, and the pope and king were to share in an equitable way the advantages of ecclesiastical patronage. It was no doubt due in part to this good understanding between pope and king that the former supported the latter in his candidacy for the imperial throne (1519), to the great injury of the papal cause in Germany. If France and the house of Hapsburg had been at one during the early years of the Protestant Revolution it is difficult to see how the Protestant princes of Germany could have maintained their cause.

The French nobles had been deprived of their right to maintain armies and to engage in private warfare and had been attached to the crown by special privileges, including exemption from taxation and the frequent bestowal of royal gratuities. They constituted a distinct caste, separated by an insuperable barrier from the peasants, artisans, and tradesmen. The peasants were free, in a sense, but were grievously oppressed by civil and ecclesiastical taxation, and the tribunals of the country were so completely subservient to the crown as to render them helpless against injustice. They were as a rule ignorant, peaceably inclined, and submissive, and were little amenable to the revolutionary influences that wrought so powerfully and so universally among the German peasants. A large middle class, engaged chiefly

in mercantile, manufacturing, and professional pursuits, had gathered in the cities and was becoming wealthier and wealthier, and consequently more and more influential. Separated as if by caste from the nobility and depending like these on the industry of the peasants, they were despised by the former and envied by the latter. They came to have almost a monopoly of intelligence and professional skill, as well as of manufacturing, commercial, banking, and capitalistic enterprises in general. It was this class which, along with certain elements of the nobility that were antagonistic to the crown on political grounds, was to constitute the bone and sinew of the Protestant revolt in France.

The city proletariat in France was degraded and brutalized, unsympathetic with the Protestant Revolution, and ready for any kind of atrocity. Evangelical dissent of the mediæval type seems to have been almost completely eliminated from the middle and lower classes of the population, in which it flourished in Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands, by centuries of inquisitorial activity, and to have been almost restricted to the Vaudois (Waldensian) communities in Piedmont, Dauphiny, etc., where from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand had been suffered to survive.

(5) *England.* Constitutional monarchy, with the disappearance of feudalism in the continental sense and the absence of caste barriers between the nobles and the upper commoners, had long been established in England. While the crown was nominally the sole owner of the land and all landowners owed allegiance and support to the crown by reason of this suzerainty, the right of the crown to levy and collect taxes without the consent of the people (including the commons), to imprison or distress without due process of law, or in any way to infringe upon the rights of the individual as respects life, liberty, or property, had long since been expressly renounced, and comprehensive charters (beginning with *Magna Charta*, 1215) had repeatedly guaranteed their rights to all classes of subjects and defined the limitations of royal prerogative. At the beginning of the present period Parliament, which represented the three estates of the realm, while nominally possessed of its

pristine powers, was feeble and submissive, and a despotism of almost Oriental arbitrariness and cruelty was in force. Henry VII., the first Tudor king, had come to the throne (1485) at the close of the wars of the Roses. Himself a usurper, he displaced the usurper and tyrant, Richard III., and secured the recognition of Parliament. The older nobility had been in a great measure destroyed during the wars and he was in a position to elevate to the peerage a large number of his partisans who were likely to be completely subservient to him. To secure himself in the undisputed possession of the crown and to make opposition hopeless he maintained a standing army, rendered all the more effective by improvements in the use of gunpowder (artillery, etc.), and was careful to prevent the organization of any armed force by his enemies. Economic changes of great importance had been for some time in progress. The demand for wool in the Netherlands and elsewhere had given a great impetus to sheep-raising, with the result that multitudes of peasant farmers were displaced and forced into the towns, where manufacturing enterprise was already rapidly growing. Henry and his successors did everything possible to further the industrial revolution, and were able by selling trade privileges and monopolies and bestowing special favors on manufacturing and commercial enterprise to secure large revenues hitherto unattainable. These added to the ordinary sources of revenue enabled Henry VII. to accumulate vast treasures and to become almost independent of Parliament. To strengthen himself still further, especially in relation to France, the hereditary enemy of England, he entered into close relations with Spain, involving the betrothal (and afterward the marriage) of his son Arthur to Catharine of Aragon. On the death of Arthur, to perpetuate the alliance, Catharine was married, by papal dispensation, to Henry (afterward King Henry VIII.), a minor, who was instructed to enter a secret protest against the proceeding, to be used thereafter in case of need. Apart from a war with France, that resulted in the loss of Brittany, the reign of Henry VII. and that of Henry VIII. were prosperous and peaceful. Men of influence were too much interested in money-making and in the new learning

patronized by the sovereigns to concern themselves very much about the maintenance of the principles of *Magna Charta*.

The English peasants were free (not serfs); but economic changes bore heavily upon them. Many peasants combined manufacturing on a small scale (weaving, etc.) with agriculture and lived in simple comfort; but the agricultural peasants, who now paid fixed money rents, were often in sore straits, and ejection often followed failure to pay. But on the whole the condition of the English peasantry was superior to that of the French and immeasurably superior to that of the German. The revolutionary spirit was almost wanting and resistance would in any case have been hopeless.

(6) *Italy*. For centuries Italy had been in a state of complete disintegration. A wide strip through the center of the peninsula constituted the *States of the Church*. The popes of the Renaissance not only sadly misgoverned and ruthlessly exploited this portion of Italy, but they used their influence for the perpetual turmoiling of the entire country. Their chief interest was the enriching of their own families and the States of the Church. The very fact that these States cut Italy in two rendered a united Italy impossible. The principal political units of Italy were *Venice*, a wealthy commercial city ruled by a despotic oligarchy and possessing considerable territory at the head of the Adriatic; *Florence*, also a city-republic, with adjoining territory, despotically ruled by the Medici; *Milan*, a similar political entity, claimed by France and Spain, but held by the Sforza family till 1512; *Naples*, covering all the southern portion of Italy, for which Spain and France long contended and to which Spain with papal aid made good her claim. France was driven out of Italy in 1511 through a combination under papal direction, of England, Spain, and Germany, known as the Holy League.

4. *Summary of Circumstances and Events that Prepared the way for the Protestant Revolution.*

(1) *Effects of the Papal Captivity and Schism*. The papacy had never recovered from the degrading effects of the captivity and schism. The reforming councils

established the superiority of councils to popes. Since the healing of the schism no powerful pope had arisen to wipe away the disgrace that had befallen the papacy. On the other hand, the popes had all been notoriously worldly and ambitious; many of them notoriously profligate; some of them more devoted to pagan philosophy than to Christianity in any form. The papacy had forgotten none of its expedients for raising money; but with the increase of commercial prosperity in Europe, luxury had gone hand in hand, and the Roman Curia had developed expensive tastes for architecture and fine art. A project for the building and adorning of St. Peter's Cathedral involved the raising of enormous sums of money. The private wars of the popes were also expensive to Christendom. Indulgences were now sold more shamelessly, it is probable, than ever before, to the impoverishing of the countries of Europe and to the disgust of all right-thinking people.

(2) *Persistence of the Waldenses and Related Bodies.* The Waldenses had spread throughout Europe, and were numerous in the manufacturing and commercial towns, especially in the Netherlands, the Rhine valley, Switzerland, Austria, Silesia, Northern Italy, Southern France, etc. They belonged to the middle class, and were for the most part artisans (weavers, tailors, shoemakers, etc.) and merchants. They held secret meetings, usually in their work-rooms. The Bohemian Brethren had in Bohemia and Moravia their hundreds of congregations, their tens of thousands of members and unattached supporters (many of the latter gentry and nobles), their well-equipped and efficient schools, and their extensive literature. From the date of the discovery of the art of printing to the beginning of the present period they made vastly more use of the press than Catholics and Hussites together.

The semi-monastic Beghards and Beguines, who had probably derived their inspiration from the Waldenses, had spread throughout Lower Germany, and by their devout and industrious lives had greatly influenced the masses. The Brethren of the Common Life, who had arisen in the Netherlands in the fourteenth century, spread into most parts of Germany. These have been designated

as cultured, ennobled, churchly Beghards. They established numerous schools, and devoted their chief attention to the study of the Scriptures, and to the practice and inculcation of inner piety. These did much to diffuse Christian life among the people. The Mystics (thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries) though holding to many extravagant notions, through the sanctity of their lives and through the profound conviction of sin and grace that were set forth in their devotional works and sermons, did much to awaken religious interest.

The corrupt lives of the clergy caused them to suffer greatly in the esteem of the people in comparison with these classes of religious men, whose aggregate number must have been considerable.

(3) *Decline of Feudalism.* Since the beginning of the Crusades, feudalism had been on the decline in most parts of Europe, but in Germany it was still in full force. While elsewhere the condition of the peasantry had improved, in Germany it had grown worse and worse. More labor was exacted of the peasants; they were robbed more and more of their rights. The evangelical teachings of the Waldenses and related parties had made them conscious of the injustice they suffered, and a deep spirit of unrest was everywhere manifest. The peasants had made several unsuccessful efforts for freedom and were ready for revolution, should an opportunity present itself.

(4) *The Revival of Learning.* The effect of the rise and diffusion of the new learning was, first of all, to create a disgust for scholastic theology. Many, from disgust at the scholastic representations of Christianity, lost faith in Christianity itself. Some went so far in their admiration of pagan literature, as to becomes pagans. Neo-Platonism was revived and found considerable acceptance. The papal court, under Leo X., himself a devotee of Platonism, was a hot-bed of infidelity.

Besides creating a contempt for scholasticism, the great bulwark of papal absolutism, it awakened freedom of thought in general; it caused the Scriptures to be studied in the original languages, and without reference to traditional interpretations; it diffused learning

of high character throughout Europe; and it exposed the impostures and the rottenness of the hierarchy. The emancipation of ethics from scholastic casuistical subtleties and its re-establishment on the basis of eternal right was one of the most glorious achievements of the Renaissance and one of its chief gifts to the Reformation.

(5) *Aggressions of the Turks.* The condition of the church was becoming critical. The efforts to stay the progress of the Turks had failed. It seemed to many that they would sweep over the whole of Europe, and that Christianity would suffer great tribulation, if not utter extinction. This peril drew men's attention to the corrupt state of the church and the necessity for reform.

(6) *The Invention of Printing.* Printing, which had now come into general use, had already contributed greatly to the enlightenment of Europe, and was ready as a powerful auxiliary in any movement in which the people were to be reached.

5. *Causes of the Failure of Earlier Efforts at Reform.*

The earlier attempts at reformation had apparently failed. The causes of their failure were various. We may enumerate some of them:

(1) *Lack of Popular Intelligence.* While many of the mediæval reforming parties gained extensive popular following, there was, as a rule, not sufficient intelligence among their members to enable them to come forward boldly and combat the hierarchical church on its own ground. Such was especially the case with the Waldenses and related bodies.

(2) *Inadequate Ideas of Reform.* Those parties that were not lacking in culture and social standing, such as the Wycliffites and the Hussites, were prevented by their realistic ideas of the church from openly assuming the position of separatists. Their aim was to reform the hierarchial church, rather than to overthrow it and to set up a better on the basis of New Testament precept and example. This was a hopeless task; for unless the root of the evil be destroyed, mere outward reforms are at best but exceedingly transient.

(3) *The Dependent Relations in which a Large Part of Europe stood to the Papacy.* This enabled the hierarchi-

cal church to bring to bear immense physical force for the suppression of dissent. We have seen how rulers were forced to persecute.

(4) *The Exterminating Policy of the Papacy.* Having the power to persecute, the papacy was not wanting in the will, and the records of the Inquisition show how impossible it was in the Middle Ages for any party long to defy the hierarchy.

(5) *Feudalism in General.* As the feudalism openly exercised by the church enabled it to carry out its policy of persecution, so feudalism in general, with the abjectness of spirit that it cultivated in the great mass of the people, was unfavorable to the success of any movement whose very essence was freedom.

All of these influences were at their height in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but from that time they steadily declined until the sixteenth century. It was impossible for them to disappear at once, and hence it was impossible for any great religious revolution which involved emancipation of thought from all human authority and the restoration of Christian life and thought to apostolic simplicity and purity to succeed until these obstacles had yielded to the attrition of social and religious influences working for centuries.

6. *The Problem of Reform.*

What were the fundamental errors of the mediæval system that needed to be eradicated? I conceive that there were three:

(1) *Sacerdotalism.* Given sacerdotalism, and what follows? If priests, as representatives of the holy Catholic Church, are, without reference to personal character, mediators between God and man, have power to bind and to loose on conditions imposed by themselves, men are no longer responsible to God for their lives, but to man. Holiness before God is of infinitely less importance than scrupulous obedience to the regulations of the priests. Religion thus comes to be a mere matter of outward form. From sacerdotalism flowed, as naturally as a stream from its source, superstitious adoration of images, shrines, etc., all forms of ritualism, the practical repudiation of Scripture authority,

the domination of Church over State, the obliteration of moral law as founded on the nature of God.

(2) *The Union of Church and State.* The idea that Church and State are coincident was firmly rooted. *Cæsaro-papacy* is almost as objectionable as papacy. We shall have occasion later to mark the disastrous consequences of such union, especially for the church.

(3) *The practical annulling of Scripture authority*, which, as has been said, resulted from sacerdotalism.

For anything like a complete reformation of Christianity at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the destruction of sacerdotalism, the abolition of the union of Church and State, and the reinstatement of the Scriptures in their position of paramount authority, was absolutely necessary.

II. HUMANISM AND THE REFORMATION.

LITERATURE: Erasmus, "*Opera Omnia*," 10 Vol. fol., Leyden, 1703–1706 (several of the more popular works have been printed separately. The "Praise of Folly," some of the "Colloquies," "Prayers," and "Pilgrimages" have been translated into English); writings of Colet, More, and Ulrich von Hutten; "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*"; relevant parts of the works of Luther, Melanchthon, and Zwingli; Seebohm, "The Oxford Reformers, John Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas More"; Drummond, "Erasmus, his Life and Character"; Emerton, "Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam," 1899 ("Heroes of the Ref. Series"); Froude, "Life and Letters of Erasmus," 1895; Strauss, "Ulrich von Hutten" (Eng. Trans.); Meyerhoff, "*Reuchlin und Seine Zeit*"; Geiger, "*Joh. Reuchlin*"; Lamey, "*Reuchlin, eine biogr. Skizze*"; Stähelin, "*Erasmus' Stellung zu Reformation*," 1873; Walther, "*Erasmus u. Melanchthon*," 1879; Eberhardt, in "*Zeitschr. f. d. Hist. Theolog.*," 1839, *Seit.* 99–151; Chlebus, in "*Zeitschr. f. d. Hist. Theol.*," 1845, *Seit.* 3–82; Göbel, "*Gesch. des Christl. Lebens in der Rhenisch-Westphälischen Evangel. Kirche*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 59–92 (particularly valuable); Geiger, in Sybel's "*Hist. Zeitschrift*," 1875. *Seit.* 71 *seq.*; Herzog–Hauck (3d ed.), Wetzer u. Welte, Ersch u. Gruber, art. "Erasmus," "Reuchlin," "Hutten," etc.

Evangelical Humanism, as represented by Colet, Erasmus, Reuchlin, etc., may be regarded (1) as a preparation for the Protestant Revolution; (2) as itself an attempt at reformation; (3) as an anti-Protestant movement.

1. *Humanism as a Preparation for the Protestant Revolution.*

(1) *The English Humanistic Reformers.* In England,

under the influence of the "New Learning," a number of able scholars appeared during the last years of the fifteenth century. Linacre, Grocyn, and Colet, had studied in Italy, where they became thorough Greek scholars, and imbibed the spirit of the Renaissance; and they had returned to England to devote their lives to the advancement of learning. They had learned to despise the philosophy and theology of the schools, and to look with disfavor upon the ecclesiastical system that rested on such a foundation.

Colet was a man of genius, and added to his linguistic learning deep insight and marked spirituality. He soon came to the conclusion that the simple Bible, interpreted not according to the allegorical method of the schoolmen, but according to the grammatico-historical sense, is the only true source of religious knowledge. He delivered expository lectures on several of the Pauline Epistles, which astonished, delighted, and inspired the crowd of students and doctors who attended them. At a Convocation in 1512, Colet, now dean of St. Paul's, preached a strong reformatory sermon, in which he bewailed the avarice, ambition, pride, and self-indulgence of the bishops and other clergy, and exhorted them with great earnestness to reformation. No reformer of the sixteenth century showed profounder insight into Christian truth than Colet.

Erasmus came under his influence first in 1498, when he visited England to learn Greek, and afterward, from 1505–1514, sustained the most intimate and cordial relations with him. He always looked up to Colet as his spiritual father and regarded him as the means of his own enlightenment, though he was greatly inferior to him in moral earnestness and fidelity to conviction. For the evangelical truths in which the writings of Erasmus abound, he was greatly indebted to Colet.

The English Reformation that Colet was laboring for, was to a great extent swept away in the wars of Henry VIII.; but Erasmus, a product of it, returned to the continent, and by the great popularity of his writings disseminated reformatory views far and wide.

(2) *Erasmus as a Humanist and a Forerunner of the Protestant Revolution. a. Sketch of Erasmus.* He was

born in Rotterdam (1465 or 1466), and was the son of a priest and a young woman of good family, both of whom cared for him assiduously until they died (one shortly after the other), when he was about thirteen years of age. They had provided for his education in the famous school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer, where he had excited the admiration of his teachers by his quickness of apprehension, his facility and elegance in expression, and the remarkable retentiveness of his memory. If he had been permitted to continue his education there, his thirst for knowledge would have been gratified by some of the best humanistic teachers of the time. The dishonesty of the person to whom funds for the completion of his education had been entrusted brought his studies at Deventer to an end. He was placed in a monastic school (1481), where three years were as good as wasted. Wearied with this life, destitute of means, and with no manifest way of earning a living, he felt himself compelled to enter a monastery (Emaus, near Gouda), and to take monastic vows, although he was thoroughly averse to monastic life. The fact that a well-educated youth of eighteen should have consented, for the sake of a morsel of bread, to bind himself by the most solemn vows to a mode of life that his soul abhorred, shows a weakness of character that was doubtless innate and which grace never fully remedied. He always looked upon this step as one of the great mistakes and misfortunes of his life. The years spent there tended to the still further depravation of his character and, as he supposed, laid the foundations for the physical weakness that interfered with his happiness and limited his usefulness throughout life. Yet this episode in his life no doubt led him to a deep realization of the corruptions of the church and the need of reformation ; and although the educational advantages of the monastery were not such as he desired he devoted himself with all his energies "by day and by night to letters." "Without a guide, and as it were by the occult force of nature," as he afterward remarked, "he pressed his way into the sanctuary of the muses." His religious guides were chiefly the works of Jerome and Laurentius Valla, the humanist.

In 1493 he was permitted by the Bishop of Camoral to go to Paris for the continuance of his studies. He soon became convinced that theological study would lead him into heresy and he had not the courage to become a heretic. He conceived at this time a profound dislike for the scholastic theology that proved invincible. Sickness, moreover, made his departure from Paris a necessity. In 1496 he matriculated in the University of Cologne as an arts student, but found little satisfaction there. Returning to Paris he became Bachelor of Theology in 1498. Here he supported himself by tutoring a young Englishman, through whom his highly important connection with English life and thought was brought about. His association with Colet, More, Linacre, and Grocyn, stimulated him to undertake the mastery of Greek and to enter upon his distinguished literary career, while it furnished him also with such an amount of financial support as enabled him to carry out his long-cherished plan of studying in Italy (1506 onward). Colet made earnest and repeated efforts to induce him to devote himself to biblical teaching in England, and was greatly disappointed that he had neither the strength of conviction nor the moral courage that would have made his magnificent intellectual powers and his ample learning available for the reformation of theology at Oxford or Cambridge. It should be said, on behalf of Erasmus, that he was deeply conscious of his moral weakness and constantly excused himself on the ground of his pusillanimity from undertaking tasks that required manly courage.

On his return from Italy in 1509 he entered at once as a man of letters upon a career that surpassed anything the age had known. The successive publication of his popular and his learned works (see below) gave him a position in the literary world never enjoyed by an individual before or after his time. Wherever he went he was treated like a king. Popes, emperor, kings, cardinals, universities, municipalities, vied with each other in showing him honor. As the mode of living into which he had been drawn was expensive and as much money was needed for the purchasing of books and the carrying out of his great literary schemes, he did not hesi-

tate to use his popularity in seeking gratuities at the hands of his wealthy and influential friends, nor to employ flattery when seeking to establish or maintain advantageous relations with the great. Nothing, save his refusal to align himself with Luther in the Protestant Revolution, has done so much to discredit Erasmus in the eyes of Protestant posterity as his shameless mendicancy. Yet the odium of this should be relieved in part at least by what we know of the spirit of the age, when, as in past ages (the Augustan age, etc.), literary men lived almost wholly by the patronage of the great and thought it a part of their business to bestow literary compliments on their patrons. His whole career was one of dependence on friendly support, and he had had no opportunity up to 1509 to develop a spirit of independence. It would have been too much to expect that when he had been conditioned by the favors of his friends to enter upon a literary career that would have enabled him to live in modest independence, he should at once have developed that sturdiness of character that depends so much on early training and constant practice. There is no reason to believe that he ever accumulated any large amount of money. For all he could earn or beg he seems always to have had the most urgent use.

After spending most of five years as teacher of Greek in the University of Cambridge, he returned to the continent, where his time was divided between Switzerland and the Netherlands. At Basel many of his works were published and he was surrounded by a coterie of scholars upon whom he exerted a profound influence in favor of the new learning and of rational methods of biblical and theological study. In his native Netherlands also his influence was widespread and deep. His journeys through Germany, from time to time, were like triumphal processions, and large numbers of young scholars caught their inspiration from him. His relations to Luther and the Reformation will be set forth subsequently, as will also his connection with and his influence upon the older evangelical theology and the great Anabaptist movement. He died in 1536.

(3) *Writings of Erasmus. a. His Satirical Writings.* In the "Praise of Folly" the enlightenment that Eras-

mus had received from Colet, and from the new learning in general, finds expression chiefly in the ridicule in which all the abuses of the papal church are involved. The avarice of popes, monks, and clergy, their intolerance, their immorality, the absurd and sometimes blasphemous nature of their scholastic disputations, pilgrimages to the tombs of saints, false miracles, indulgences, etc., are satirized in the boldest manner, and in such a style as to attract all classes of readers. *b. His Devotional Writings.* The "*Encheiridion*" abounds in evangelical maxims, and is characterized by the repudiation of the ordinary monkish and papal rules of piety, and the setting up in general of true Christian principles. *c. His Editions of the Fathers and of the New Testament, His Commentaries, and His Paraphrases.* Erasmus shared with Colet admiration for Jerome, with his linguistic learning and his free criticism of the biblical texts, rather than for Augustine with his rigid theological system. Accordingly, before leaving England in 1514, he had, with immense labor, prepared an edition of the works of Jerome, which was afterward printed at Basel.

The publication of Jerome was probably intended as a means of preparing the minds of the scholars of Europe for the critical edition of the Greek New Testament which he was meditating. The Vulgate had long been regarded as the infallible word of God. To produce a Greek text different from that of the Vulgate, or to interpret the Greek text differently from the Vulgate interpretation, was regarded as sacrilege. But Jerome had treated the text of Scripture with the utmost freedom; had revised the Greek text by comparison of MSS., and had made a revision of the New Testament (Latin), and a new version of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, for which, however, he was far from claiming absolute correctness.

In the preface to his Greek New Testament (1516), Erasmus shows that his aim was to influence two classes of minds: those who had lost faith in Christianity, and those who regarded the Vulgate as infallible. This preface is, in my opinion, the noblest reformatory effort of Erasmus, and nothing better was written by any reformer of the age. He sets forth the claims of the New Testament to the attention of the learned, over against the philosophies of Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, and Zeno; but to be understood it must be approached with a pious and open heart, imbued with a pure and simple faith. The New Testament is adapted to the comprehension of the weakest woman, while the profoundest philosopher finds food enough for thought. He is anxious that the Scriptures should be translated into all languages, so that they may be understood not only by Scots and Irishmen, but also by Turks and Saracens;

that the husbandman may sing them as he follows the plow, the weaver hum them to the tune of his shuttle, the traveler beguile with their stories the tedium of his journey.

Addressing the scholastic theologians, he shows the folly of paying more attention to the writings of mediæval divines than to the simple, plain words of Christ and his apostles; of venerating the worthless relics of Christ and the places where he is supposed to have been when upon earth, more than the living and breathing pictures of Christ in the New Testament. He then adds a short discussion on the methods of studying the Scriptures. The Scriptures must be approached with reverence; being food for the soul, they must permeate the very depths of the heart and mind. A knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew is necessary, and is to be acquired almost with less labor than is spent every day over the miserable babble of one mongrel language under ignorant teachers. Other branches of knowledge, natural history, geography, dialectics, rhetoric, etc., are also important. To understand the New Testament, a knowledge of the history of the Jews, their character, institutions, etc., is also necessary. Again, the texts of Scripture must not be taken isolated and apart from the connection, but must be studied with full reference to the context. Thus Erasmus set forth principles of Scripture interpretation which he had derived from Colet, but which were far in advance of his age.

His edition of the New Testament and his paraphrases and commentaries, were a means of stimulating and directing the fruitful study of the Scriptures. From this time many learned humanists began to study the New Testament as never before. Most of the men who became leaders in the Reformation owed their knowledge of the Scriptures to Erasmus: to some extent, Luther; still more, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Capito, etc.

(4) *German Humanism. a. Reuchlin.* He was born in 1555 (ten years before Erasmus), at Pforzheim, and was favored with early educational advantages. He was employed when fifteen as court singer in the Baden-Durlach court, and was sent to the University of Paris by the Margrave Karl as the attendant of his son, where he enjoyed the instruction of some of the foremost scholars of the time, and learned Greek. He continued his studies in the University of Basel with a native Greek, Andronikos Kontoblakas, as one of his preceptors, and John Wessel, the great evangelical teacher whom he had met in Paris, as a strong spiritual influence. He was admitted to the degree of Master of Philosophy with professorial privileges (1477); but was driven from the university because of prejudice against Greek learning. We next find him in the University of Orleans learning and teaching (1478) and

gaining the bachelor's degree there (1479). After studying law at the University of Poitiers he returned to Germany (1481) and settled in Tübingen as an advocate and a lecturer in the university, from which he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was appointed privy counselor to the duke of Würtemberg (1482), whom he accompanied to Rome on important papal business and through whom he had the opportunity to distinguish himself in the papal court by a Latin oration; he entered into intimate relation with the great humanist Hermolaus Barbarus, and obtained an inside view of the great Platonic school of the Medici in Florence, with its distinguished teachers, Marsilius Ficinus, Pico de Mirandola, Politanus, etc., whereby he became profoundly interested in Neo-Platonic, Pythagorean, and Jewish Cabbalistic speculations. Occupied chiefly with legal and administrative duties for his ducal patron and the Dominican Order (1484–1494), he found little time for his beloved studies. He was elevated to the nobility by the emperor, and learned Hebrew from a converted Jew. He published (1494) his religio-philosophical work "On the Wonderful Word" ("*De Verbo Mirifico*"), which added to his fame and passed rapidly through many editions, but also, as might have been expected, aroused much suspicion among the orthodox. In 1496 his noble patron died and he was brought into the deepest adversity, including poverty and great personal danger. He at last settled at Heidelberg on a modest salary as the counsellor of the Elector of the Palatinate and tutor to his son, and was able now to carry forward the studies that had for some years been partially interrupted. He visited Rome again on behalf of the elector (1498) and availed himself of the opportunity to perfect his Greek and Hebrew learning. As a judicial officer for the Swabian alliance (1502 onward) he devoted his leisure largely to Hebrew studies and became deeply interested in the Cabbala and other Jewish theosophical literature. Consequently, his interest in Jewish literature greatly increased, as did also his friendship for Jews by reason of his intimate intercourse with their leading scholars. In 1505 he published in German an inquiry: "Why the Jews are so long in Tribulation?" The reason assigned was their persist-

ent rejection of Christ and their blaspheming of his name. He exhorts Christians to seek to win them to Christianity by love and instruction. This was followed by a Hebrew grammar (1506), the first ever prepared by a Christian. He gloried in having erected for himself a monument more lasting than brass, being, as he claimed, the first who had understood how to regulate in a book the whole Hebrew language.

In 1509 a converted Jew, Joh. Pfefferkorn by name, conceived the project of a wholesale conversion of the Jews of Germany by the destruction of all their literature, except the canonical Scriptures, and the infliction of severe penalties for refusal to accept Christianity. Having published a number of exhortations to rulers to take the matter earnestly in hand, he visited the Emperor Maximilian and procured from him a mandate requiring all Jews to surrender their books to Pfefferkorn and providing him with the authority to execute the mandate. Pfefferkorn visited Reuchlin at Stuttgart and showing him the mandate requested his co-operation in the great enterprise. Nothing could have been more disgusting to Reuchlin than the proposed proceedings; but he was not courageous and he contented himself with pointing out some legal defects in the scheme. It soon became evident that Pfefferkorn and the theologians were laying a snare for him. The next year he was required by an imperial mandate to give his opinion respecting the advisability of destroying the books of the Jews. His answer was temporizing in a high degree; but he could not conceal his dislike of the proposed measure. He even defended the Talmud as an exposition of the Mosaic law and the Cabbala, which he characterized as "the great mystery of the speech and words of God," that beyond any other art "assures us of the divinity of Christ." The Jews' ceremonial books, he thought, should be preserved, as their worship was tolerated by papal and imperial laws. He knew of only two works, "*Nizahon*" and "*Tholedoth Jeschu*," that were blasphemous in their character. His advice was: "If any book be found in the conscious possession of any Jew that with express words insults, mocks, or dishonors our Lord God, Jesus, his worthy mother, the saints, or the Chris-

tian ordinances, let it be burned, in accordance with the imperial mandate, and the Jew punished, but not until he has been properly tried and sentence pronounced." He concludes with the advice that the literature of the Jews be not burned, but that "by reasonable discussions they should be gently and kindly, and with God's help, persuaded to embrace our faith." To this end he suggests that the emperor require every German university to institute and maintain for ten years two chairs of Hebrew, the books needed to be supplied by the Jews.

Reuchlin stood alone in his view of the matter, the other corporations and individuals consulted being all in favor of more drastic measures for the extermination of Judaism.

Pfefferkorn, when he had ascertained the contents of Reuchlin's paper, issued a scurrilous pamphlet in which he charged Reuchlin with having been bribed by the Jews to pronounce in their favor, and disparaged his Hebrew scholarship. Reuchlin defended himself in a counter-pamphlet, in which he accused Pfefferkorn of getting money out of him by selling him behind his back at a bookstall (referring to the pamphlet). "He has made more florins out of me than Judas made pence out of our Lord." Reuchlin's apology was sent to the University of Cologne for criticism. Having learned of this, he wrote obsequious letters to some of the professors, seeking to minimize the gravity of his offense in taking the part of the Jews and promising to retract whatever might be found in his writings contrary to the teachings of the church. "Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. Give but the command, and I will sheathe my sword; when the cock crows I will weep; thunder first before thou lightenest." Hochstraten and his colleagues in the university, thus assured of his cowardice, proceeded to demand a complete recantation of his favorable opinion regarding the Jews and their literature, and the withdrawal of his objectionable writings from the market. This was more than he was prepared to yield, and encouraged by some of his humanistic friends, he again assumed a defiant attitude and entered into a sharp controversy with the Cologne theologians. An imperial mandate was secured by Hochstraten for the seizure and

destruction of Reuchlin's polemical tracts. Reuchlin appealed to the pope, whose humanistic sympathies led him to quash the proceedings, notwithstanding the most determined efforts of the Dominicans and other friends of the Inquisition against him. This papal decision aroused a furor in Germany. The Cologne extremists denounced Cardinal Grimani, who had advocated Reuchlin's cause, disparaged the pope by calling him a schoolboy, and threatened to appeal to a General Council.

The effect of this controversy was to arouse the evangelical humanists of Germany to polemical zeal and to multiply the enemies of blind intolerance and bigotry. Many of the young men who were to play a prominent part in the Protestant Revolution, such as Vadian, Melanchthon, Capito, and OEcolampadius, championed the cause of Reuchlin and were thereby prepared for the more radical work of later years. The decision in Reuchlin's favor occurred in July, 1516, the year before the posting of Luther's theses.

These proceedings greatly emboldened the German humanists and the press teemed with publications in which liberty of thought, speech, and the press was advocated and obscurantism reprobated and mercilessly ridiculed. The most noted specimens of this kind of literature are the writings of Ulrich von Hutten and the "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*" (see p. 34).

The quashing of the proceedings against Reuchlin in the Roman Curia was far from putting an end to the persecuting measures of the Dominicans. In 1519 Franz von Sickingen, who was at the head of the Swabian League, peremptorily demanded of Hochstraten and his associates that they cease to annoy Reuchlin and that they reimburse him for the losses he had suffered through them; and he backed up his demands with such a display of force, that after many efforts at evasion, Hochstraten resigned his offices as prior and inquisitor and Reuchlin received his damages in good gold; moreover, the Dominicans wrote, at Sickingen's dictation, a letter to the pope commending Reuchlin and requesting the perpetual suppression of proceedings against him. In these transactions Sickingen had the influential support of Ulrich von Hutten.

The death of the Emperor Maximilian I. (January, 1519) and the accession of Charles V. (June, 1519), followed by the excommunication of Luther and the publication of his defiantly evangelical works, changed the temper of the Roman Curia, and strengthened for the time the hands of the Dominicans. Hochstraten resumed his offices, a fresh appeal was made to Rome against Reuchlin, and a papal brief was secured (summer of 1520) against his books. But Reuchlin had recently accepted the chair of Greek and Hebrew at Ingoldstadt on the invitation of the Duke of Bavaria. He resided in the house of Dr. Joh. Eck, the great opponent of Luther, and while he advised against the burning of Luther's books, he published a vindication of himself against charges of sympathy with Luther, that greatly disgusted Hutten and Sickingen and his humanistic friends in general. Hutten wrote:

I have read your letter to the Bavarians, in which you answer the accusations of Leo X. Immortal gods, what do I see? So deeply have you sunk in fear and weakness, that you do not even refrain from insulting those who have wished to rescue you and sometimes incurred danger in your behalf. . . Do you hope, by this disgraceful flattery, to conciliate those to whom, if you are a man, you ought not even to send a greeting? But make it up with them, if you can, and, if your age permits, do that which you say you wish to do, go to Rome and kiss the pope's feet; and since you are not ashamed to do it, write against us into the bargain. Then it will be seen that it is against your will that we shake off the ignominious yoke, and that you agree with the godless priests in opposing us. I am ashamed to have written and done so much for you, since you end the affair for which we have bestirred ourselves so manfully in this wretched way. I could not have believed it of you. . . If ever you oppose Luther's cause, or make your submission to the bishop of Rome, you shall know that I do not at all agree with you.

The correspondence, of which this is an extract, is highly significant as showing the moral weakness of Reuchlin, who had done so much for the promotion of freedom of thought and the preparation of Germany for the Protestant Revolution, and the stanchness of the support that Luther received from the humanistic knights.

Reuchlin tried in vain to restrain Melanchthon, his nephew, from following Luther in his revolt against Rome, and refused to leave him his great library because his advice was unheeded. He was recalled to Tübingen,

where he again taught Hebrew and Greek, and died at Stuttgart in June, 1522, at peace with the Roman Catholic Church.

b. Other German Humanists. Mention has been made of the knights *Ulrich von Hutten* and *Franz von Sickingen* as the stanch defenders of Reuchlin and freedom of thought over against monkish and priestly intolerance and obscurantism. Sickingen, a bitter enemy of the papacy and a stalwart friend of Luther, fell in battle with the Count Palatine (May, 1525). Hutten was one of the most brilliant literary men of the age as well as one of the most courageous warriors. No man did more during the first quarter of the sixteenth century toward bringing monkish and priestly corruptions and superstitions into contempt, or for the promotion of civil and religious freedom. His writings were very widely circulated and influenced vast numbers to throw off the papal yoke and to take up arms against imperial and papal oppression. It is probable that to him, more than to Luther, was due the militant character of German Protestantism. Hutten and Sickingen alike combined political and selfish ends with their determination to break the power of the hierarchy and did not hesitate to appeal to the cupidity of the German nobles. Luther owed much to the countenance and protection of these knights and their associates, and there can be no doubt as to the profound influence they exerted on the character of his reformatory efforts. Hutten died in deep poverty of a loathsome disease, due to early excesses, in August or September, 1523. His last years were embittered by controversy with Erasmus, to whom he had earlier been deeply indebted, but who was utterly averse to his rash polemics and warlike enterprises.

One of the most effective defenders of Reuchlin, as the editor and principal writer of the "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*," was Crotus Rubianus (Joh. Jäger), professor in Erfurt (twice rector of the university, 1520, etc.), distinguished for his power of humorous invective rather than for moral earnestness. In the preparation of the "*Epistolæ*" (1514–1516) he had the co-operation of Hutten, Mutianus Rufus, and Eobanus Hessus. The "Epistles" purport to be correspondence among the Do-

minican opponents of Reuchlin. They are written in the most barbarous of monkish Latin and in them are naïvely set forth the ignorance, superstition, intolerance, avarice, and fear of the new learning that characterized the supposed authors. Europe was convulsed with laughter by this masterpiece of satire. For a time many of the monks are said to have taken them seriously and to have enjoyed them as good expositions of their views. Humanists everywhere enjoyed the sharp thrusts that the "Epistles" contained against Hochstraten and the Dominicans. Erasmus was amused, but thought the authors had carried their fun too far. Luther was pleased with the idea, but not altogether with the execution. Some of the pieces ascribed to Hutten are indecent in their ribaldry. On the whole, it was one of the most effective of the literary defenses of freedom of thought and it contributed much toward the preparation of humanistically inclined minds for the Protestant Revolution. Crotus, after supporting Luther's cause for a while, became his bitter opponent and died a Catholic.

One of the most striking figures among the German humanists at the beginning of the Reformation is *Willibald Pirkheimer*, a leading citizen of Nuremberg, the chief center of humanistic culture in Germany. Pirkheimer has been likened to a Roman patrician. Of noble birth and ample wealth, of splendid culture, of courtly manners, he was already at the beginning of the century a man of mark. He was a friend of Erasmus and of Hutten and was valiant in defense of Reuchlin. In 1520 he incurred ecclesiastical censure by publishing anonymously a satire on Eck, after the Leipzig disputation. The papal bull against Luther procured by Eck involved the condemnation of Pirkheimer. To save his city from embarrassment he made a sort of recantation. Like Erasmus he was averse to violent proceedings, but up to 1524 he gave his moral support to Luther. After the outbreak of the Peasants' War he withdrew his support from the Protestant cause, although he was never sympathetic with the Romish hierarchy. He died in 1530, longing for civil and religious peace. Closely associated with Pirkheimer were Dürer, the painter, and Sachs, the poet.

2. *Erasmic Efforts at Reform.*

(1) *General Reformatory Efforts of Erasmus and his School.* Erasmus was on the most intimate terms with popes, cardinals, archbishops, princes, and nobles. In correspondence with such men, he expressed freely his views of reform. Especially great was his influence in the court of John III. of Cleve, who, under Erasmus' influence (1532 onward), yielded to the desire for reform that resulted from the presence of Lutheranism, and instituted a half-way reformation. With the legislation in favor of certain reforms was coupled the severest legislation against Lutheranism.

According to this reformatory scheme, Roman Catholic worship, ordinances, and officers were to remain undisturbed. But the gospel was to be preached clearly and intelligibly by the priests, who, however, were to confine themselves to the plainest moral and edificatory preaching and to refrain from everything calculated to cause tumult. All evangelical preaching by unordained men, and all innovations against the sacraments, singing, reading, and ceremonies of the church, were strictly forbidden.

The most immediate promoter of this scheme was Heresbach, a humanist of ability and learning, to whom was entrusted the education of John's son, William, and who, for many years, was privy counsellor to father and son. Yet he was guided by Erasmus. After Erasmus' death, Heresbach came under the influence of Melanchthon, and through the latter William was led to sign the Augsburg Confession. Luther spoke of Duke John's ordinance of reformation, as "bad German, bad gospel; everything that comes from Erasmus is as full of theology as my shank is of pepper."

Erasmus was, during his whole active life, earnestly desirous of reformation. Until Germany became involved in tumult, through what he regarded as the rashness of Luther, he favored and commended Luther. We shall see how he was brought to condemn him.

(2) *Erasmus' Idea of Reformation.* Erasmus was constitutionally and utterly averse to war and tumultuous or revolutionary proceedings of every sort. He was by

nature a peacemaker. His letters to civil and ecclesiastical rulers abound in pleas for peace. Personally, his health and temperament were such that he required the utmost quiet and care in order that he might be at all comfortable. The thought of Europe involved in a religious war was to him simply horrible. If the church could not be reformed without revolution, let it remain unreformed. He believed that the new learning properly applied in the study of the Scriptures and in the elevation of the standard of taste and propriety, would put an end to abuses. "These must be tolerated until an opportunity arises for correcting them without creating disorder."

3. *Erasmus as an Opponent of Lutheranism and Zwinglianism.*

Erasmus was at first favorable to Luther. He deprecated Luther's impetuosity, and strove in every way to induce him to be cautious. Although he tried to prevent the printing of Luther's works at Basel, he yet regarded Luther as a good man and as a friend of the new learning. The outcries against Luther he attributed to Luther's zeal for the new learning and his contempt for scholasticism.

In an epistle (1518), Erasmus wrote: "Luther has given many excellent thoughts. If in this he had only gone to work mildly, the number of his favorers would have been greater, and the religion of Christ would have gained more thereby. Nevertheless it would be unaccountable if one should not be favorable to him for the good he has done."

In an epistle to Cardinal Wolsey (1518): "It is certainly no small matter that even the enemies of Luther find him so irreproachable, that they cannot make the slightest charge against him. But if I had the utmost license, I would not arrogate so much to myself as to be willing to pronounce upon the writings of so great a man. . . Against Luther I have sometimes been too unjust, lest any odium should fall upon good letters, which I was unwilling should be further burdened. For neither did it escape me how odious a thing it is to interfere with those things whence a rich harvest is meted to priests or monks."

In 1519, in answer to a most adulatory letter in which Luther introduced himself to Erasmus, he informs Luther of the sensation that his books have created at Louvain and the difficulty that he himself has experienced in warding off the suspicion of having had to do with their composition. "Some supposed that a pretext was

given to them whereby they might oppress good letters, to which they bear deadly hatred, and me whom they suppose of some moment for arousing studies." He has testified that he does not know Luther, has not read his books, neither approves nor disapproves of anything, only he has admonished against condemning before the people books that have not been even read.

He writes to Luther: "In England you have those that favor greatly your writings, and that too of the greatest. There are also here (Louvain), those that favor your books, of whom one is a man of distinction. I keep myself neutral (*integrum*), as far as possible, in order that I may be of more profit to good letters now reviving. And to me civil modesty seems more profitable than impetuosity. So Christ brought the world under his sway. It is more expedient to cry out against those that abuse the authority of the popes, than against the popes themselves. The same concerning kings. The schools ought not to be spurned so much as recalled to more sober studies. Concerning things that are too firmly rooted to admit of being suddenly plucked out of the people's minds, we should dispute with close and efficacious arguments rather than asseverate. Everywhere we must take care not to speak or do anything arrogantly or factitiously. . . Meanwhile, the disposition (*animus*) must be preserved from becoming corrupted by anger, hatred, or glory." He has glanced at Luther's "Commentary on the Psalms." It pleases him exceedingly, and he hopes that it will do much good.

Up to June, 1519, therefore, Erasmus has not come to despair of Luther. He still hopes by gentle admonition to be able to keep him within due bounds. Yet we see even here how strongly he disapproves of Luther's impetuosity. Luther did not profit by Erasmus' admonition, but during the next few months published all the most revolutionary of his writings.

Though Erasmus was more guarded in his expressions of sympathy after Leo X. had issued his bull of excommunication against Luther (which Luther promptly burnt), yet even after this, he wrote to Spalatin, the secretary and court-preacher of the Elector Frederick:

> The best and most pious men are grieved, not through Luther's propositions, but through the severe bull of the pope, which is unbecoming to a vicar of Christ. Luther has been condemned by two universities; but he has not been refuted. . . The world is seized by an eagerness for evangelical truth, and neither must this be resisted with violence, nor is it well that the emperor should contaminate the inauguration of his reign with severe regulations."

He insists that this letter shall be keep private and returned to him; but greatly to his chagrin it was soon printed and scattered everywhere.

After the Diet at Worms, where Luther was put under the imperial ban (1521), Erasmus became more and more shy of the Lutherans. He was denounced by them as lacking the courage of his convictions. The abuse that he received from the Lutherans created in him a growing aversion to the party. The papists, on the other hand, complained of him because he would not come out boldly against Luther.

Even in 1524 he wrote to Melanchthon: "This I promise, that I will never knowingly take up arms against evangelical truth; and on this account I have feared up to this time to impugn what displeases me in Luther, lest I should also overthrow the true. Nay, I seek at every opportunity to bring it about, that by means of the bitter, strong medicine that Luther has given to the world, the life of the church may come to health."

The strife between Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists, was a great offense to Erasmus. The Peasants' War was also threatening Germany. Moreover, Erasmus was strongly urged by the papists to write against Luther. In 1524 he wrote his treatise on "Free Will" ("*De Libero Arbitrio*"). Luther replied in his treatise "Concerning the Enslaved Will" ("*De Servo Arbitrio*"). Erasmus had not been abusive in his polemics, but had attempted to point out the antinomian tendency of Luther's doctrine. Luther replied in the most abusive style. Erasmus, now thoroughly provoked, rejoined in the "*Hyperaspistes*" in a style almost as severe as Luther's own.

The estrangement between Luther and Erasmus was now complete. From this time forward, Luther speaks of Erasmus as a "disciple of Lucian"; a "disciple of Epicurus"; an "enemy of all religions, especially the Christian"; "the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the earth." Whenever he prays, he prays for a curse on Erasmus. Yet Erasmus never forsook entirely his middle position.

In conclusion, we may say that Erasmus was a man of extraordinary intellectual enlightenment and of generous impulses, a friend of civil and ecclesiastical reform, an apostle of culture, and a consistent advocate of peace. His peace-loving nature led him to abhor tumult, even when the end was religious reformation. Tumult he

thought was contrary to the spirit of Christ. Abuses were to be tolerated, until an opportunity should occur for abolishing them peacefully.

III. THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION.

LITERATURE: Works of Luther in various editions: Wittenberg, 12 vols. Germ. (1539–1559), 7 vols. Lat. (1545–1558); Jena, 8 vols. Germ., 4 vols. Lat. (1555–1558), and 2 supplem. vols., ed. Aurifaber (1564–1565); Halle, ed. Walch, 24 vols., Lat. works tr. into Germ., and many important writings of opponents added (1740–1753); Erlangen, ed. Irmischer *et al.*, 67 vols. Germ., 38 vols. Lat. (1826 onward); Weimar, ed. Knaake *et al.*, under the patronage of the German emperor, in process of publication and will surpass all others in completeness and typographical excellence (1883 onw.); "*Briefe*," ed. De Wette and Seidemann, 6 vols. (1825–1856); annotated popular ed. of select works, in Germ., Braunschweig (1889–1892); "The Ninety-five Theses and the Three Primary Works," Eng. tr., ed. Wace and Buchheim, 1883; Eng. tr. of "Table-Talk" and "Com. on Galatians," var. ed. Works of Melanchthon, Spalatin, Justus Jonas, Bugenhagen, Brentz, Amsdorf, Major, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Agricola, and other Lutheran reformers (see specifications in biographical articles in Hauck-Herzog and Schaff-Herzog). For biographies of the various reformers see bibliographies in articles in Hauck-Herzog and Schaff-Herzog. Contemporary controversial Roman Catholic writings of Eck, Faber, Emser, Witzel, Cochlæus, Prierias, Aleander, etc. Collections of documents by Gerdesius, Neudecker, Seidemann, Förstermann, etc., and by various editors in "*Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*," "*Historische Zeitschrift*," and other periodicals. Seebohm, "The Prot. Revolution"; Fisher, "Hist. of the Ref."; Beard, "The Ref. of the Sixteenth Cent." ("Hibbert Lectures," 1885); Häusser, "The Period of the Reformation," Eng. tr., 2 vols., 1873; Hagenbach, "History of the Reformation," 2 vols. (Eng. tr.), 1879; Schaff, "Hist. of the Chr. Ch.," Vol. VI. (the entire vol. is devoted to the Lutheran movement up to 1530 and is remarkably full of documentary and bibliographical materials); Schaff, "The Creeds of Christendom"; Walker, "The Reformation," 1900; Bezold, "*Gesch. d. deutschen Ref.*," 1886 onw.; Hagen, "*Deutschlands lit. u. rel. Verhältnisse im Reformationszeitalter*," 3 *Bde.*, 1841–1844; Janssen, "*Deutsche Gesch. seit d. Ausgang d. M. A.*," *Bde.* II. *u.* III.; "Lives of Luther" by Cochlæus, Audin, Koestlin (Eng. tr.), Kolde (1884–1893), Rae (1884), Bayne (1887), Jacob (1898), Mitchell (1899); Döllinger, "*Die Reformation, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Wirkungen im Umfange des lutherischen Bekenntnisses*," 3 *Bde.*, 1846–1848; Krauth, "The Conservative Reformation and its Theology"; Ranke, "*Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter der Reformation*," 6 *Bde.*, 6th ed., 1881; Dorner, "Hist. of Prot. Theol.," (Eng. tr.); Pertinent sections in the manuals of church history, especially those of Gieseler, Möller (ed. Kawerau), Sheldon, and Hurst. Monographs on special phases of the movement will be referred to from time to time.

1. *Preliminary Observations.*

(1) Whatever opinion may be held regarding the soundness and value of his reformatory work, Martin Luther is by common consent the central figure in the Protestant Revolution. In an important sense he was the product of the economic, social, political, ethical, and religious conditions that prevailed in Saxony during the closing years of the fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth century; in an equally important sense his powerful personality gave shape and direction to the great politico-religious movement with which his name has become so closely associated. Luther was influenced by and partially embodied in his reformatory scheme all of the various reformatory forces that had been developed during the mediæval time. It was impracticable, with such a combination of influences and purposes, for the highest ideal to be reached, viz, the restoration of Christianity to its primitive purity and simplicity. The politico-ecclesiastical movement known as Lutheranism involved in itself many inconsistencies. It failed to produce among the people the high standard of Christian living that the leaders themselves considered desirable; it speedily became as openly intolerant and as atrocious in its persecuting measures as the Roman Catholic Church which it sought to supplant; and the principles and methods adopted at the beginning rendered inevitable the religious wars that so fearfully devastated Europe from 1545 to 1648.

(2) It was no accident that the leader of the Protestant Revolution should have been a Saxon; for we have seen that economic and social conditions, based primarily on the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country, had destroyed the equilibrium of the social classes and produced a strong and general desire for reform; while the wealth of the country had led the hierarchy to overreach itself in its practice of extortion.

(3) It was no accident that the leader should have been the son of a peasant; for the Saxon peasants, and especially the mining peasants, had become deeply conscious of their wrongs and aggressive in their demands for reform. That Luther's peasant father should

have had ambition enough to plan for the education of his son for a professional career shows that he was no common serf, but that he and his class had risen already to a feeling of manly dignity that did not belong to peasants always and everywhere.

(4) Neither was it accidental that the Elector of Saxony, whose wealth and wisdom placed him at the head of the German nobles and put the imperial dignity within his reach, and who had founded the university in which the great son of a peasant had for years been doing noble work, should have become the political leader of the revolt, and should thereby have made it appear to the interest of less powerful princes to join in the effort to throw off the Roman incubus.

(5) When we consider that the interests at stake were quite as much economic and political as religious, it is not to be wondered at that Luther was content with a measure of reform that fell far short of the restoration of primitive Christianity.

(6) Again, Luther's peasant origin, peasant sympathies, peasant simplicity, directness, and roughness (even coarseness) of speech; his earnest pleas for liberty and equality; his intimate relations with the Saxon rulers; his commanding powers of intellect, emotion, and will; his intense earnestness and zeal; his hearty championship of German rights over against foreign exploitation and oppression; and his apparent disposition, during the early years of his leadership, to adhere to the pure word of God without human additions, for which the old evangelicals of every type so earnestly contended, united nearly all classes of Germans in his support and made him a hero and champion. Different classes supported him from different motives and great crises were needed in order that each class might test the extent to which his interests and purposes coincided with theirs.

2. *Luther's Early Life to 1505.*

It does not seem best to occupy space here with a detailed sketch of Luther's life, the main facts of which are familiar and easily accessible in popular works. Born (probably Nov. 10, 1483) of hard-working mining peasants, of rather unusual force of character and of

deep piety, his early life was embittered by poverty and harsh domestic treatment that drove him at last, broken in spirit, into a convent. Ambitious for his advancement, his father had provided him with the best educational facilities within his reach and at a very early age he could read Latin. While pursuing his studies at Magdeburg and Eisenach he supported himself, at least in part, by singing from door to door. At the latter place, Ursula Cotta, attracted by his sweet voice and his devoutness, became his true friend and helper. In 1501 he entered the University of Erfurt, where he not only pursued the ordinary studies of the mediæval curriculum, but came somewhat in touch with the new learning and read a number of the Latin classics. Luther never became so thoroughly imbued with humanism as did Melanchthon, Zwingli, OEcolampadius, and others, the superior attractiveness of Augustine and the German mystics, to whose writings and modes of thought the devout Staupitz introduced him, having secured the foremost place in his affection and interest. In 1502 he secured his degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1505 that of Master of Arts. Shortly afterward (summer of the same year) he assumed monastic vows as a member of the Augustinian convent at Erfurt. His conversion followed almost immediately. The relations of Luther to Staupitz, because of the importance of Staupitz himself and of his influence on Luther demand treatment in a separate section.

3. *Staupitz and Luther.*

LITERATURE: "*Johannis Staupitii Opera*," ed. Knaake, 1867 onw.; Keller, "J. von Staupitz"; Kolde, "*J. von Staupitz ein Waldenser und Wiedertäufer*" (in answer to Keller, "*Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*," 1885); Dieckhoff, "*Die Theologie d. J. von Staupitz*," 1887; Kolde, "*Die deutsche Augustiner Congregation u. J. von Staupitz*," 1879.

(1) *Sketch of Johann von Staupitz.* Staupitz is commonly regarded as an evangelically disposed official of the Augustinian Order, who was able at a critical period in Luther's experience to give him the spiritual guidance that emancipated him from superstitious dependence on dead works as a means of salvation, and constituted him a free man in Christ; but little is popularly known re-

garding the personalty of the great Augustinian or his later relations to Luther.

Of noble lineage, he early became closely associated with the Saxon princes. At an early age he became a member of the Augustinian Order, which laid much stress on the study of the Scriptures and of the writings of Augustine, the great theological thinker of the fourth and fifth centuries. Under the influence of the new learning and of evangelical mysticism, many of the members of the order had already conceived a strong dislike for the dry and barren scholastic theology that still held sway in the universities, and for Aristotle, to whose influence the objectionable features of scholasticism were commonly attributed. In 1497 Staupitz was already Master of Arts and reader in theology. For some years after this he carried on conjointly, at Tübingen, theological study and teaching and the administration (as prior) of the Augustinian monastery there. In 1498 he became Biblical Bachelor (a degree attained on the completion of several years of Bible study), and in 1500 he attained to the degree of Doctor of Theology. By this time he had become greatly distinguished for learning, religious zeal, and administrative ability, and his services as teacher and monastic official were in great demand. His social gifts were likewise of a high order, and he was much sought after by the wealthy and the noble of the more evangelical and intellectual sort, whom he was able profoundly to influence in wholesome ways.

In 1503 he was appointed Vicar General of the German Congregation of the Observants, a reform party among the Augustinians, that laid special stress on strict living and inner Christian life. In this position he labored with great earnestness and zeal for the spiritual well-being of those committed to his care, and for their advancement in evangelical knowledge.

From 1502 onward, in addition to his official duties in connection with his order, he aided Frederick the Wise in establishing the University of Wittenberg, and, in compliance with his wishes, became Professor of Theology and Dean of the Theological Faculty of the new institution. Frederick was among the wealthiest and most enlightened princes of the time. The rich mines

of Saxony had filled his coffers to overflowing. He had become deeply conscious of the corruptions of papal administration, and along with many of the German princes was no doubt already beginning to resent the undue exploitation of Germany by the Roman Curia. That he should have called upon the earnest and spiritually minded Staupitz to impress his personality on the organization and work of the university, would in itself sufficiently attest the nobility of his motives in devoting his wealth to Christian education.

That evangelical Augustinianism should have been the dominant influence in the university from the beginning, was what might have been expected. Staupitz was not only a diligent and devout student of the Scriptures and of the writings of Augustine, but he had become deeply imbued with the evangelical mysticism of the mediæval time, that found its best literary expression in the sermons of Tauler and in the little work entitled "German Theology," and had been diffused very widely among old evangelical Christians of nearly every type, inside and outside of the dominant church. He had become profoundly convinced that religion is not a matter of forms and ceremonies, or even of formulated creed, but that it is a matter of direct communion between the individual soul and God; that salvation is not gained by outward works, but by inward transformation of character; that justification is by faith, by which he understood not a mere intellectual acceptation of the divine promises and provisions, but a complete surrender of the entire being to God and an inward appropriation of Christ, involving fellowship with his sufferings and his sacrificial life and death.

(2) *The Conversion of Luther.* In 1505, on the occasion of an official visitation to the monastery at Erfurt, his attention was called to a gifted young man named Martin Luther, who had become deeply conscious of his guilt in relation to a holy God, and who in sore distress was vainly striving by bodily mortifications and the observance of external forms to pacify his troubled soul. Staupitz's earnest spiritual words were to him "as a voice from heaven." He was taught to look upon God as a God of love, earnestly desirous of the salvation of fallen

men, and to this end making an infinite sacrifice in the person of his only begotten and well-beloved Son, and was enabled to see that this great salvation is to be appropriated by faith, involving, as already explained, not mere intellectual acceptance of a proposition or assurance regarding a fact, but a complete surrender of the being to God, and an inner appropriation of Christ as the controlling principle of the life.

(3) *Luther at Wittenberg.* It was through Staupitz's influence that Luther, already a Master of Arts in the University of Erfurt, was transferred to the Augustinian monastery at Wittenberg (1508), where he soon became Biblical Bachelor and Sententiary (1509), and after a further period of work at Erfurt and a visit to Rome, Professor of Theology and Doctor of Theology (1512). In 1510, or earlier, Staupitz had become involved in controversy with certain of his Augustinian brethren, and on his behalf Luther visited Rome (1510–1511), where he became intimately acquainted with the heathenish life of the Roman Curia. Luxury and license were everywhere in evidence, and he now realized, as never before, the uses that were being made of the vast sums of money that were being extorted year by year from the German people, who were yet held in contempt by the courtly Italians. He entered upon his professorial duties at Wittenberg, profoundly realizing the corrupt state of the ecclesiastical administration and the exploited and oppressed condition of the German people. He was earnestly desirous alike of ecclesiastical reform and of the alleviation of the burdens under which his people were groaning. Staupitz had introduced Luther to the study of the German mystics, as well as to that of Augustine and the Bible. The next few years of Luther's life were devoted largely to these studies.

(4) *Staupitz leaves Wittenberg.* Having established Luther in a Wittenberg chair, along with Carlstadt, also a devout student of the Bible, Augustine, and the mystics, Staupitz left the university, being, as he remarked, "thoroughly dissatisfied with the times." Educational work, under the conditions that prevailed, no longer satisfied the longings of his soul. He preferred to devote himself to visitation among the monasteries of Ger-

many, Austria, and the Netherlands, which offered a wide and fruitful field for the dissemination of his evangelical principles and for the inculcation of the type of spiritual life that he represented. Outside of the monasteries, he had access in his journeyings to circles of earnest, enlightened, evangelical men, who, being disgusted with the prevailing ignorance, superstition, and corruption, were eager for the guidance of a gifted man like Staupitz, who could speak to them in eloquent, soul-moving language, out of the depths of his own experience, of the things of God.

(5) *The Staupitzian Society of Nuremberg.* Nuremberg, which had long been a center of evangelical and humanistic life and thought, was one of his favorite resorts. Here he was always welcomed by a circle of devout and intelligent men, including some of the most distinguished people of the city, who formed themselves into a "Staupitzian Society," and as such discussed with the utmost freedom, under his guidance, the great questions of life and doctrine that were agitating men's minds.

Here Staupitz was looked upon, to use the language of one of the members of the society, "as a disciple, nay, as the very tongue of Paul," as "a herald of the gospel and a genuine divine." "The foremost people of Nuremberg," says this contemporary, regarded him as "the one who should free Israel," that is to say, should lead in a general and thorough reformation of the church. The Nuremberg Staupitzian Society embraced such distinguished men as Anton Tucher, Jerome Ebner, and Albert Dürer, the painter. Such societies abounded at this time, and it is probable that much of Staupitz's strength was devoted to the organization and development of these means of diffusing and intensifying spiritual life and light.

In turning aside from Wittenberg, where he had established able representatives of his principles, to these wider spheres of intellectual and spiritual influence, it is probable that Staupitz followed not only the bent of his own mind, but also the leadings of divine Providence, and that in this way he used to the best advantage his rich social gifts and his wonderful personal power.

From 1515 onward, Staupitz published a number of small works thoroughly imbued with the spirit of evangelical mysticism. Notable among these was his "Imitation of Christ," issued by a Nuremberg publisher, who

three years before had published a defense of the Waldenses. This devotional writing, as well as Staupitz's treatise on "The Love of God" (1518), received Luther's most cordial approval, and both were widely circulated.

(6) *Luther and the "German Theology."* In 1516 Luther published for the first time from a manuscript, with the warmest commendation, the "German Theology," an anonymous mystical work, written some two hundred years before, and long a favorite handbook among evangelical mystics.

In his preface to the second edition (1518), he wrote: "I will have every man warned who readeth this little book, that he should not take offense, to his own hurt, at its bad German, or its crabbed and uncouth words. For this noble book, though it be poor and rude in words, is so much the richer and more precious in knowledge and divine wisdom. And I will say, though it be boasting of myself, and 'I speak as a fool,' that next to the Bible and St. Augustine, no book hath ever come into my hands, whence I have learned, or would wish to learn, more of what God, and Christ, and man, and all things are; and now I first find the truth of what certain of the learned have said in scorn of us theologians of Wittenberg, that we would be thought to put forward new things, as though there had never been men elsewhere and before our time. Yea, verily, there have been men; but God's wrath, provoked by our sins, hath not judged us worthy to see and hear them. . . Let as many as will read this little book, and then say whether theology is a new or old thing among us: for this book is not new. . . I thank God that I have heard and found my God in the German tongue, as neither I nor they have found him in the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew tongue. God grant that this book may be spread abroad, then we shall find that the German theologians are without doubt the best theologians."

This work passed rapidly through ten editions (1516–1520). The circulation by Luther of this book, with his enthusiastic commendation, makes it abundantly evident that up to 1518 and later, Luther was in thorough accord with the earlier evangelical mystics and with Staupitz, and had not the least thought of innovation.

(7) *Luther a Standard-bearer of Evangelical Mysticism.* It is worthy of remark that when Luther posted his theses against the sale of indulgences in 1517, and thereby brought himself under ecclesiastical censure, and when he proceeded to publish a number of polemical tracts on indulgences, monastic vows, etc., he had the enthu-

siastic support of Staupitz and his Nuremberg friends, and of evangelical mystics and evangelical humanists everywhere. It was Staupitz, as Luther claimed at this time, who had incited him against the pope. Scheurl, of Nuremberg, greeted Luther in 1518 as the one raised up of God to lead the people of Israel out of their captivity. The old evangelicals of the Waldensian type, including the Bohemian Brethren, with their multitude of adherents, rejoiced in Luther's bold and evangelical utterances, and hastened, in many cases, to array themselves among his followers. Many who had secretly entertained evangelical views, and had been quietly propagating them in and through secret societies, now became avowed evangelicals.

In his tract on "Indulgences," Luther expressed the highest admiration for Tauler, the mystic: "As regards Tauler's teachings," he writes, "although he is unknown by the theologians, and on this account held in contempt among them, yet I know, although he is through and through German, that I have found in his writings more of pure divine teaching than I have found in all the books of the schoolmen at all the universities, or may be found therein."

Thus, from 1517 to 1520, Luther was the standard-bearer of the older evangelical type of religious life and thought. In 1518 he wrote to Staupitz that his (Luther's own) name had become odious to many, yet he had only followed Tauler's theology and Staupitz's little book recently published, and he still regarded Staupitz as the means under God of his spiritual enlightenment.

(8) *Luther Drifts Away from Staupitz.* In October, 1519, when Staupitz had unduly delayed answering Luther's letter, he wrote: "Thou forsakest me all too much; on thine account I was very sad, longing as a weaned child longs for its mother. . . Last night I dreamed of thee. It seemed as if thou hadst abandoned me; but I wept bitterly and was troubled. Thou beckonedst with thy hand that thou wouldst return to me."

No doubt Luther's recent proceedings had called forth Staupitz's disapproval, and his failure to answer the letter promptly may have been due to Staupitz's realization of the fact that an ever-widening breach existed be-

tween him and Luther. Luther was becoming involved in errors, as Staupitz saw, that would destroy all possibility of fellowship with old evangelicals of every party.

By 1522 Luther had drifted so far from the old evangelical position of Staupitz as to be able to write: "Staupitz's letters I do not understand, except that I see that they are very empty in spirit; besides, he does not write to me as he used to do. May God bring him back." There is no evidence that Staupitz had changed in the slightest degree his attitude toward truth. Luther was steadily changing, and with childlike simplicity he affected to believe that he was the fixed point from which Staupitz was drifting away.

Luther's change of base can be easily accounted for. The iconoclastic proceedings of the Zwickau prophets and of Carlstadt had filled him with alarm, and he had reached a definite conclusion that the only way in which the papal power, backed up by the imperial, could be successfully resisted was by keeping the anti-papal movement in accord with the wishes of the German princes, whose interests led them to oppose pope and emperor, and by preventing, at whatever cost, any radical and revolutionary uprisings. He had broken definitely with the papacy and the imperial administration, and the armed support of the German princes he regarded as indispensable. The practical, political, militant side of the work in which he had become engaged no doubt tended to eliminate from his thinking the sweet reasonableness of the older mysticism, and to induce the harsher modes of thought and expression that characterized his later work.

By 1524 Luther had not only completely broken with the papacy, but had established a State-church system, in which he claimed and exercised a virtual dictatorship. He had driven Carlstadt, his great evangelical co-laborer and fellow-student of mysticism, from the university, and afterward from pillar to post, and was inciting the princes to violent persecuting measures. The Peasants' War was already imminent, and he was exhorting his noble patrons to stern repressive proceedings. In April of this year Staupitz wrote Luther that he was too stupid to comprehend the latter's actions, and begged forgiveness for passing them by in silence. "May Christ help that we may at last live according to the gospel, which now sounds in our ears and which many carry in the mouth; since I see that multitudes abuse the gospel

for the freedom of the flesh. May my prayers, seeing that I was once the forerunner of the holy evangelical teaching, still avail somewhat with thee."

(9) *Luther Openly Denounced by Staupitz.* By 1525 the Peasants' War had burst forth, and Luther had, by his sanguinary exhortations involving the utter repudiation of the principles of the old evangelical party, and by his declaration of war to the knife with evangelical dissent, fully demonstrated his quality. Staupitz, now nearing his end, being deeply disappointed and grieved by the later developments in Luther's teachings and reformatory measures, published his last writing on "Holy, True, Christian Faith."

In this work he handles his great disciple without gloves. He contrasts "title-Christians," or Christians in name and by profession, with "true Christians." Evidently Luther's teachings are meant when he speaks of those who promulgate among men "a foolish faith and separate evangelical life from faith. . . They divide and separate also works from faith, as if one might truly believe without being brought into harmony with the life of Christ. Oh, poison of the enemy! Oh, misguiding of the people! He believeth not at all in Christ who will not do as Christ has done. Hear the word of fools [meaning Luther and his followers]: 'He who believes in Christ needs no works.' Hear, on the other hand, the maxims of wisdom: 'Whosoever will serve me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow me': 'Whosoever loveth me will keep my word'; 'He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me and is loved of my Father, and I will love him and will manifest myself to him.' Likewise, 'if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.' David asks, 'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place?' Answer: 'He that hath clean hands and a pure heart,' etc. But the evil spirit suggests to his carnal Christians [Lutherans], that men are justified without works, with the intimation that Paul preached in this way, as is falsely and lyingly imputed to him. Paul indeed preached against the works of the law, which spring from fear and not from love, from self-love and not from love to God, on which hypocrites base their confidence, putting man's salvation in external works. . . But works done in obedience to the heavenly commandments, in faith and love, Paul never thought evil and never said aught but the best about them; nay, he proclaims and preaches that they are needful and useful to blessedness, of which all his Epistles bear witness. Christ will have the law fulfilled; fools would blot it out. Paul praises the law that it is good; fools denounce it as evil, because they walk according to the forms of the flesh, and savor not the things of the Spirit."

Staupitz died before this work issued from the press,

and Luther regarded his death as a divine judgment because of his opposition to the truth!

From this time forth Luther gave no quarter to evangelical dissent in any form; but urged the princes on to the commission of every atrocity against all who could not accept his own views of doctrine and polity.

4. *Lutheranism as a Revolutionary Movement.*

The entire movement was, in its tendency and results, revolutionary; but during the earlier years alone was it such in its aim.

(1) *Characterization of Luther.* Luther was a man of profound religious nature, who had been led by overwhelming conviction of sin and experience of divine grace, through the study of the Scriptures, of the writings of Augustine and of the great German mystics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and through the influence of the revival of learning, to repudiate all efforts to secure salvation by outward observances, and to regard salvation as entirely a matter of grace, and the human means of attaining to justification as faith in Jesus Christ. He had become noted for his piety and learning long before 1517, and was already beginning to be widely known and honored for his writings.

As teacher in the new University of Wittenberg he had, since 1512, exerted a powerful influence in favor of biblical studies, and against scholasticism. Luther's letters from 1512–1517, show that he was constantly getting clearer views of evangelical truth, and was gradually coming to a state of preparedness for the work of an active reformer. Yet with all his evangelical views, he was still a strong believer in the hierarchical church, and would have been shocked at the very suggestion of schism.

Luther was, by nature, a man of strong passions and great energy of will. When he entered upon the work of reform, he was dominated by the conviction that his cause was the cause of God. Taking this for granted, he could brook no opposition. Those who opposed him were undoubtedly opponents of God and emissaries of Satan. The violence of his polemical language is almost without parallel. When aroused by opposition, he lost

all regard for decency, and sometimes, apparently, even for truth. Those who opposed him, and in him the cause of God, were *ipso facto*, shown to be utterly reprobate and capable of all sorts of iniquity. We can best understand Luther's work by regarding him as filled with the idea that he had a great mission to perform as an apostle of God, and that all opposition to his work was prompted by the devil.

It seems probable that at the beginning of his reformatory career, Luther's motives were pure, but that his character was seriously damaged by his experiences as a politico-ecclesiastical leader. Toward the close of his life, he became almost intolerable, even to his friends, so great was his bitterness and his intolerance of the least opposition.

He spent his life in trying to tear down papal authority; but he certainly tried to arrogate to himself almost equal supremacy—not for his own sake, perhaps, but because he regarded himself as the great representative of God's cause on earth.

(2) *Luther and Indulgences.* The Elector and Archbishop Albert of Mainz, had made an arrangement with Leo X. to raise a large sum of money by the sale of indulgences. The Fugger firm of bankers in Augsburg had made heavy advances to the elector and were largely interested in the indulgence traffic. An agent of the firm accompanied the indulgence preacher and took charge of the receipts. The pope was to have one-half of the proceeds for the building of St. Peter's Cathedral and the payment of his debts. Tetzel, who was said to have been previously condemned to death for crime, was appointed, among others, to preach the indulgences throughout the country. These preachers went forth with great pomp, entering cities accompanied by immense processions, with cross and banners and a papal Bull printed in large letters.

Among the directions given to the preachers were the following:

> The indulgence preachers are always to show the people how necessary indulgences are to one wishing to have eternal life; and to disclose and make manifest to the people the immense and inestimable fruit of indulgences for themselves, and for the souls of believers.

They are to relate to the people the fact that Julius II. demolished the church of St. Peter, with a view to rebuilding it, and that its rebuilding has been begun on such a grand scale that the entire revenues of the Roman See would not suffice for its completion; that the bones and relics of the martyrs are now exposed to rain and storm, and that those who bear regard to the martyrs, to St. Peter, and to Christ, ought to contribute to this end. But in order to incite them to perform their duty in this regard, the pope has granted plenary indulgence to all who will contribute. The first grace is the plenary remission of all sins. The second grace contains seven great privileges: that of choosing one's own confessor; that of changing vows into other works of piety (the building of St. Peter's, etc.); participation of all the good deeds of the universal church (prayers, alms, fasts, pilgrimages, etc.); the plenary remission of the sins of those in purgatory, etc. Then follows a large number of instructions, including compositions with simoniacs, with those irregularly ordained, with those married within prohibited degrees, with those that have wrongly got possession of property, and to whom it is inconvenient to restore it to the proper persons; and provisions for putting into the papal treasury all moneys with regard to the rightful possession of which there existed any doubt, etc.[1]

Tetzel probably went beyond this most liberal code of indulgences, and proposed to forgive all sins absolutely as soon as the money clinked in the chest, even if any one had deflowered the Virgin Mary. The Elector of Saxony had forbidden the sale of indulgences in his territory. Hence the preachers could not go to Wittenberg. But Tetzel came to a neighboring town and drew large numbers of people from Wittenberg. Luther saw the harm that was being done alike to the souls and to the purses of the people. His soul was stirred within him. He wrote to Albert, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, etc., protesting against the indulgence traffic. But having no confidence in the result of the letter, as it would seem, he, on the same day (Oct. 31, 1517), posted ninety-five theses concerning indulgences on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg, and sent copies to the bishops of Brandenburg and Magdeburg, exhorting them to rise up against the abomination.

The ninety-five theses were in substance as follows: That God alone can bestow true absolution; that the pope, like any other bishop or pastor, can only dispense this divine absolution to penitents and believers. That priestly absolution might indeed be bene-

[1] See documents in Gerdesius, "*Hist. Evangelii Renovati*," Vol. I., p. 83 of "*Monumenta*," and extracts in Gieseler.

ficial, but could not be indispensable, nor should it be esteemed more highly than works of piety and mercy. That such absolution properly referred only to ecclesiastical penalties, and that it was then so much abused by traders in indulgences, and so misunderstood by the people, that if the pope knew what was going on, he would rather see St. Peter's Church go into ashes, than see it built of the skin and bones of his sheep. He represents laymen as arguing, "That if the pope has the power for a paltry sum of money to redeem souls from purgatory, he ought on account of most holy charity and the utmost need of souls, to empty purgatory." And even the learned theologians, he says, find it difficult to defend the reverence of the pope from such calumnies and questionings. He takes up one by one a large number of the extravagant claims of the indulgence preachers, and refutes them briefly, fortifying the statements with references to Councils and Fathers.

It is no wonder that such a document should have aroused the opposition of those who were interested in the indulgence traffic.

(3) *Luther's Theses Condemned by the Pope and Luther Summoned to Rome.* Tetzel and Prierias (Master of the Sacred Palace at Rome), wrote against Luther in favor of indulgences. Luther sent a copy of his theses to the pope, accompanied by a letter, in which he expresses a firm conviction that his position is true and orthodox, but submitting unconditionally to his superiors. He was summoned (Aug., 1518) to appear at Rome; but the Elector Frederick arranged that he should be examined at Augsburg by the Cardinal Legate Cajetan (Oct., 1518). Neither kindness nor threats, on the part of Cajetan, availed anything with Luther. His failure to render satisfaction to Cajetan involved his excommunication by the pope. He now appealed from the pope ill-informed, to the pope better informed; but soon afterward, feeling sure that he could get no justice from the Roman Curia, he appealed to a General Council.

(4) *The Attitude of the Elector Frederick toward Luther.* Frederick was a man of enlightened views, and was on the most friendly terms with Luther. As he was one of the most important men in the empire, his support of Luther was dreaded by the pope, who wrote to Frederick, exhorting him by no means to uphold Luther in his disobedience and heresy. After the Augsburg conference, Cajetan wrote to Frederick, giving him an account of Luther's conduct, and asking him either to send Luther

to Rome, or to banish him from his realm. Luther also wrote to the elector, giving his view of the conference, and replying to Cajetan. Cajetan had accused Luther of rejecting a decretal of Clement VI. with regard to indulgences. Luther replied that this decretal is clearly opposed to the historical sense of the passage of Scripture on which it claims to be based, and that while rejecting neither the decretal nor the Scripture, he is bound to give the preference to the latter. Nay, the popes and the Fathers have often tortured Scripture from its true sense. The attitude of Cajetan in the conference, according to both accounts, was that of a superior, who did not deign to argue with the miserable monk; but in a paternal way demanded of him unconditional submission, and warned him to be solicitous for the salvation of his soul. Luther was willing to submit only when proved to be wrong. Frederick refused to banish Luther or to send him to Rome. He considered Luther's demand to be arraigned before an impartial tribunal in Germany nothing more than was reasonable.

The pope being anxious to secure the influence of Frederick, deputed Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman and chamberlain in the papal court, to go to Saxony and treat with Frederick and Luther. Miltitz's opinion, after traveling through Germany, was, that public opinion was so strongly in favor of Luther, that even if he had an army at his command he could not take Luther to Rome.

(5) *Luther's Conference with Miltitz.* Miltitz summoned Luther in a friendly manner to meet him at Altenberg (Jan., 1519). He acknowledged the evil of the indulgence traffic, and denounced Tetzel so strongly that he is said to have died of chagrin; but he entreated Luther not to make of this abuse an occasion for schism. Luther agreed to keep silent as long as his opponents should do the same. Moreover, he would write to the pope, and assure him that he had been too warm and severe in his polemics; but that he inveighed against abuses as a true child of the church. Moreover, he would publish a tract in which he would exhort everybody to follow the Roman Church, to be obedient and respectful to its dignitaries, to understand his writings, not to the dishonor, but rather to the honor of the holy Roman Church, and

to look upon some of his expressions as too warm and perhaps untimely. Again, he was willing to submit his cause to the Archbishop of Saltzburg, with other learned men, subject to appeal. In pursuance of this agreement, Luther wrote a most submissive letter to the pope.

We have here an instance, among many, of Luther's diplomatic skill. We have the letter to the pope, dated March 5, 1519, written in the most adulatory style,[1] and a letter to Spalatin, dated March 13, in which he declares that "he does not know whether the pope is Antichrist or his apostle, so miserably is Christ (*i. e.*, the truth) corrupted and crucified by him in his decretals."[2] Luther himself throws some light upon his duplicity in a letter to Spalatin bearing the same date with that to the pope: "It never was in my mind that I should wish to cut loose from the Apostolic Roman See. Finally, I am content that he [the pope] be called, and be lord of all things. What is this to me, who know that even a Turk must be honored and tolerated for the sake of his power? For I am certain that only by God's will (as Peter says), will any power stand. But this I do for my faith in Christ, that they may not drag down and contaminate his word by prohibition. Let the Roman decretals leave me the pure gospel, and they may seize upon all else."

This correspondence is important because it is characteristic, and because it throws light upon Luther's ethical position. He had not attained to the absolute and uncompromising veraciousness that characterizes evangelical Christianity at its best estate, but still allowed himself considerable liberty in prevarication. We must bear in mind that Luther was dealing with Italian diplomatists, who were notorious for their insincerity. It may have been a matter of some consolation to him to know that he was simply meeting them on their own ground, with their own weapons.

The general impression Luther's character makes upon one, is that of overmastering zeal and impetuosity. But we cannot fully appreciate his marvelous power unless we observe that he combined with his impetuosity a remarkable amount of shrewdness and diplomacy. This enabled him, in general, to make the most of his fiery zeal—to be impetuous when and where it was most advantageous to be so.

(6) *The Disputation at Leipzig (June and July, 1519).* Soon after the publication of Luther's theses, Carlstadt, rector of the University of Wittenberg, a man of great learning and remarkable religious earnestness, defended them in about four hundred theses in his university disputations, and became widely known as the ablest coadjutor of Luther.

Carlstadt's four hundred propositions were intended as a reply to Dr. John Eck, of Ingoldstadt. Luther pro-

[1] "*Ep.*," ed. De Wette, Vol. I., p. 233. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

posed that Eck and Carlstadt should settle their dispute by a debate at Leipzig. In January, 1519, Eck had published thirteen theses. Luther thought the promise of silence no longer binding, and replied in thirteen others. Luther was also drawn into the Leipzig debate, and was forced into a dispute on the primacy of the pope. Eck accused him of Hussite opinions, and Luther rejoined that several of Huss' opinions had been unjustly condemned and virtually aligned himself with the Bohemian reformer. Here Eck first pronounced Luther and his followers heretics, under the name of Lutherans. Eck was greatly superior to Luther in controversial skill; but the verdict of the public was clearly in favor of Luther and Carlstadt.

(7) *Luther's Activity, from the Leipzig Disputation till his Final Excommunication (Jan. 3, 1521).* This was a period of intense activity with Luther. Both he and Melanchthon, who was now at his side, as a most learned and faithful helper, wrote polemical treatises against Eck, etc.

Philip Melanchthon (born 1497), son of a weapon-maker, grandnephew and pupil of Reuchlin, studied for a number of years at Pforzheim, Heidelberg, and Tübingen, and by 1518 had become one of the most accomplished classical scholars of the time and a thorough-going humanist in his sympathies and purposes. On Reuchlin's recommendation he was appointed teacher of Greek in the University of Wittenberg (1518). In spite of Reuchlin's warnings, he was soon won over to the support of Luther and became deeply interested in biblical study and in evangelical theology. His accession to the Lutheran ranks was of fundamental importance. From this time onward he was Luther's chief helper, and it was largely due to his fame as a scholar and teacher that the university was so greatly prospered. In many respects he was the counterpart of Luther. Far more learned than Luther and far more moderate in his views, he tended to curb the extravagances of his great leader. He was able to put Luther's thoughts into consistent and intelligible form while he was himself inspired in his thinking and his work by the great personality of Luther. He was yielding and compromising in disposition and so was enabled to endure Luther's overbearing conduct and to conciliate many whom Luther would have hopelessly alienated. As he became more mature and influential he became more assertive, and long before Luther's death a marked difference in the type of their theological thinking was observable. After Luther's death his views became practically Calvinistic, only his Augustinianism was always of a far more moderate type than that of either Luther or Calvin. His theological masterpiece is the "*Loci Communes*," the successive editions of which show his pro-

gressive departure from ultra-Lutheranism. The type of his teaching is exemplified also in the "Augsburg Confession," which he drafted in consultation with Luther (1530), and in the "Apology" for the "Confession," and his modified views in the Augsburg "*Variata*" (1540). Many of his controversial works are of considerable value. His relation to later Lutheran controversies will be defined in a subsequent section.

In September, 1519, Luther published his "Commentary on Galatians," in the preface of which he distinguishes between the Roman Church, the bride of Christ, the mother of churches, the daughter of God, the terror of hell, absolutely pure, and the Roman Curia, which he condemns in the strongest terms. The former should be by no means resisted; to resist the latter is a work of far greater piety on the part of kings, princes, and whoever is able, than to resist the Turks themselves.

Early in 1520, when it was becoming evident that Luther would be excommunicated, he received assurances of protection from Ulrich von Hutten, Franz von Sickingen, and Sylvester of Schaumberg, knights. The last assured him that he and a hundred other nobles would protect him against violence at any cost until his matter should be settled by an impartial council. The elector still remained true to Luther, glorying in the fame that had come to his new university through Luther and Melanchthon.

In June (the same month in which the first Bull of excommunication was issued at Rome, but before it had reached Germany), emboldened by such assurances, Luther issued his writing: "To the Christian Nobles of Germany, with regard to the Bettering of the Christian Condition." This is one of the boldest of Luther's reformatory writings. He shows the hopelessness of reform in the church, from the fact that the Romanists have most dextrously drawn around them three walls: (1) When pursued by the secular power, they hold that the spiritual is above the secular. (2) When any one would rebuke them with the Scriptures, they reply that it belongs to the pope alone to interpret Scripture. (3) If threatened with a council, they pretend that no one but the pope can call a council.

He shows that there is properly no distinction in Scripture between spiritual and secular; that all Christians are spiritual, all priests. The secular authorities ought to defend the righteous and punish the evil, even if such be monks, nuns, priests, bishops, popes. Christ says that all Christians are taught of God. Now it may happen that popes, bishops, etc., are not true Christians; and a humble layman may have a truer understanding of Scripture than they. The third wall will fall down of itself if the others are demolished. Christ says, "If thy brother sin against thee tell it to the church." How can we tell it to the church without calling a council?

Now follows his plan for the reformation of the church, which he exhorts the nobles to carry out: Reduction of the luxurious extravagance of the papal court; abolition of annates and other papal exactions of money; bishops' palliums to be no longer brought from Rome; no secular cause to be carried to Rome for adjudication; all papal reservations to be abolished; no fiefs to be held at Rome; the emperor no more to kiss the pope's foot or to hold his stirrup; nobody to kiss the pope's foot; pilgrimages to be abolished; no more monasteries to be built; pastors to be allowed to marry; many ecclesiastical penalties to be abolished; all festivals to be abolished except Sunday; laws with regard to prohibited degrees of consanguinity in marriage to be changed; mendicancy to be abolished; the cause of the Bohemians to be taken up and union with them effected; the universities to be reformed and Aristotle scouted, etc., etc.

Eck, who had been from the beginning one of the foremost opponents of Luther, had gone to Rome and returned to Germany, charged with the proclamation of the Bull. He was supposed to have instigated the pope to this measure; and so great was the odium which he incurred, that he was obliged to conceal himself. A denunciatory song was written about him, which contributed to the popular feeling against him. The Bull was received in Germany with almost universal indignation. A handbill appeared at Erfurt, signed by the faculty and students, denouncing Luther's enemies and commending Luther. Eck had difficulty in getting the Bull published even in his own university.

In September, Luther published his admirable tract, "Concerning Christian Liberty," accompanied by a long dedicatory letter to Pope Leo X. The letter to Leo is a bold and fervid denunciation of the ecclesiastical administration tempered with flattery of the reigning pope.

"The court of Rome" is declared to be "more corrupt than any Babylon or Sodom," "of an abandoned, desperate, and hopeless impiety," "the most lawless den of thieves, the most shameless of all brothels, the very kingdom of sin, death, and hell; so that not even Antichrist, if he were to come, could devise any addition to its wickedness." Yet Leo is represented as "sitting like a lamb in the midst of wolves, like Daniel, in the midst of lions, and with Ezekiel dwelling among scorpions," as powerless in the face of "the monstrous evils." If he and a few cardinals should attempt reform, they would be poisoned. "It is all over with the court of Rome: the wrath of God has come upon it to the uttermost." Satan is declared to be more the ruler of the court than Leo, whom Luther would fain see living privately on his paternal inheritance out of reach of these fearful evils. He narrates the proceedings of Cajetan, Miltitz, and Eck, in their efforts to bring him to submission, justifying himself fully and scathingly denouncing these papal emissaries, whom he regards as abusing their commissions and only making bad worse. He points out the unreasonableness of the expectation that he should recant, unless he can be proved to be wrong. "Moreover, I cannot bear with laws for the interpretation of the word of God, since the word of God, which teaches liberty in all other things, ought not to be bound." Referring to the accompanying tract, he adds: "It is a small matter, if you look to its exterior, but, unless I mistake, it is a summary of the Christian life put together in small compass, if you apprehend its meaning."

The two propositions that he undertakes to establish in the treatise are: "A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to every one." Luther's elaboration of these propositions constitutes his very best exposition of the principles of evangelical Christianity. It is written with masterly skill, seraphic fervor, and convincing logic, and is so free from his later extravagances as to be universally acceptable to evangelical Christians always and everywhere. Justification by faith is earnestly insisted upon as opposed to justification by works, but not in so one-sided a manner as to make good works seem superfluous: "Good works do not make a good man, but a good man does good works. Bad works do not make a bad man, but a bad man does bad works. Thus it is always necessary that the substance or person should be good before any good works can be done, and that good works should follow and proceed from a good person. . . We do not then reject good works; nay, we embrace them and teach them in the highest degree. It is not on their own account that we condemn them, but on account of this impious addition to them, and the perverse notion of seeking justification by them."

The treatise on "The Babylonish Captivity of the Church," published a few weeks later, is of almost equal value and importance.

In his dedication, he professes to have made within two years great advancement in the apprehension of the truth, under the stimulus and instruction of such teachers as Prierias, Eck, and Emser. He now extremely regrets having published the work on indulgences, in which he was still superstitious enough to judge that they were not to be wholly rejected. He had since reached the conviction that indulgences were "nothing but mere impostures of the flatterers of Rome, whereby to make away with the faith of God and the money of men." He would have all his previous writings on indulgences burned and have this one proposition put in their place: "Indulgences are wicked devices of the flatterers of Rome." Heretofore he had admitted that the pope had a human right to preside over Christendom. Now he is convinced that "the papacy is the kingdom of Babylon." He would have everything he has hitherto had published about the papacy burned and the following proposition substituted: "The papacy is the mighty hunting-ground of the Bishop of Rome." Heretofore he has thought it would be well for a General Council to determine in favor of administering both bread and wine to the laity. The effort of his opponents to prove communion in one kind to be scriptural by an appeal to the sixth chapter of John's Gospel has convinced him that a denial of the cup to the laity is a perversion of the ordinance. He must now deny "that there are seven sacraments, and must lay it down, for the time being, that there are only three, baptism, penance, and the bread, and that by the court of Rome all these have been brought into miserable bondage, and the church despoiled of all her liberty."

The treatise is devoted to a *critique* of the Romanist teaching regarding the seven sacraments, which are taken up one by one, and to the setting forth of Luther's own views on the Lord's Supper, baptism, etc. He places himself beside Wycliffe and Huss in rejecting transubstantiation, and beside the Bohemians in insisting on communion under both kinds. He insists that in the administration of the sacrament, everything be "put aside" "that has been added by the zeal or the notions of men to the primitive and simple institution; such as are vestments, ornaments, hymns, prayers, musical instruments, lamps, and all the pomp of visible things," and that we "must turn our eyes and our attention only to the pure institution of Christ, and set nothing else before us but those very words of Christ, with which he instituted and perfected that sacrament, and committed it to us." He rejoices that Christ has preserved baptism in his church uninjured and uncontaminated by the devices of men, and has made it free to all nations and to men of every class. . . doubtless having this purpose, that he would have little children, incapable of avarice and superstition, to be initiated into this sacrament, to be sanctified by perfectly simple faith in his word. To such, even at the present day, baptism is of the highest advantage. If this sacrament had been intended to be given to adults and those of full age, it seems as if it could hardly have preserved its efficacy and

glory in the presence of that tyranny of avarice and superstition which has supplanted all divine ordinances among us. . . Yet though Satan has not been able to extinguish the virtue of baptism in the case of little children, still he has had power to extinguish it in all adults, so that there is scarcely any one now-a-days who remembers that he has been baptized, much less glories in it, so many other ways having been found of obtaining remission of sins and going to heaven." "Man baptizes and does not baptize; he baptizes, because he performs the work of dipping the baptized person; he does not baptize, because in this work he does not act upon his own authority, but in the place of God. . . Consider the person of him who confers baptism in no other light than as the vicarious instrument of God, by means of which the Lord sitting in heaven dips thee in water with his own hands, and promises thee remission of sins upon earth, speaking to thee with the voice of a man through the mouth of his minister." Again: "Another thing which belongs to it is the sign or sacrament, which is that dipping into water whence it takes its name. For in Greek to baptize signifies to dip, and baptism is a dipping." Further: "It is not baptism that justifies any man, or is of any advantage; but faith in that word of promise to which baptism is added; for this justifies and fulfills the meaning of baptism. For faith is the submerging of the old man and the emerging of the new man. . . Baptism, then, signifies two things, death and resurrection; that is, full and complete justification. When the ministers dips the child into the water, this signifies death; when he draws him out again, this signifies life. . . For this reason I could wish that the baptized child should be totally immersed, according to the meaning of the word and the signification of the mystery; not that I think it is necessary to do so, but that it would be well that so complete and perfect a thing as baptism should have its sign also in completeness and perfection, even as it was doubtless instituted by Christ."

There is no evidence that Luther ever had the slightest misgivings as to the propriety or importance of infant baptism.

(8) *Luther's Further Controversies with the Romanists (1521 onward).* From the time of Luther's excommunication onward Roman Catholics held him responsible for all revolutionary proceedings and for everything disorderly and unseemly in the political, social, moral, and religious realms. Nothing could be more natural than to attribute the Peasants' War, the fanaticism of Thomas Münzer and Heinrich Pfeiffer, the radical separatism and the communism of some Anabaptists, the Münster Kingdom, and the apparently growing contempt for all authority human and divine, to the bold utterances of Luther in favor of liberty and equality, and in opposition to papal authority and monkish piety. It could hardly have been expected that Luther's Catholic opponents

would conscientiously seek to minimize his responsibility by pointing out the fact that the revolutionary forces, which his utterances and proceedings had brought into violent activity, had for generations been leavening society, and that Luther's agency was little more than that of the spark that lights the prepared mine. It was decidedly to the interest of their contention to fix the blame upon the great leader. His own violent polemics added fuel to the flames, and the prevailing immorality and irreligion, which he himself felt obliged to admit, and which he was continually censuring in hyperbolical language, furnished abundant ammunition to his antagonists.

a. Luther Attacks Sacerdotalism and Defends the Universal Priesthood of Believers. In a tract issued from the Wartburg (Nov., 1521) and addressed to the Augustinians at Wittenberg, he declares that "elders are not sworn and anointed objects of idolatry, but honorable and pious citizens in a community, of good life and reputation, who are properly called bishops, and many of them in every community." In support of this proposition he appeals to Phil. 1 : 1 ; Acts 20 : 28 ; Titus 1 : 5-7.

"What can your common man say to these three heavenly thunderstrokes [referring to the passages of Scripture]? I pray thee, Christian man, do not be imposed upon by the golden crowns and pearls, . . red hats and mantles, gold, silver, precious stones, asses, horses, and court paraphernalia, with all the honor, pomp, and splendor of popes, cardinals, and bishops, the abandoned people, and believe Paul in the Holy Spirit, these are not bishops, but idols, . . worms, and wonders of the wrath of God." He urges that every pious man should strive earnestly either to become a priest of Christ and his holy church or give up the priestly profession, utterly disregarding the fictitious character, the smeared and anointed fingers, the shorn head and the pharisaic attire of the miserable clergy ; for they are all the devil's ministers, not God's. Follow your own consciences in God without reference to the persons and the hypocritical pretensions of man.

b. The Diet of Nuremberg (Dec., 1522), *and Luther's Assertion of the Autonomy of the Local Congregation* (1523). Pope Hadrian VI., who had recently succeeded Leo X., was a man of good character and was desirous of reforming and reuniting the church. He greatly underestimated

the strength of the evangelical protest and supposed that harmony could be restored by the redress of acknowledged grievances.

At the Diet of Nuremberg he admitted that for some years many abominations had existed in the holy See, "abuses in spiritual things, excesses in things commanded, and in fine, all things have been perverted; nor is it to be wondered at, if the disease has descended from the head into the members, from the supreme pontiffs into the other inferior prelates." He acknowledges that all the prelates and ecclesiastics have gone astray, and he urges that each one humiliate himself before God and seek to amend his ways, promising himself to look after the due reformation of the Roman court. Yet he is not so sanguine as to believe that a disease so inveterate, multiplex, and complicated can be eradicated all at once, and thinks that more harm than good would result from measures too drastic. He urges the Lutheran princes to execute the edict of Worms against Luther, his writings, and his followers, rebukes them for burning the papal law-books and decretals, and threatens or predicts the utter destruction of themselves and the devastation of their provinces if they persist in their contempt for holy things.

The estates in the Diet pointed out the fact that the great mass of the German people were with Luther in his protest, and that it would be impracticable to carry out the papal and imperial decrees against him; and they proceeded to present a long list of abuses and grievances, the redress of which was deemed absolutely essential to the peace of Germany. A free Christian Council meeting in Germany is declared to be the only effective means of settling the difficulties, and the sooner it is convened the better.

Hadrian died before he could carry out his proposed reforms (Sep., 1523), and his successor, Clement VII., agreed with the Roman court in rejecting the policy of concession.

The practical setting aside by the Diet of the Edict of Worms, which encouraged many communities to abolish papal forms and adopt evangelical organization and worship, was the occasion of one of Luther's most important reformatory writings (Easter, 1523): "That a Christian assembly or community has the right and power to judge all teaching, to call, institute, and depose teachers."

In respect to the judging of doctrine and the institution and the deposition of teachers "we must have absolutely no regard to human laws and ordinances, old tradition, usage, custom, and such like, whether instituted by pope or emperor, princes or bishop, even though half the world, or the whole world, have held to them, and even though they have been observed for a year or a thousand years.

For the soul of man is an eternal thing, above everything that is temporal; therefore it must be ruled and controlled by the eternal word. For it is a shameful thing to rule the conscience with human law and long usage in place of God . . . so we now conclude, that wherever there is a Christian community, which has the gospel, it has not only the right and power, but is under obligation by the salvation of souls . . . to avoid, flee from, depose, withdraw from the authority exercised by bishops, abbots, monasteries, foundations, and the like, such as now exist." He proceeds to show that since Christian communities must have teachers and preachers, since bishops and priests of the prevailing type are unsuitable, and since we have no ground for expecting God to send preachers from heaven, we must call and institute those that we find sent for this work and whom God has enlightened with understanding and adorned with gifts.

c. Luther's Polemic against Henry VIII. of England. In response to Luther's "Babylonish Captivity of the Church," Henry VIII., zealous for papal doctrine and anxious for the favor of the pope and the title of "Defender of the Faith," published (1521) "An Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Luther." Henry had urged Charles V. to use the most drastic measures against Lutheranism. His scholastic treatise was denunciatory in a high degree and breathed the spirit of intolerance. Luther was irritated beyond measure by the king's attack and hastened to reply, in both German and Latin, in the most vituperative language that even he could command. The king is addressed as "Henry, by God's disfavor king of England," he is denounced as "a crowned ass," as "a shameless liar and blasphemer," as "a miserable fool," as "that damnable rottenness and worm." A paragraph or two of this masterpiece of theological billingsgate will illustrate one side of the Reformer's character:

Not me, but himself, let King Henry blame, if he shall have experienced somewhat hard and rough treatment at my hands. For he does not betray a royal mind or any vein of royal blood, but shameless and meretricious impudence and poltroonery, proving all things only by curses, and what is most base in any man, above all in a man of exalted position, he openly and deliberately lies. . . Now that that damnable rottenness and worm deliberately and consciously concocts lies against the majesty of my King in heaven, it is right for me on behalf of my King to besprinkle his Anglican majesty with his own mire and ordure and to trample under foot that crown that blasphemes against Christ. . . If for Christ's sake I have trampled upon the idol of the Roman abomination which has

established itself in the place of God and hath made itself master and king of the whole world, who is this new Thomist Henry, a disciple merely of so cowardly a monster, that I should respect his virulent blasphemies. Grant that he is a "Defender of the Church" . . . yet it is of the purple clad harlot, drunken and mother of abominations.

In answer to Henry's charge that Luther often contradicts himself, he writes:

This impudent lie of his even against his own conscience he so urges and makes prominent throughout the entire book, that it is quite evident he wrote it not for the sake of teaching . . . or asserting the seven sacraments, but, being afflicted with a mental disease of the most virulent type and not being able otherwise to void the virus and pus of envy and malice formed within his mind, he found occasion to spew it out through his filthy mouth, having no other aim than to besmear with his lies the mouths of all and to arouse ill feeling against me. . . Base would it be for a filthy harlot, with shameless brow and disordered faculties, to lie and rage in this way; other things would have befitted a royal mind and royal blood. . . The other charge is, that I have made an onslaught on the pope and the church, that is, the pimp and bawd and see of Satan, whose defender he himself has recently been declared to be. . . The papacy is the most pestilential abomination of prince Satan that ever was or ever shall be. . . These are the arms by which heretics are vanquished now-a-days, the fire and the fury of these most silly asses and Thomist swine. But let these swine come on and burn me if they dare. Here I am and I will wait for them, and my ashes alone having been cast after my death into a thousand seas, I will persecute and harass this abominable crowd. While alive I will be the enemy of the papacy, burned, I will be twice an enemy. Do what you can, Thomist swine, you shall have Luther as a bear in your way.

Luther's utter contempt for constituted authority, as manifested in this writing, could not have failed to appeal powerfully to the social democracy throughout Europe and to encourage the oppressed classes to strike for liberty.

(9) *Luther's Translation of the New Testament.* During his seclusion at the Wartburg Luther spent a large part of his time in preparing his translation of the New Testament.

It would be a mistake to suppose that he was in any sense a pioneer in this field. Between the years 1462 and 1522 not less (probably considerably more) than seventeen editions of the Bible in German had issued from the presses of Strasburg, Augsburg, Nu-

remberg, Cologne, Lübeck, and Halberstadt. The earliest German Bible was printed from a version (represented by the *Codex Teplensis* of the fifteenth century) which was probably made in the fourteenth century by Bohemian or Austrian evangelicals. That during the later Middle Ages the Bible was studied with zeal throughout wide circles is evident from the fact that not only these numerous vernacular editions and unnumbered editions of vernacular Bible portions were called for; but that between 1450 and 1500 at least ninety-seven editions of the Latin Vulgate are known to have been published, besides vast numbers of Gospels, Epistles, and Psalters. The earlier versions of the German Bible were all made from the Vulgate. Luther was the first to make use of the Greek for this purpose. He was not an accomplished Greek scholar, but he drew to his aid the scholarship of Melanchthon, Amsdorf, *et al.*, and succeeded in making a version that was reasonably accurate, thoroughly idiomatic, simple, and vigorous.

Luther's first edition of the New Testament appeared in September, 1522, and it soon had a vast circulation and became an important means of diffusing evangelical light. His version of the Pentateuch appeared in 1523, of the Psalter, in 1524, and of the entire Bible, in 1534. In the translation of the prophets he made much use (unacknowledged) of the version of Hetzer and Denck, to be hereafter referred to. In the later stages of his work, including the revision of the New Testament, he had the co-operation of a Bible Club, made up of Melanchthon, Cruciger, Justus Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Aurogallus.

In the preface to his New Testament Luther indulged so freely in the subjective criticism of the inspired writings as to merit the appellation "father of modern subjective Bible criticism." He pronounced John's Gospel, Paul's Epistles, especially that to the Romans, and Peter's First Epistle, by far the best and the most valuable of the books, containing not many works and miracles of Christ, but showing in a masterly way how faith vanquishes sin, death, and hell, and gives life, righteousness, and blessedness. John's Gospel he placed far above the other three, because it deals chiefly with Christ's teaching, while the others are largely taken up with the works and very little with the words of Christ. So also he regarded Paul's Epistles and First Peter as superior to the three first Gospels. His disparagement of the Epistle of James and of the Apocalypse has already been noted.

(10) *Luther on Obedience to the Secular Magistracy.* Highly significant, in view of later developments, were Luther's utterances (early in 1523) in his writing "Concerning the Secular Magistracy and how far one is under

obligation to obey it." It constitutes a noble plea for the Christian treatment of subjects. Princes are warned that the times have changed, and that unless they rule justly, God will put an end to their authority as he has done in the case of the ecclesiastics. God will not suffer them to rule the souls of men, and in doing so they are bringing upon themselves the hatred of God and of men.

"Your tyranny and arbitrary proceedings cannot and will not long be endured. . . God will not longer have it so." The time is past when "you may hunt and harass the people like wild beasts. Is there heresy? It must be overcome, as is meet, with God's word."

In August, 1523, Luther wrote to the imperial authorities at Nuremberg: "I suppose that those who are now my bitterest enemies, if they knew what I daily learn from all parts of the country, would help me storm the monasteries to-morrow."

These utterances, to which many pages might be added, show how revolutionary Luther still was almost to the outbreak of the Peasants' War, and enable us to judge how important a factor his influence must have been in calling forth this widespread and well-organized uprising against tyranny.

5. *The Peasants' War in its Relations to the Protestant Revolution.*

LITERATURE: Baumann, "*Akten z. Gesch. d. deutschen Bauernkrieges aus Obershwaben*," 1877; Fries, "*D. Gesch. d. Bauernkrieges in Ostfranken*," 1883; Kessler, "*Sabbata*;" Schreiber, "*D. deutsche Bauernkrieg*," 1863; Bezold, "*Der Bauernkrieg*," 1890 (in Onken's "*Weltgeschichte*"); Cornelius, "*Studien zur Gesch. d. Bauernkrieges*"; Janssen, "*Gesch. d. deutschen Volks*," *Bd.* II.; Jörg, "*Deutschland in der Revolutionsperiode von 1522–1526*," 1851; Lehnert, "*Studien z. Gesch. d. 12 Artikel*," 1894; Zimmermann, "*Allgemeine Gesch. d. grossen Bauernkriegs*," 1854; Stern, "*Uber d. 12 Artikel d. Bauern*," 1858; Kautsky, "Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation," tr. by Mulliken, 1879.

Leonard Fries, who at the time of the Peasants' War was secretary of the city of Würzburg, and who, with commendable industry, compiled a documentary history of the movement which has only recently seen the light, forcibly characterizes the great popular uprising as a deluge. "The terrible deluge," writes he, in the spirit of his time, "which astronomers and astrologers foretold long before it occurred—a woful and lamentable del-

uge, not of water, as the astronomers and astrologers supposed, but a deluge of blood." "For," he proceeds, "in the German nation alone more than one hundred thousand men were overwhelmed and perished in this deluge in less than ten weeks."

(1) *Origin and Nature of Serfdom.* The Peasants' War of 1524–1525 was not the first of its kind. Throughout the later Middle Ages, and in almost every part of Europe, peasant uprisings of greater or less magnitude had taken place. The great mass of the Germanic peoples, who had from the earliest times been noted for their force of character and their love of liberty, had, as a result of the feudal system, been reduced to a state of serfdom. Captives of war doubtless formed the basis of serfdom; poverty and debt brought multitudes of free men into the same condition.

The feudal laws, as might be supposed, were strongly favorable to the proprietors of the soil. The peasant had few rights that the nobility were bound to respect. In many cases the peasantry were regarded as an inherent part of the property, and were bought and sold with the land. They must follow the lord in his warlike enterprises. The proprietor could impose any rents or taxes he might see fit. He could take the peasant's possessions without his consent, destroy his crops by riding over them with hunting parties without compensation. He could imprison, shoot, or hang him at his own sweet will. Cases are on record, apparently well authenticated, of noblemen on hunting excursions killing their serfs in order that they might warm their feet in their opened bodies. There is, I believe, one code of feudal laws in which this right is expressly recognized, but the number of serfs that may be thus used on any given excursion is limited. A story is told of a nobleman who wished to cross a swollen stream, and could think of no more feasible way of doing it than to force a large number of serfs into the flood, and to pass over on their struggling bodies as they drifted to destruction. It was the prerogative of the lords, very commonly exercised, to withhold from the peasant the right to fish in the streams, to shoot or entrap game, to cut wood or timber for fuel and building, to possess guns or cross-bows, or to marry whom he chose. One of the most unreasonable and unjust laws was the law of heriot, in accordance with which the lord had the right, on the death of one of his serfs, to go upon the premises and take the first or most valuable chattel he could lay hands upon. The theory doubtless was that the lord thus secured a certain compensation for the loss sustained in the death of his serf. A like basis doubtless had the law by virtue of which the lord could claim the entire property of a suicide. Most peasants would have been quite content to pay a large proportion of the grain produce as rent, but to be obliged to tithe the fowls, calves, lambs, hay, vegetables, etc., was highly vexatious and oppressive.

The ecclesiastical lords were little more considerate of the interests or the comfort of the peasants than the lay. In fact, some of the worst instances of oppression are furnished by the church. Most of the bishops, archbishops, and abbots were members of titled families, and their motives, in many cases, were purely secular. They usually had to pay a high price for their appointment, and it was natural that they should seek to recoup themselves by fleecing the peasants.

(2) *Earlier Uprisings of the Peasants.* The history of earlier struggles for freedom on the part of the peasants may be briefly summed up: Burdens too grievous to be borne; a more or less distinct hope of successful resistance, usually engendered or fostered by some sort of religious awakening, or by some enthusiastic individual or individuals who succeeded in catching the ear of the people, ready to listen to anything that promised relief from the galling yoke of serfdom; a fitful struggle for freedom; some deeds of outlawry on the part of the desperate peasants; a merciless massacre; the imposition of still more grievous burdens upon the survivors.

Yet the failure of the peasants in their struggles for freedom had by no means been universal or complete. In the Rhætian Alps and in the Swiss cantons rebellion had resulted in glorious freedom. In France serfdom had come to an end from a combination of circumstances. It seems never to have existed in the Netherlands. The region in which serfdom still reigned supreme at the beginning of the sixteenth century was Germany, and it was in Franconia, Alsace, and Swabia that it had assumed its most aggravated forms. A glance at a map of this region will make apparent its contiguity to those countries in which liberty had made the greatest strides. The intercourse between the peasantry of Alsace, Franconia, and Swabia with that of Switzerland on the one side, and that of the Netherlands on the other, was of the most intimate kind.

Let us look a little more particularly at the antecedents of the Peasants' War on the territory in which it arose and in which it raged most fiercely. It was in Franconia and Swabia that the rumblings of discontent first became distinctly audible and that the first revolutionary deeds were perpetrated. Here the hardships of the peasants were peculiarly great. The lives of the clergy were

shamelessly corrupt, and the princely style of living the prelates affected made it necessary to wring from the peasantry the last particle of marketable substance. The Hussite wars had drained the country of its resources. The bishop, John Bruno, is said to have lived, nevertheless, like an Oriental prince in Solomonic splendor. While the people starved and sighed, the court, which was a collection of flatterers and favorites, of mistresses and their children, upon whom he lavished most recklessly the income from the land, was a scene of feasting and revelry. His successor exhausted the impoverished people still more. The next bishop in order was a member of the arch-ducal house of Saxony, and was devoted to the sacred office by his father and brothers, as was well understood at the time, if not frankly avowed, "because of the feebleness and the unsoundness of his mind." "Through bad government, through manifold taxes, imposts, feuds, enmities, wars, conflagrations, murders, imprisonments and the like, land and people had already, in 1443, come into so great misery," relates an almost contemporary manuscript, "that nobody could either himself use for proper purposes what the Almighty vouchsafes to him, nor yet bestow anything suitably upon others. And the prospect of amelioration was exceedingly remote, for warring, burning, robbing, throttling, imprisoning, putting in stocks, pinioning, fining, were becoming worse and more violent than they had been before."

Religious influences were at work side by side with social and political. The contempt of the clergy, fully justified by what we have seen of their unworthiness, opened the hearts of the people to something better. It was precisely in this region that the old evangelical party of the later Middle Ages achieved its greatest success. The printing presses of the great commercial centers of this region—Bamberg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Strasburg, Basel, etc.—sent forth, from 1466 to 1518, edition after edition of the German Bible, together with multitudes of editions of Bible portions. The Waldenses were noted for their study of the Bible, and there can be little doubt but that the teachers of this party distributed these Bibles freely among the peasants, whom they

taught to read and interpret them. Apart from the sound evangelizing influences just mentioned, extreme and fanatical types of religious life appeared here, as they are sure to occur in times of dire oppression.

The case of Hans Boeheim is one out of many. In 1476 this young cowherd appeared as preacher and prophet. He had been notoriously irreligious and much given to the playing of the fife and other instruments for dancing parties, etc. The Virgin, in a vision, commanded him to burn his instrument, which he straightway did in the presence of the people. Under like supposed inspiration he began to proclaim the setting-up of a new kingdom of God. The Virgin prompted him to require the putting aside of all finery. Vast multitudes thronged his ministry, thirty or forty thousand having sometimes heard him on a single day. At length the Virgin revealed to him that there should be no emperor, no prince, no pope, no secular or spiritual magistracy. Instead, every man was to be brother to every other man, win his bread with his own hands, and no one was to have more than another. This, of course, involved the abolition of all property in land. Crowds of pilgrims came from all parts of the country and from the neighboring countries to hear this comforting doctrine, which claimed to come direct from the mother of God. After some months of such fanatical preaching Boeheim made up his mind that the time had come to reduce preaching to practice. He gave an invitation to all the males among his followers to meet him, armed for conflict, on a certain day. The bishop got wind of the revolutionary scheme. Boeheim was burned to ashes, and a vast number of peasants were slaughtered.

This same territory was covered by the great Bundschuh movement, 1499 to 1514. This was a vast secret organization, which derived its name from the peasant's clog adopted as a symbol. A well-concerted scheme for a simultaneous strike for liberty throughout an extended territory was rendered futile by the treachery of some member. Swift vengeance came upon the ringleaders, as was to have been expected. The free Switzers had aided and abetted the rebellion to such an extent as to exasperate the nobles. An attack on the Swiss resulted in the defeat of the troops of the nobles, and in the burning of many castles by the peasants. To give a history of the work of the Bundschuh from 1499 to 1514, under the leadership first of Jacob Wimpeling, who has been fittingly called a German Tiberius Gracchus, then of Joss Fritz, if possible a still more intrepid commander, and of Poor Cuntz of Wurtemberg, who fought a good fight against great odds, would require too much space.

Truth and righteousness were crushed to earth, to be sure, but they were destined to rise again, and that with increased energy in the not very distant future.

The platform of the Bundschuh may be briefly stated as follows: Recognition of no other lord than God, the emperor and the pope (the pope is omitted from one copy); abolition of all judicial tribunals except local courts—a protest against being dragged from their homes on vague charges and tried before unsympathizing judges; the limitation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to spiritual things; abolition of all tithes, except such as are recognized by the word of God; freedom of fishing, game, wood, forest, etc.; limitation of clergy to one benefice; reduction of the number of monasteries and like foundations and the use of the confiscated funds for the military purposes of the Bundschuh; the abolition of all obnoxious imposts and duties; the establishment of peace throughout Christendom, those who must fight being sent to fight the Turks; protection of all members of the Bundschuh and punishment of all who oppose its work; the acquisition of a good city as headquarters; members of the Bundschuh to appropriate their means for its purposes.

They succeeded in gaining the alliance of many of the gentry and of some of the nobility. Claiming as did the leaders that they were able to prove every demand both scriptural and reasonable, they gained multitudes of adherents. Yet the extreme poverty of the Bundschuh is shown by the difficulty with which funds could be secured for a banner, which was regarded as indispensable. The organization extended from Hungary to France, and from Switzerland to Saxony or beyond. The result was disastrous to the peasantry, but the spirit of freedom was not extinguished, as we shall soon have occasion to see.

The period from 1514 to 1524 was not one in which revolutionary zeal once kindled was likely to die out. Three years after the crushing of the Bundschuh the great Wittenberg monk attacked indulgences, and a little later (especially in 1519 and 1520) he stood forth as the champion of Christian liberty and equality.

In his address to the emperor, nobles, and people of Germany, Luther struck at the root of sacerdotalism and privileged classes. The unlettered peasant who has the spirit of God is a better interpreter of Scripture than pope or scholar who has not. An honest reader consulting the Bible can be impeached by no power below the sun. The Christian cobbler and the Christian king he puts upon an equality. Each has functions to perform—the one to rule for the benefit of others, the other to make shoes for the same purpose. All

believers are alike priests of God, and therefore equally exalted. All sorts of luxury and extravagance are denounced in a style that would go straight to the heart of the common man.

In his treatise on the "Liberty of a Christian Man," he gave utterance to as noble Christian sentiments as can be found in literature. "Every man is a free and fully competent judge of all those who will teach him, and is inwardly taught by God alone." He insisted that every one—man, woman, scholar, illiterate, man-servant, maid-servant—may and must attain to absolute certainty as to what is true Christian doctrine and what is heresy, by interpreting the Scriptures according to the light given by the Spirit of God. To the sheep, not to the preachers, does judgment belong. He would put the Bible into the hands of every one and say, "There now, let each one make a creed for himself."

In 1522, in a sermon against Carlstadt, he said: "I will preach, I will talk, I will write, but I will force and constrain no man with violence; for faith is by nature voluntary and uncompelled." Even as late as 1524, in a letter to the princes of Saxony, he wrote: "Your princely graces should not restrain the office of the word. Men should be allowed confidently and freshly to preach what they can and against whom they will, for, as I have said, there must be sects, and the word of God must lie afield and fight. . . If their spirit is right, it will not be afraid of us and will stand its ground. Is ours right, it will not be afraid of them nor of any. We should let the spirits have free course." Brave words are these, truly. We shall see hereafter how far he lived up to them.

The peasants of Germany, who had been for so long struggling against civil and ecclesiastical despotism, hailed the advent of this great son of a peasant as of one who combined thorough sympathy for the oppressed with learning, position, and influence, and as one under whose banner they might march on to victory. As has already been made manifest, the peasants of Germany were not indebted to any very large extent to Luther for evangelical teaching or impulse. It was only as his teaching corresponded with the biblical views they had imbibed from less eminent teachers that they rejoiced in his work. It has been proved beyond question that from 1517 to 1522 Luther's doctrinal views were almost identical with the old evangelical views with which the peasants had long been familiar, and that after the latter date a marked change for the worse appears in his teachings. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the bold evangelical utterances of Luther during these years constitute an important factor among the influences that led to the great revolt of the peasants.

The influence of the advanced democratic views of such knights as Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen was likewise very considerable. The moderately revolutionary preaching and writings of Carlstadt, and the violently insurrectionary preaching and prophesying of Thomas Münzer, one of the worst fanatics of the age and a successor along certain lines of Hans Boeheim, doubtless influenced the peasants in a considerable measure. But it would be doing grave injustice to the spirit of this great struggle for civil and religious liberty to suppose that it had the millenarian expectations of Münzer for its mainspring. The influence of Münzer, so far as it did extend, was wholly baneful and destructive.

It is remarkable that in proportion as the spirit of liberty was increasing through such influences as have been mentioned, the hardships of the peasants were becoming more and more unendurable. A number of instances of revolting cruelty occurred about this time.

A certain nobleman compelled his subordinate to drive away two peasants and their families because they had refused to give him their hens. Another nobleman procured the execution of a peasant for the crime of catching crabs out of a brook.

The peasants of the Count of Lippen complained that they were allowed no rest, but were compelled by the countess to hunt for snail-shells, wind yarn, gather strawberries, cherries, and sloes, and do other such like things on holidays; that they had to work for their lords and ladies in fine weather and for themselves in the rain. Moreover, huntsmen and their hounds ran about without regarding the damage they did.

The pestilence had a few years before destroyed vast numbers of the peasants, and many of the noblemen were inclined to compel the survivors to do the work of the dead, as well as their own.

In some cases the rents and taxes are said to have been increased twenty-fold. Waste land that had formerly been exempted was now taxed to the utmost. Tithing had been extended to include almost every imaginable article of produce. The freedom to go on journeys and to meet in large numbers which had formerly been accorded to the peasants, had been withdrawn in consequence of the recent Bundschuh uprising.

Thus we see that, whether the immediate occasion of the outbreak was the exasperation of the peasants at being compelled to gather snail-shells and cherries on holidays, or the shooting of some peasants for poaching, or the merciless exaction of rent in Lipheim when the harvest had almost completely failed, all the conditions existed for the spread of the conflagration throughout Germany when once it had been kindled.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the nobles were uniformly cruel and unreasonable. A few instances are recorded of those who were noble not in name only, but in deed. Frederick the Wise, of Saxony, was a man of heart and conscience. A nobleman whose conscience was troubling him as to whether he ought to keep his peasants in bondage, wrote again and again to Luther for spiritual direction. The same Luther who could write the passionate pleas for liberty and equality, full of inconsistencies as he ever was, used all the influence and the sophistry he could command to induce his correspondent to keep the peasants in bondage and to quench the Spirit of God that was, we may suppose, prompting the man through his conscience to loose the bonds of his subjects. "The common man," he wrote, "must be laden with burdens, otherwise he will become too wanton." When, after all Luther's advice, the man's conscience continued to trouble him, he was taught to ascribe the compunction to Satanic influence.

(3) *Outbreak of the Insurrection.* It was in the territory of the Count of Lippen, where the peasants were compelled to gather snail shells, that the peasants first rose in rebellion in 1524. Hans Müller, an experienced warrior and popular orator, led one thousand and two hundred peasants to Waldshut on August 24th. Here they made common cause with the citizens, who, under the preaching of the great reformer, Balthasar Hubmaier (soon to be known to the world as a great Anabaptist leader), and from close contact with the free institutions of Switzerland, had become strongly democratic in sentiment. A union was formed under the name of the "Evangelical Brotherhood." They were resolved to obey no other lord than the emperor, and to destroy all castles, monasteries, and everything ecclesiastical. They knew full well that castles were a perpetual menace to liberty, and that monasteries could be maintained only at the expense of the tillers of the soil. They were thoroughly convinced that they could expect only taxation and oppression from the clergy. The Evangelical Brotherhood thus constituted formed a regular propaganda. Enthusiastic emissaries were sent at the common expense far and wide to organize the peasants

in every locality. The aim was to bring about a state of society in every respect righteous and consonant with the spirit of the gospel. The Swabian League, organized for the suppression of insurrection, was soon in a position to cope with the insurgents, but not until the movement had made great headway and almost the whole peasant population of Europe was in arms.

(4) *The Twelve Articles of the Peasants.* Let us look for a moment at the twelve articles of the peasants, which exhibit the spirit of the movement better than any words of the author can do.

The first article insists upon the right of the people to appoint and remove pastors, and to demand simple and clear preaching of the gospel without human additions. "Unless God's grace is formed in us we remain simply flesh and blood, which is of no use, for only through faith can we come to God, and only through his mercy can we attain to blessedness." Is there any heresy or fanaticism here?

In the second article the matter of tithes is discussed. While the peasants hold that tithes are an Old Testament institution fulfilled in the New, they yet agree to continue paying grain tithes. These, however, are to be employed for the suitable maintenance of pastors of their own choice and for assisting the poor under the direction of the church. They object to the minor tithes that had of late years been extorted from them as unjust and not even in accord with the Old Testament. This is sound evangelical teaching, is it not?

The third article repudiates the idea that the peasants are the property of their lords; for Christ has redeemed and purchased all alike, high and low, with his precious blood. Yet magistracy is an ordinance of God, and it is the duty of peasants to bear themselves in humility, not simply toward the magistracy, but toward all men. They are resolved in all things Christian to be obedient to the legally constituted magistracy. All will pronounce the teaching of this article above criticism, whether on religious or political grounds.

In the fourth article the peasants express the conviction that it is unseemly and unbrotherly, selfish, and contrary to the word of God, that no poor man should be allowed to kill game in the forests or catch fish in the streams; and they demand that what God has made for the use of man be left free. This is a demand persistently made throughout the entire course of peasant agitation, and one that commends itself to the Christian consciousness as eminently just and reasonable.

In the fifth article objection is made to the appropriation of the forests by the lords, and it is demanded that the poor man be accorded the privilege of getting firewood and timber.

In the sixth article the peasants complain that the labor required of them is becoming greater from day to day, and ask that their burdens be alleviated according to the word of God.

Articles seven to ten deal with mutual obligations of lords and peasants in the matters of wages, tenure of land, etc. The keenest

scrutiny would fail to discover an unjust or un-Christian demand in them.

In the eleventh article they demand the utter abolition of the heriot or death-gift. The wonder is that such a heartless practice should ever have been instituted, or should have been tolerated by the public opinion of any age.

In the twelfth article they make what seems an eminently fair proposition. If any of the foregoing articles is not according to the word of God, they promise to withdraw it so soon as the fact shall have been pointed out.

Thomas Carlyle pronounced these articles worthy of a Solon. An able German historian says: "It was a man of heart and intellect who composed or revised the articles, one who was familiar with the oppressions practised by the nobility and sympathized deeply with the people, one who aimed at no violent revolution and laid no claim to liberty in the sense of equality, but who aimed to provide a touchstone for lords and subjects drawn straight from holy Scripture and capable of being applied with safety and comfort."

With thorough organization and such a document as the basis of their demands, the peasants during the first quarter of 1525 swept everything before them. The cities and towns which had much to complain of in the conduct of lords, lay and ecclesiastical, and the artisan class, which had for generations been permeated with evangelical and democratic sentiments, usually received the peasant hosts with open arms. Castles, monasteries, and other religious houses in large numbers were stormed and sacked and burned. The lords were in many cases obliged to accept the terms of the peasants or to expect the worst. In some instances the peasants went too far in imitation of the lords and wreaked bloody vengeance on such as rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to them. Those of the peasants who were under the direct influence of the fanatical Münzer, were too much inclined to obey his hysterical exhortation to rush upon the enemies of the Lord, to slay, slay, and tire not. He claimed that the sword of Gideon was in his hand and that he would lead them on to victory. "On, on, on," shrieked he, "never mind the wail of the godless. Though they beg in friendly tones, though they cry and whimper like children, pity not. Was it not thus that God commanded his people to slay the Canaanites? On, on, while the fire is hot. Down with the castles and their inmates. God is with you, on, on." The nobility were dazed for a time by the magnitude of the insurrection. They

scarcely knew which way to turn, or whom to trust; for many of the soldiers had come from the ranks of the peasantry and sympathized with their cause.

(5) *The Slaughter of the Peasants.* The Swabian League soon had a strong force in the field, under one of the ablest and cruelest generals of the age. The tide soon turned. When disaster began it swept over the entire field as rapidly as victory had done before. Münzer, in his part of the field, proved a complete failure. He had provided himself with guns but had neglected a supply of ammunition. He wrought the poor peasants up into a state of frenzy, and led them to expect miraculous divine interposition. They were slaughtered like sheep. The rest of the peasants' armies were attacked in detail and overcome one by one. About one hundred thousand of the miserable people were butchered by the troops of the League.

(6) *Luther's Sanguinary Utterances.* Luther, who had at the beginning of the war counseled compromise, and who had urged the peasants to desist from their undertaking, soon began to rage against them with such fury as to bring upon himself the sharp rebuke of some of the nobles. The bloodthirstiness of his exhortations would lead one to suppose that he was as crazy as Münzer. His language, as has been well said, was more despotic than that of the despots themselves. He wrote against "the murderous and pillaging bands of the peasants." He urged that they be "crushed, strangled, and stabbed, privately and publicly, by whomsoever can do it, just as one would beat to death a mad dog." "The magistracy," he added, "that falters, commits sin; since it does not satisfy the peasants to belong to the devil themselves, but they constrain many pious people to their wickedness and damnation. Therefore, dear sirs, fire here, save here, stab, smite, strangle them, whoever can. If your death result, very well, you can never attain to a more blessed death."

It is needless to say that there were plenty of the nobles ready to carry out to the letter such exhortations.

(7) *Causes of the Failure of the Peasants.* What were the causes of the failure of this organized and well-concerted struggle for civil and religious liberty?

a. The twelve articles were too far in advance of the age. The social and political ideas of the author of the articles were just as far beyond the dominant social and political ideas of the age as were the religious and ecclesiastical ideas of the Anabaptists of that time in advance of those that prevailed among Roman Catholics and Protestants. The evangelical social reformers and the evangelical religious reformers both did a noble work during this generation; both alike had brilliant though brief careers; both alike drew to themselves the masses of the people, who were longing for deliverance from social and ecclesiastical bondage. They failed at the time because the great weight of public sentiment was against them; because they contended against vast vested interests that had their roots deeply implanted in the soil of Europe; because they stood up against the wealth, the learning, and the organized power of the world.

b. But this is not all. The bane of the peasants' movement, just as a little later it became the bane of the Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century, and just as it is likely to prove to be the bane of any movement into which it may enter, was millenarianism. It is just as certain that no Christian or Christian body can entertain carnal expectations with reference to the setting up of the kingdom of God on earth without serious harm as it is that Christianity is essentially a spiritual religion, and that progress is from spiritual to more spiritual, rather than from spiritual to carnal. Alas, for the church of Christ if it should ever come to look upon the sword of Gideon as a fit instrument for the setting up of the kingdom of God, or to conceive of the Christ of God as leading a carnal host to the slaughter of the ungodly! Such thoughts are unspeakably revolting to the rightly instructed Christian consciousness, and the fact that they are entertained by earnest and zealous men does not make them one iota less objectionable. Hans Boeheim was earnest and was fairly consumed with zeal; Thomas Münzer was one of the most self-sacrificing and zealous of men. These and other errorists have held to much of precious truth and have had many admirable traits. And yet their work was vitiated by false and carnal views of Christ and his kingdom.

The peasants' movement failed at the time for the reasons that have been named, among others; but the great truths that were embodied in this movement, and in the closely allied Anti-pedobaptist movement, did not perish. The faith of Hubmaier, the great leader of the latter and possibly the author of the twelve articles, in the immortality of the truth has been abundantly justified by history. The principles contended for in these two movements have gone on and on from victory to victory, until most of them are now regarded as commonplaces. The public sentiment of Christendom today would accept the peasants' demands as reasonable and just.

6. *Luther in Conflict with Evangelical Parties (1521 onward).*

We shall be sure to do an injustice to Luther if we fail to make due allowance for the grave and multitudinous difficulties by which he found himself surrounded. That he should be mercilessly attacked and that the worst construction should be put upon his every word and act by the representatives of the hierarchical church was to be expected. That evangelical mystics like Staupitz and Schwenckfeldt should have been repelled alike by the drastic quality of his polemics against the Roman Catholic Church and by his gradual departure from their modes of thought, could not so readily have been foreseen, although their revulsion was involved in the very nature of the case. That humanists, whose interest centered in the advancement of the new learning and of freedom of thought and who looked with dismay upon anything that portended revolution as imperilling not only their personal security but whatever of liberty and intellectual advancement had already been achieved, should have been repelled by the harsh type of Augustinian doctrine that became ever more prominent in Luther's teaching, was inevitable. That in republican Switzerland, where humanism had become exceedingly influential and mysticism had little hold, practical reform should have taken on a wholly different aspect from that which it assumed in Saxony and modes of theological thought radically opposed to Luther's

should have there appeared, was a matter completely beyond the control of Luther or the Swiss. That old evangelical Christians of various types, who had been led by Luther's radically evangelical utterances of 1519–1520 to look upon him as the champion of evangelical liberty and had given him their cordial support, should have been repelled alike by the carnal character of his warfare, the exaggerated Augustinianism of his teaching, and his intolerance, and should have come forward with polemical zeal to attack Luther's teaching and proceedings as contrary to the "pure word of God," and to attempt the complete restoration of apostolical Christianity, could have been avoided only by Luther's putting himself squarely on their platform. That the social democracy, which had long been permeated with New Testament ideas of liberty and equality, involving the fair participation of all in the enjoyment of God-given nature and the fruits of labor, should have been greatly encouraged by Luther's reformatory writings of 1520 and should have counted on his support in their great uprising, was perfectly natural. Yet in view of all the circumstances his determined opposition to the rebellious peasants is not to be wondered at. It would have been absolutely impossible for any man to harmonize and lead all the elements of opposition to Rome that had been developed among the German-speaking peoples of Europe, or even among the Saxons. A born fighter, Luther sought to direct the struggle against Rome not by efforts at conciliating the anti-Catholic elements, but by remorselessly crushing all opposition. His life was embittered and his temper soured by controversy, and it would be difficult to find in all literature a parallel to the coarseness and uncharitableness of his polemics. During the earlier years his great buoyancy of spirits enabled him to be highly entertaining and agreeable to his friends and admirers; but his later years were shrouded in gloom, and even his most intimate friends were often sorely tried by his intolerance.

Sufficient has been said regarding Luther's later relations with the humanists who refused to follow his leadership and those evangelical mystics who resented his departure from their principles and became his bitter

opponents. His conflict with the old-evangelical types that reappeared under the name of "Anabaptist," can be best set forth in connection with the sketch of the Anabaptist movement. His controversy with Zwinglianism and Calvinism can be most advantageously described after the history of these movements has been given.

7. *Some Demoralizing Elements in Luther's Teachings and Life.*

LITERATURE: Besides Luther's own works, the writings of Cochlæus, Eck, Witzel, Prierias, Henry VIII. (of England), Sir Thomas More, and other contemporary Roman Catholic opponents; Döllinger, "*Die Reformation*" (consists chiefly of skillfully and critically made extracts from the writings of friends and foes of Lutheranism on a great variety of topics, tending to show the doctrinal and moral defects and harmful consequences of Luther's teachings, and constituting the most effective polemic against Lutheranism ever published); Bossuet, "*Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*," 1688; Janssen, "*Deutsche Gesch.*," *Bd.* II. *und* III., 1879–1881; Evers, "Martin Luther," 1883 onward; pertinent sections in the Roman Catholic Church histories of Alzog, Funk, Kraus, and Hergenröther. Most of the biographers of Luther and most of the German Protestant historians of the Reformation freely admit Luther's inconsistencies and extravagances.

The doctrinal inconsistencies in Luther's writings that led to the great doctrinal controversies within the Lutheran body and the doctrinal differences between Lutherans and Reformed will be considered elsewhere. In view of the frank admissions by Luther, Melanchthon, and other evangelical leaders, of the lamentable and uncontrollable license that prevailed throughout Lutheran Germany during the later years of Luther's career, and of the constantly reiterated assertions by Catholics of all types, Anabaptists, and others, that the prevailing immorality and irreligion were due directly to Luther's teachings, it seems incumbent upon the historian to undertake the disagreeable and perhaps ungracious task of setting forth the facts in the case without fear or favor. It may be truthfully said in advance that every objectionable statement here quoted or referred to could be offset by any number of quotations on the same topics that are completely free from immoral tendency or suggestion. It may be confidently stated that even

in the cases in which Luther's utterances are from a moral point of view most objectionable his own intentions were not immoral. In seeking to correct errors on the other side he often allowed himself to use language so extreme as to involve consequences that he did not foresee and against which he would have most earnestly protested.

(1) *On the Relations of the Sexes.* Luther's language in his popular discourses and in his more deliberate productions on sexual matters is unspeakably coarse. Some have attempted to exculpate him by reference to the prevailing freedom and unreserve in speaking of such matters. But his language is without parallel among theological writers of repute in the Reformation time.

a. On the Uncontrollableness of Sexual Appetite. It was his deep-seated conviction apparently, based no doubt upon his observation of monastic and priestly life as well as of that of the German people of his time, that the exercise of the sexual functions is for most people almost as necessary as the excretory functions on which life itself depends ; and that continence is a special gift limited to the few. "To beget children is just as deeply implanted in nature as to eat and to drink. . . Just as little as it stands within my control that I have a man's body, so little does it stand within my control that I be without a woman ; on the other hand also just as little as you can help having a woman's body, can you do without a man. . . For it is not a matter of free choice or counsel, but a necessary, natural thing, that everything that is a man must have a woman and whatever is woman must have a man. For this word that God speaks, 'Be fruitful and multiply,' is not a command, but more than a command, namely, a divine work, which it lies not in us to hinder or to neglect, but is just as much a necessity as having a man's body and more necessary than eating and drinking . . . sleeping and waking." He urges young people, in order to avoid unchastity, otherwise utterly inevitable, to marry at an early age, regardless of means of support. Far more objectionable language than that quoted might be given.

b. On Concubinage. In a sermon preached in 1528, having in view his idea of the impossibility of continence

and the obligation of fruitfulness, he makes the following recommendations: In case the husband be incapable of procreation, his wife may demand that he allow her to have commerce with his brother or other relative, and if being physically capable he refuse her she is justifiable in stealing away and marrying another. If the wife be physically incapable of rendering the marriage due, the husband is advised to call in the maidservant and, if she refuse, to discharge her and employ another. Wives are advised to yield themselves to their husbands even if their physical condition be such as to imperil life.

c. On Bigamy. The case of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, is the celebrated one in this connection. Philip was one of the most zealous of the Protestant princes and one of Luther's most valuable supporters. By 1539 he had become weary of his wife, Christine of Saxony, and had contracted a loathsome disease through irregular excesses. At this time he became enamoured of a beautiful young gentlewoman, Margaretha von der Saal, whose mother refused to allow her to enter into illicit relations with him. He made up his mind that the possession of this young woman as his lawful wife was not only essential to his happiness, but a necessary means of amending his life and appeasing his conscience. He also determined to put the responsibility of his bigamous relationship on Bucer, Luther, and the other Protestant theologians, who were under heavy obligations to him for support. Bucer yielded the point without much hesitation in view of Philip's hint that in case the Protestant theologians should refuse needful co-operation he would be obliged to come into closer relations with the emperor and secure a papal dispensation. Afterward he laid the matter before Luther in the frankest way and asked him to solve the difficulty by granting him a dispensation for a second marriage and thus become a party to the transaction. Luther had already (see above) expressed himself in so compromising a way in favor of marital freedom, that refusal to comply with his request would have been difficult in any case. Philip had found that polygamy was practised with divine approval in the Old Testament times and he could find no definite requirement of monogamy for all in the New Testament. He made up his

mind that the requirement of monogamy was a priestly device that might be safely disregarded. While Luther admitted that such was the case, he earnestly sought to dissuade the landgrave from so scandalous a procedure, advising him rather to content himself with concubinal relations than to involve the Protestant cause in responsibility for a second marriage. But the landgrave was inexorable and the landgravine's consent having been obtained by guaranteeing the rights of her seven children, the marriage was secretly celebrated with the approval of Luther, Bucer, Melanchthon, *et al.* Melanchthon was heartbroken and was at the point of death, when Luther's courageous faith and earnest prayers were instrumental in raising him up. An effort was made to keep the transaction secret; but the interests of the bride and her family were too much involved to allow this, and its publication was the hardest blow the Protestant cause suffered during this age. When the shameful transaction began to be noised abroad, Luther was so fearful of its consequences as to urge Philip to save the situation by "a good strong lie." Philip very properly rebuked him by replying: "I will not lie, for lying is evil; no apostle ever taught it to any Christians, nay, Christ has indeed most emphatically forbidden it."[1] Luther afterward sought to exculpate himself by the plea of necessity. Philip's threat to secure the co-operation of emperor and pope seemed to Luther to necessitate extreme concessions on the part of the Protestant theologians.

See on this matter, besides Lenz, as above, Heppe, in "*Zeitsch. f. hist. Theol.*," *Bd.* XXII., *Seit.* 263, *seq.*; "*Th. Stud. u. Krit.*," 1891, *Seit.* 564, *seq.*; Koldewey, in "*St. u. Krit.*," 1884, *Seit.* 553, *seq.*; "*Argumenta Buceri pro et contra*," 1878; Kolde, "*Luther*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 488; Möller, "*Kirchengesch.*," ed. Kawerau, 1894, *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 131, *seq.*; Rommel, "*Phil. der Grossmuthige*"; Sir William Hamilton, "Disc. in Met. and Phil."; Bayne, "M. Luther," Vol. II., p. 560, *seq.*; Jacobs, "Martin Luther," p. 331, *seq.*; and Richard, "Philip Melanchthon," p. 272, *seq.*

(2) *On Good Works, Faith, Assurance, Justification, etc.* It was natural, perhaps, that in controversy with papists, who put undue emphasis on works in relation to

[1] See Lenz, "*Briefwechsel Landg. Phil. mit Bucer*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 373, 383.

salvation, Luther should have decried good works. He was not content, however, with holding up to contempt the ceremonial observances, pilgrimages, fastings, and other ascetical practices of the papists; but he constantly expressed just as strongly his disapproval of the scrupulous efforts of mystics and Anabaptists to imitate Christ and to carry out in their lives the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. Of course his writings abound in passages in which good living is recognized as a necessary fruit of the regenerate life; but some specimens of utterances that tended to produce carelessness regarding conduct will be in place here:

In his "Church Postilla"[1] he writes: "Would to God I had a voice like a thunder-clap, that I might shout to all the world and might pluck the little word 'good works' out of all men's hearts, mouths, ears, and books." "God speaks through the law: 'This do, this leave undone, this will I have from thee.' But the gospel preaches not what we are to do or to leave undone, requires nothing of us," etc.

In 1523 he wrote: "Oh, it is much more necessary now to preach against the subtle, sanctimonious, plausible perversion of the world through the shorn people (monks) than to preach against public sinners, heathen, and Turks, against robbers and murderers, thieves and adulterers."

In his Commentary on Genesis he wrote: "The life is far less important than the doctrine, so that even if the life be not so pure the doctrine may yet well remain pure and the life may be borne with. . . It is a high grace to be able to separate the life from the doctrine."

"Faith which does not include love justifies. Unless faith is without any, even the least, works, it does not justify, nay, is not faith." "This faith, without an antecedent love, justifies." "For if love is a form of faith, I am at once compelled to think that love itself is the principal and greatest part of the Christian religion." "Whatsoever sins I, thou, and all of us, have committed, or shall commit in the future, are just as much Christ's own as if he himself had committed them."

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[1] Ed. Walch, *Bd.* XI., *Sect.* 26.

Luther insisted that the Christian should believe himself holy and glory in his holiness, however sinful his life might be. For a sinning Christian to say "he is a poor sinner is the same as to say: I do not believe that Christ has died for me and that I have been baptized, and that the blood of Christ has cleansed me."

Pangs of conscience for sins committed by a Christian he regarded as the temptation of Satan. "The true saints of Christ must be good, strong sinners," etc.

The following is perhaps one of the most ethically dangerous of Luther's utterances: "Thou owest God nothing save to believe and confess. In all things else he gives thee absolute freedom to do as thou wilt without any peril of conscience, so that he on his part does not even make any inquiry as to whether you put away your wife, run away from your master, and violate your covenant."[1] But he qualifies this statement by saying that since others are involved in such proceedings we are under obligation to do them no wrong. "God gives thee this freedom only in what is thine own, not in what is thy neighbor's. . . Before God it is a matter of indifference that a man should forsake his wife, for the body is not bound to God, but is made free by him with respect to all things external, and is only inwardly God's own through faith; but before men the obligation holds." It would seem to be implied in this passage that husbands and wives might freely separate by mutual consent. Other disastrous applications of the principle will readily suggest themselves.

(3) *Luther's Example.* Luther's personality was so strong that his own example was sure to be highly influential. His intemperate use of denunciatory language, his extreme coarseness of speech, his free indulgence in wine and beer, and his intolerance of opposition, co-operated with demoralizing elements in his teachings to produce an atmosphere in which strict morality and the gentler aspects of Christian piety could not be expected to thrive. The violent extrusion of the older types of Catholic ascetic and mystical piety and of the uncompromising zeal for the restoration of primitive Christi-

[1] Ed. Walch, *Bd.* VIII., *Seit.* 1127, *seq.*

anity represented by the Anabaptists, deprived Lutheran countries of influences that might have done much to stem the tide of immorality and irreligion before which Luther and his coadjutors were utterly powerless.

Luther indulged without restraint in wine and beer drinking, and trusted that the Lord God would excuse him for occasional excesses on the ground that for twenty years he had crucified and macerated his body. He is determined that when he lies in his coffin the worms shall have a good fat doctor to eat. In 1529 he, in company with Amsdorf, drank Malvasian wine so excessively as to bring on a catarrh that came near proving fatal.[1] The next year he attributed an affection of the throat either to the violence of the wine, the return of old troubles, or the buffeting of Satan. His conviviality and his frequent frivolity were scandalous to many of his friends, and were constantly urged against him and his movement by Catholics, Mystics, and Anabaptists. No doubt much of Luther's intemperate language was due to his drinking habit. "Sometimes we ought to drink, sport, trifle more largely, and so commit some sin in hatred and contempt of the devil, lest we leave him any place for troubling our consciences with matters of no moment; otherwise we are vanquished, if we are too much concerned to avoid sinning. Accordingly, if the devil should say 'Refuse to drink,' do you make response to him: 'But yet I will drink just because you prohibit, and so in Christ's name I will drink more largely.'"[2] "Whoever is able to drive out these Satanic thoughts by other thoughts, as concerning a pretty girl, avarice, drunkenness, etc., or by some vehement fit of anger, I advise that this course be pursued; although this is the supreme remedy, to believe in Jesus Christ and to invoke him."[3]

8. *Moral and Religious Deterioration as a Consequence of the Protestant Revolution.*

There is a consensus of contemporary opinion, Lutheran, Catholic, Mystical, and Anabaptist, that im-

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[1] "*Briefe*," ed. De Wette, *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 442. [2] *Ibid.*, *Seit.* 111.
[3] *Ibid.*, *Seit.* 188.

morality of every kind increased at a fearful rate after the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution. Many pages might be filled with detailed statements to this effect from all classes of religionists and from all parts of Germany. But Luther's own statements are so numerous, so explicit, and so unaccountable except on the supposition that they were terribly true and were uttered in an agony of despair that caused prudence to be discarded, that we may well content ourselves with a few specimens of these.

In 1525 Luther wrote:[1] "Now our evangelicals become seven times worse than they were before. For after we have learned the gospel, we steal, cheat, lie, gormandize, and drink, and commit all sorts of abominations. While one devil has been cast out of us seven worse have been brought into us again, as is to be seen in princes, lords, gentry, burgesses, and peasants, how they now do and conduct themselves without any scruple, in contempt of God," etc. The same year he wrote:[1] "Christians are not so common as that they should be gathered in a crowd; a Christian is a rare bird. Would God the greater part of us were good pious heathen who kept the natural law, to say nothing of the Christian law." At about the same time he said he would fain see two genuine Christians together, but he knows not even one.

As early as 1522 he wrote: "But now nobody disgusts me more than this people of ours, because having abandoned the word, faith, and love, they glory in this alone, that they are Christians, because they can eat flesh, eggs, and milk before the weak, communicate in both kinds, and abstain from fasting and prayer."

In one of his catechetical works Luther expressed the opinion that "if only adults were now baptized, not a tenth part would submit to baptism, nay, we would assuredly, as much as in us lies, speedily become simple Turks." He speaks of the utter contempt with which the people treat the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord. They approach it with as little reverence and chastening of spirit as swine approach the trough.

Again: "Such shameless swine are we graceless Germans, for the most part, that we have neither self-control nor reason, and if we hear of God it is much as if we heard of a clown's puppet." "We Germans are Germans and Germans we remain, that is, swine and senseless beasts." "Our German people are a lawless, wild people, nay, half devil, half man" (1529). In a sermon (1530) he said: "I pray God for a gracious hour in which he may take me hence and not let me see the calamity that must pass over Germany. For I hold that if ten Moseses were to stand up and pray for us they would accomplish nothing. So also I feel that if I would pray for my dear Germany my prayer rebounds upon me and will not mount up as it usually does when I pray for anything else."

[1] Ed. Walch, *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 2727. [2] *Ibid.*, *Bd.* XVI., *Seit.* 73.

In his commentary on Galatians he writes: "The more we know of the liberty that Christ obtained for us, the colder and more indolent we are in our office, whether it be to preach, to teach, or in any other way to do good and to suffer evil." In 1532, after setting forth his view of the results that might be expected from the preaching of the gospel, he adds: "Unfortunately the very opposite is the case, and from this teaching the world grows steadily worse and worse. This is the malignant devil himself, as one sees, that the people are now-a-days more avaricious, more unmerciful, more unchaste, more perverse, and wickeder, than before under the papacy."

Again: "It grieves us sorely when we are compelled to hear that all things were tranquil and at peace before the gospel; but that now since it has been promulgated all things are in confusion and the whole world is topsy-turvy. When a man without the Spirit hears this he is at once offended and judges that the disobedience of subjects toward magistrates, seditions, wars, pestilence, famine, the overthrow of commonwealths, regions, and kingdoms, sects, scandals, and numberless like evils, spring from the teaching of the gospel."[1]

In his "Commentary on Genesis" he remarks: "But do you ask, What good results have come from our teaching? Tell me first, What good came from Lot's preaching in Sodom? Fire from heaven overwhelmed and destroyed the inhabitants because they heard the word without fruit and in vain. Such a punishment will in its time befall our despisers also, and we see that from day to day they become continually more blinded and senselesss. . . Since now the ingratitude and wickedness of citizens and peasants, and of people in all conditions, is indeed so great, that we are often compelled to think the whole world must be possessed by the devil."

Again: "Formerly, when we served the devil in the papacy, everybody was compassionate and gentle, then people gave with both hands, joyfully, and with great devotion for the maintenance of false worship. Now, when people should be fittingly gentle, should cheerfully give, and should show themselves thankful toward God for the holy gospel, everybody shows a disposition to destroy and starve it, no one gives anything, but they only take away. Formerly every city, in proportion to its size, generously supported some monasteries, to say nothing of parish clergy and rich foundations. Now, if only two or three persons are to be supported, who preach God's word, administer the sacraments, visit and console the sick, instruct the youth in an honorable and Christian way, and that not at their own expense but on property that has been left over by the papacy, there is general complaint."

Luther's writings abound in lamentations over the utter unwillingness of his followers, rich and poor, high and low, to contribute for the support of the local churches and of educational institutions, and their contempt of the clergy and of the preached word.

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[1] "Com. on Gal.," ed. of 1543.

In the following passage he bears testimony to the wonderful increase of the drinking habit in his own time:

When I was young, I think that the greater part even of the rich drank water and used the simplest and most easily obtainable foods. Some scarcely knew what it was to drink wine when thirty years of age. Nowadays, even children are accustomed to the use of wine, and indeed not simply weak, light wines, but strong and foreign wines, and even spirits and brandy.

His writings abound in similar complaints.

The last few years of his life were greatly embittered by the almost universal immorality of the people. He seems to have expected momentarily some great manifestation of the divine wrath.

In 1545 he prays that the "day of God's wrath and our redemption may speedily come and put an end to the great tribulation and to the diabolical mode of life" that prevailed. December, 1544, he wrote: "We live in Sodom and Babylon, everything grows daily worse and worse." In June, 1545, he wrote to his wife: "Only away from this Sodom! I will wander around and sooner eat a beggar's bread than torture and disquiet my poor old last days with the disorderly life that prevails at Wittenberg."

There is no sufficient evidence that Luther committed suicide, as some modern Catholic writers have asserted, but for months his condition was that of extreme mental depression, and he was able to take no satisfaction in the condition of Germany in the bringing about of which he had been so important a factor.

9. *Politico-Ecclesiastical Proceedings affecting the Progress of the Protestant Revolution.*

LITERATURE: Histories of Ranke, Janssen, Hagen, and Göbel, as above. See also Seebohm, "The Era of the Protestant Revolution"; Hellwig, "*Die pol. Beziehungen Clemens VII. zu Karl V. im J. 1526*"; Grethen, "*Die pol. Beziehungen Clemens VII. zu Karl V., 1523-1527*"; Gregorovius, "*Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*," *Bd.* VIII.; Stoy, "*Erste Bündnissbestrebungen evang. Stände*"; Friedensburg, "*Zur Vorgesch. d. Gotha-Torgauischen Bundnisses*"; and "*D. Reichstag zu Speier, 1526*"; Baumgarten, "*Karl V.*"; Winckelmann, "*Der Schmalkald. Bund u. d. Nürnberger Relig. Friede*"; Möller (ed. Kawerau), "*Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 36-148.

When the Edict of Worms went forth, putting Luther and his followers under the ban, prohibiting the printing,

sale, and reading of his books, and forbidding his entertainment and encouragement, many no doubt thought that the death-knell of Protestantism had been sounded. Few supposed that it would be possible for Luther's favorers to protect him and his cause against the combined power of pope and emperor thoroughly committed to his destruction and to the rooting out of all insubordination. For some time it was supposed by many of Luther's friends that he had been foully dealt with. If this had proved to be the case, it is probable that such knights as Franz von Sickingen and Ulrich von Hutten would have sought to avenge him, and it may be that Frederick of Saxony would have taken the field against imperial and papal tyranny, with what result could not have been predicted. But fortunately for Luther and his cause Charles was from this time onward too much occupied with more urgent business to take earnestly in hand the enforcement of the execution of his edict.

(1) *War Between the Emperor and the King of France.* For a long time Spain and France had been rivals, and their interests were becoming more and more antagonistic. The accession of Charles V., the head of the Hapsburgers, to the imperial throne, to which Francis I. aspired, was particularly grievous to the latter. It was not simply disappointed ambition that prompted Francis to declare war against Charles, but quite as much a realization of the fact that the interests of France were seriously imperilled by this great political combination.

On May 8 a secret treaty had been entered into at Worms between the emperor and the pope against France. Henry VIII. of England soon afterward joined the papal and imperial alliance, hoping thereby to regain England's French possessions and relying on Charles' promise (?) to make Wolsey, his chief adviser, pope. On May 22, three days before the actual promulgation of the Edict of Worms, the French ambassadors took their departure from Worms, and a war between the emperor and France broke out that lasted with intermissions for many years and was of incalculable advantage to the Protestant cause. Italy was the chief bone of contention. France was weakened at an early stage and the imperial and papal cause strengthened by the withdrawal of Swiss mercenaries from the former and their going into the pay of the latter. Milan was taken from the French in November, 1521. The Duke of Bourbon rebelled against Francis and joined the imperial alliance. Francis I. was defeated and captured at the battle of Pavia (1524). Pope Clement

VII. had expected Francis to triumph at Pavia, and had entered into a secret alliance with him, Italians having become fearful of Spanish tyranny. Francis was imprisoned in Spain, but was released (1526) on making oaths in favor of the emperor from which the pope promptly absolved him. This angered Charles and ruptured his friendly relations with the pope. The marriage of Charles to the infanta of Portugal instead of to the Princess Mary of England had previously led Henry to withdraw from the imperial alliance and to make peace with France.

(2) *The Dessau and the Gotha-Torgau Leagues.* In July, 1525, Duke George of Saxony, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the Archbishop-Elector Albert of Mainz, and the Dukes of Braunschweig met at Dessau and entered into an agreement to exterminate the accursed "Lutheran sect" from their territories. The peasants' uprising, which had just been suppressed with frightful carnage, was attributed by them to Luther's teachings and proceedings, and they believed the utter suppression of Lutheranism essential to the permanent peace and tranquillity of Germany. In February, 1526, the Elector John of Saxony (successor of Frederick) and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, entered into a similar covenant for the defense of Lutheranism. They were joined in June by seven other princes, and in September by Albert of Prussia (Gotha-Torgau alliance).

(3) *The Diet of Speier (1526).* The breach between the emperor and the pope and the manifest strength of the Protestant cause had changed the attitude of Charles in respect to the enforcement of the Edict of Worms, and had made him open-eyed to the grievances against the hierarchical administration that were constantly thrusting themselves upon his attention. A result of the deliberations of the Diet was a decree signed by Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, leaving each integral part of the empire "in matters of religion and of the Edict of Worms so to live, rule, and conduct itself as it thinks consonant with its obligations toward God and his Imperial Majesty." This was virtually an abrogation of the Edict of Worms and laid the basis of the territorialism that was afterward to find expression in the maxim: "Whose territory, his religion" (*Cujus regio, ejus religio*).

(4) *Sack of Rome and Imprisonment of the Pope* (1527). The conciliatory attitude of Charles toward the Lu-

therans and his hostility to the pope enabled him readily to raise a Lutheran army for the invasion of the pope's domains, led by Frundsberg, who went forth with the cry: "When I make my way to Rome, I will hang the pope." This sentiment had been expressed by Frundsberg and the whole army was eager for an opportunity to lay hands on the hated pope. With about eleven thousand of the most desperate of Lutheran adventurers Frundsberg crossed the Alps and joined a Spanish army of somewhat smaller size under the Duke of Bourbon. Before reaching Rome Frundsberg was prostrated by a paralytic stroke brought on by a mutiny among the troops. Bourbon now commanded the entire army, but was shot down as he was mounting a ladder at the commencement of the siege of Rome. The imperial army forced its way into the city, losing scarcely a hundred men and slaying from four to six thousand, and for eight days the soldiers did their terrible pleasure upon the people and their possessions.

Even the friends of the emperor were not spared. The pope escaped for the time to the castle of St. Angelo. Some of the cardinals were seized and dragged through the city and were compelled to pay heavy ransom. It was estimated that fifteen million ducats were appropriated. Churches, even St. Peter's, were turned into stables. The personal outrages were such as always attend a sack by a furious and desperate soldiery. The pope was the emperor's prisoner and was obliged to become his subservient instrument.

These proceedings, it is easy to see, gave security and political advantages to the Lutherans and still further cooled the Catholic ardor of the emperor; but they did not at all minister to the moral or religious advancement of the Germans.

(5) *Second War between the Emperor and the King of France* (1527–1529). A few days before the sack of Rome (April 30) an agreement had been reached between Francis I. and Henry VIII. to send ambassadors at once to Charles with the demand that he release the French princes held by him and that he pay certain financial claims of the English, and with instructions to declare war immediately on his refusal. Both were still good enough Catholics to resent the sacking of Rome and the imprisonment of the pope, especially as none of the spoils came

their way. Henry's desire for a divorce from Catharine of Aragon could, he hoped, be all the more successfully carried into effect if he should succor the pope against his great enemy and Catharine's great relative. By August a French army was in Lombardy. The emperor made haste to come to terms with the pope, liberating most of the papal cities that he had held and restoring to him most of his prerogatives, the pope promising in turn to call a General Council for the pacification of Christendom and the reformation of the church and to assist in paying off the soldiers. The wretched pope was now "between the devil and the deep sea." He was unwilling that Charles should have both Naples and Milan and thus be "lord of all," that is virtual master of Italy, and yet he dared not show favor to the enemies of Charles. Henry VIII. took advantage of his perplexing situation to extort from him promises of favorable action as to the desired divorce, promises that he could not fulfill without antagonizing the emperor and the king of France.

The situation of the emperor in 1528 was extremely precarious. The Duke of Bavaria, fired with ambition for the imperial dignity, sought to secure the co-operation of England, France, and Lorraine, for the deposition of Charles at the approaching Diet, on the ground of the heavy losses that the church and the empire had suffered under Hapsburg rule (Constantinople, Rhodes, Hungary, Basel, and Costnitz). Of course the co-operating powers were to have their suitable compensation and a Bavarian imperial administration would speedily exterminate the Lutheran heresy and pacify Europe. Philip of Hesse also, on the Protestant side, sent representatives to France, Silesia, Poland, etc., to treat for an anti-Hapsburg alliance, with the immediate purpose of depriving Ferdinand of his hereditary domains. A forged covenant of the Catholic powers for the speedy extermination of Lutheranism was palmed off upon the Protestant princes and they were on the point of taking the initiative and marshaling all their forces for a decisive conflict with the emperor and his Catholic supporters.

The success of the imperial arms in Italy (1528–1529) prepared the way for the Peace of Cambray (July, 1529), in which France surrendered her claims to Italian territory, to Flanders, and to Artois, while the emperor made slight concessions in the case of Peronne and Boulogne. Burgundy gained almost complete independence in relation to France. Emperor and king agreed to co-

operate in the suppression of heresy and the maintenance of the authority and dignity of the Holy See.

At about the same time (1529) the Swiss cantons that remained Catholic felt themselves driven to form an alliance with Austria against which for centuries they had contended so valiantly.

(6) *The Second Diet of Speier* (1529). Whether a formal compact had been made among the Catholic members of the Diet, with pope and emperor at their head, for the deposition of the Lutheran princes, the execution of Luther, and the extirpation of heresy, or not, it is certain that there was a definite understanding among the Catholics that the Diet of 1529 should be made the occasion of drastic measures for the restoration of religious uniformity on a Catholic basis. Pope, emperor, and French king were now at peace and all alike zealous for the rehabilitation of Catholicism in Germany and Switzerland. Moreover, the Turks were at the gates of Vienna and the estates of the empire must join with the Hapsburgers in driving them back. The defiant attitude of the Lutherans, who were on the point of declaring war against the emperor in view of the forged agreement referred to above, made the Catholic princes all the more urgent for prompt and stringent measures against them. The freedom given to the constituents of the Diet in 1526 was virtually abolished and the enforcement of the Edict of Worms was now again insisted upon. This enforcement was to be absolute in Catholic countries. In lands where it had been hitherto ignored no further innovations were to be made until the meeting of the General Council, which pope and emperor promised for the following year. Zwinglians and Anabaptists were absolutely excluded from toleration with the concurrence of the Lutheran members of the Diet. It was made obligatory on all to use every means for the destruction of the Anabaptists.

It was enacted "that rebaptizers and rebaptized, all and each, male and female, of intelligent age, be judged and brought from natural life to death, without antecedent inquisition of the spiritual judges." No one seems to have thought the measure too severe, and it was remorselessly executed.

A Lutheran member expressed the sentiments of his co-religionists

when he said: "Christ is again in the hands of Caiaphas and Pilate." On April 25 a protestation was presented against all the clauses of the decree of the majority that affected injuriously the interests of the Lutherans, signed by John of Saxony, George of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Philip of Hesse, and Wolfgang of Anhalt, and by the representatives of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Costnitz, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Issny, St. Gall, Weissenborn, and Windesheim, imperial cities that had adopted the Reformation. From this protestation the name "Protestant" took its rise. It was becoming evident that the Protestants must fight for their existence; but Luther and Melanchthon, now as earlier, were strongly averse to armed resistance to the emperor, the latter especially foretelling disaster from astrological phenomena.

(7) *Turkish Invasion.* The Ottoman Turks who, in 1359, possessed only a narrow strip of western Asia Minor, bordering on the Bosphorus, had, by 1451, brought into subjection most of Asia Minor and the territory north of Greece as far as the Danube, extending to the Black Sea on the east and as far west as Orsowa on the Danube. From 1451 to 1481 not only had Constantinople fallen into their hands, but they had overrun the remainder of Asia Minor and of Greece, Bosnia, Servia, Wallachia, and the Crimean peninsula with considerable territory to the north. By 1520, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt had been added. Suleiman I. (1520–1566) started upon his career the most powerful potentate in the world. With a thoroughly disciplined army of some two hundred and fifty thousand it was far easier for him to go forward in conquest than it would have been to pursue a policy of peace. To hold securely what he had acquired further conquest was in any case necessary. The Protestant Revolution and the wars among the great Catholic powers (the papacy, the empire, and France) furnished opportunity and incentive for the conquest of Hungary, Siebenbürgen, Bessarabia, etc., and the invasion of Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland. These eastern European States were all the more vulnerable because of their internal divisions, due in large measure to racial jealousies and animosities. The German element in the population that had had a leading part in the Christianization and the civilization of these lands and by reason of its superiority had gained such an amount of wealth and power as to awaken the animosity of the Slavic and

Hunnic peoples, did not have their united and enthusiastic support in resisting the Turks. The German house of Luxemburg possessed Bohemia and Hungary. The heiress of Poland was betrothed to an Austrian prince. By a series of marriage arrangements the house of Hapsburg had by 1521 acquired a controlling influence over all these eastern countries. Before the Hapsburgers had had time to consolidate their eastern provinces and to subdue the rebellious elements Suleiman I. had entered upon his remarkable career.

In 1521 Suleiman I. captured Belgrade and occupied a considerable part of Croatia. Francis I., when a prisoner of the emperor at Madrid, had invited Suleiman to send a fleet against Spain and offered to him the co-operation of France. In 1526 the sultan had a vast army of about two hundred thousand men on the Hungarian borders. By great effort King Louis marshaled a poorly equipped and poorly disciplined army of less than twenty-four thousand, which was utterly overwhelmed by the sultan's forces at Mohacz (August 29, 1526). Louis was drowned while attempting to escape, and by his death Hungary and Bohemia came into the possession of Ferdinand of Austria.

Without further serious resistance the Turkish army occupied Ofen, and was for the time master of all Hungary. But it was not the policy of the sultan to attempt at once the administration of the territory that had been overrun. Ferdinand's claim to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia was not undisputed. Zapolya, who had long been at the head of the anti-German elements and who had withheld his assistance from Louis, was ready to fight for the Hungarian crown. He secured the alliance of Francis I. and the secret support of the pope in opposition to the Hapsburgers. The Duke of Bavaria claimed the Bohemian crown. By the end of 1527 Ferdinand's authority was generally recognized in both kingdoms, but opposition was far from being overcome.

Early in 1528 Zapolya made a firm alliance with Suleiman against the house of Austria. Suleiman regarded himself and was regarded by his followers as "next after Allah," and as "the only lord upon earth." Immediately after the declaration of war between the Catholics and Protestants (Diet of Speier and Protestation) he precipitated a vast army of one hundred and fifty thousand upon Hungary, where he was joined by Zapolya, who on his way to meet the sultan at Mohacz had the good fortune to smite the Hungarian troops of Ferdinand. Hungary offered almost no opposition to the allied forces. The mighty army, with twenty-two thousand camels, appeared with Oriental pomp before the walls of Vienna (September 26). Suleiman was confident that three years would suffice for the complete conquest of Europe and the destruction of Christianity. The time had come when Europe must unitedly oppose the Turk or all would be lost. France offered to put sixty thousand troops in the field and to seek the co-operation of England, on condition that the

war indemnity imposed by the emperor should be scaled one-half. The leading Netherlandish minister proposed that the pope agree to the secularization of the ecclesiastical estates, and that a third of the proceeds be used for combating the Turks. Many Lutherans and Zwinglians, and most Anabaptists, looked upon the Turkish invasion as a scourge of God against the emperor, the pope, and their coadjutors for their intolerant action at Speier, and were willing to let things take their course. But Luther, though he had again and again declared himself opposed to militant Christianity, insisted that it was the duty of the princes to assist the emperor in repelling the Turkish invasion.

Suleiman offered favorable terms for the surrender of the city; if these were refused he would on the third day eat his dinner within the walls, and would not even spare the unborn children. Several desperate assaults were successfully resisted and the invaders suffered fearful loss. At last (October 14) the sultan's troops became utterly discouraged, and deciding that it was not Allah's will that the city should fall into their hands, they raised the siege and withdrew from Austria.

There was general rejoicing throughout Christendom; but Ferdinand's troops that had so successfully and courageously defended the city and saved Europe could not be paid. They mutinied and many of them went over to the standard of Zapolya, the vassal of the sultan.

(8) *Protestant Defense and the Marburg Conference (1529).* After a number of fruitless efforts on the part of representatives of the Protestant estates to secure better terms from the emperor, representatives of Saxony, Hesse, Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strasburg came to a secret understanding (April 22, 1529) that they would unitedly resist any attack on the ground of the divine word, whether from the Swabian League, the judicial tribunal of the estates of the empire, or the imperial administration itself. It was arranged that the Protestant interests should hold a Diet at Rotach (in Coburg) for perfecting arrangements for self-defense in the following June. After much discussion, in which Lutherans and Zwinglians participated, on a footing of equality, a plan of union was completed and was ready for the signatures of those concerned. Luther defeated the project by protesting against any recognition of "Zwingli's godless views" (on the Lord's Supper). The cities of Ulm and Strasburg had adopted

Zwingli's teachings. The whole people might be destroyed for the sake of one Achan. For the Lutherans to unite with people who strive against God and the sacrament "would be to go to meet damnation with body and soul." The Elector of Saxony sustained Luther in this intolerant position. Philip of Hesse was extremely anxious to retain the co-operation of Strasburg and Ulm and to secure the co-operation of the Zwinglian cantons of Switzerland and looked upon Luther's attitude as sheer theological stubbornness. No agreement could be reached and the Diet proved ineffective. Philip of Hesse, in consultation with Melanchthon, Bucer, and others, realizing the supreme importance of evangelical union, and underestimating the fundamental differences between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, arranged for a conference between Lutheran and Zwinglian theologians and their political supporters, with a view to harmonizing their differences and reaching a basis of co-operation against the Roman Catholic powers that were seeking to crush all alike. This conference was held at Marburg, September 29 onward.

It must be borne in mind that Luther was still extremely averse to armed resistance to the emperor and his allies, and that through years of controversy he had become thoroughly embittered against Zwingli and his followers. It would have been exceedingly difficult, in view of the opprobrious language that he had used against Zwingli and his views on the Supper, for him to accept any sort of compromise with Zwinglianism. So intemperate had been his language as to provoke the moderate Capito to liken him to "a raving Orestes." In his writing, "Against Fanatics," he attributes Zwingli's peculiar teachings to the devil, who aimed thereby to destroy the evangelical cause through internal strife. The "fanatics" (Zwingli and his followers) were patricides, matricides, and fratricides. They had slain God, Luther's father, in his words, they had murdered Christianity, his mother, and his brethren. To love them or hold fellowship with them was out of the question. He denounced them, moreover, as "devils," "knaves," "heretics," "rioters," "dissemblers," "hypocrites," etc., sparing no offensive epithet that occurred to his fertile mind. Zwingli, Capito, Œcolampadius, etc., were far more moderate in their polemics, though they could not but feel indignant at the unbrotherly way in which Luther constantly treated them. Occasionally they were aroused to sharp retort; but in general they observed the proprieties of discussion and depended upon argument rather than raving.

Luther and Melanchthon had little faith in the success of the conference. In fact, Luther was resolved that harmony should be

reached, if at all, only through the unconditional surrender of the Zwinglians. Fourteen articles were drawn up in which the fundamentals of the evangelical faith were set forth in a way that was satisfactory to both parties. On the Lord's Supper there was a deadlock. Luther planted himself on the words: "This is my body," etc., and insisted that the real presence of the body and blood of Christ is their only allowable teaching. The Zwinglians insisted that the expression is to be interpreted symbolically. Melanchthon and Zwingli agreed on a statement that implied the spiritual partaking of Christ's body and blood. But Luther would hear of no compromise, and he refused to have any fellowship with Zwingli. The great majority of the members of the conference were for peace and co-operation, and for the mutual toleration of differences; but Luther's bitter and uncompromising attitude widened the breach between the two parties and made it irreparable. The irreconcilable hostility of Lutherans and Reformed constitutes a factor of the utmost importance in later European history.

The Marburg Conference was followed (November 29) by an evangelical congress at Schmalkalden. Philip of Hesse had his heart set on the admission of Ulm and Strasburg to the alliance. Lutherans were still uncompromising and a distinctly Lutheran basis of co-operation was submitted at Schwabach and finally adopted at Torgau. Luther still adhered firmly to his counsel of non-resistance. True Christians should bear the cross and not seek to avenge themselves. He had rather die ten times over than that his teaching should be the occasion of bloodshed.

i) The Diet of Augsburg (1530). The emperor had entered into a treaty with the pope at Barcelona (June 20, 1529), and in the following December had received the imperial crown at his hands. Peace had been completed with France (treaty of Cambray) in August, 1529. The Turks had retired from Vienna, but were still menacing the eastern portions of the empire, and the co-operation of the constituents of the empire must be secured through another Diet. The protestation of the evangelical princes and cities and their manifest determination to resist any attempted enforcement of the decree of the recent Diet of Speier had convinced the emperor that drastic measures must for the time at least be abandoned and conciliation attempted. In January, 1530, the emperor summoned a Diet to be held in Augsburg the following April. The summons was couched in concilia-

tory language. Every one was to be at liberty to express his sentiments, opinions, and views, in order that unity and harmony in Christian truth might be reached, and that all unjust imputations on both sides might be set aside. He had evidently high hopes of bringing about a friendly settlement of the difficulties that for thirteen years had disquieted the empire. The Protestants were invited to present to the Diet an explicit statement of their tenets and to bring their leading theologians for the discussion of points of difference. The pope seems to have agreed with the emperor for the time in his policy of conciliation. The latter attended the Diet in person, entering the city with great pomp on June 15. The Diet was formally opened on June 20.

Melanchthon, in consultation with Luther, who for prudential reasons was not invited to Augsburg, but kept within reach at Coburg, presented the Lutheran creed in its most conciliatory form (Augsburg Confession) in German and in Latin. This statement was read before the Diet on June 25.

The Confession was in purpose an apology. Eck had in the preceding March presented to the emperor in four hundred and four propositions a violent attack upon the evangelicals in which Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists were confounded, and in which the most objectionable views to which any individual or party had given expression were attributed to the evangelical interest as a whole. It was the aim of Melanchthon to minimize the differences between Lutherans and Catholics and on crucial points to use language so ambiguous that it could be interpreted in a Catholic sense without excluding the Lutheran teaching. Luther seems to have shared with Melanchthon and the Lutheran princes in the hope that the Diet would give toleration and legitimacy to this moderate form of evangelical teaching. Melanchthon labored unceasingly in eliminating from the statement everything likely to offend the Catholics that could possibly be spared. Melanchthon was by this time as strenuous as Luther in repudiating the Zwinglians and excluding them from such advantages as the Lutherans might gain through their negotiations. He meant to prove that the evangelicals were good Catholics and went so far in his concessions as to elicit the remark of Philip of Hesse: "Master Philip goes backward like a crab." As a minimum he would have been willing to accept as tolerated reforms communion under both kinds, the marriage of the clergy, and the abolition of private masses. The Confession purports to contain "nothing that is at variance with the Scriptures, or the catholic church, or the Roman Church, so far as it is known from its writers." "All the dissension" is said to be "concerning certain abuses, few in number." The utmost pains is taken to

discriminate between Lutherans and Zwinglians and Anabaptists. The views of the former on the Supper and of the latter on infant baptism and infant salvation, are expressly condemned. The real corporeal presence in the Eucharist, partaken of indiscriminately by all communicants, is asserted and transubstantiation is not definitely excluded. No mention is made of the papacy.

A Confutation of the Confession, drafted by Eck, Faber, *et al.*, was promptly brought forward. It is a sharply controversial document. Its authors deny that the Confession is a straightforward and complete statement of the Lutheran teaching, the non-Catholic features of the system being studiously glossed over or ignored. It was a merited rebuke to the plasticity of Melanchthon, for which Luther and the other evangelicals were also largely responsible. The emperor declared the Confutation conclusive against the Protestants and demanded their unconditional submission to ecclesiastical authority, with threats of coercive measures. Melanchthon wished to make further concessions; but Philip of Hesse and John of Saxony resented the imperial threats and resolved to risk everything on behalf of the Confession. Seeing the increasing resoluteness of the evangelicals the emperor again grew conciliatory and certain temporary concessions were made pending the meeting of the General Council which emperor and pope agreed to summon at an early date.

As Melanchthon went on making concessions his influence with the more sturdy of the Lutheran princes waned and he was unable to prevent Bucer, who represented the four imperial Zwinglian cities, Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, from securing some recognition at their hands. A Confession of Faith prepared by Bucer and Capito on behalf of the four cities (*Tetrapolitana*) was presented to the emperor on July 11. This also was confuted by the Catholic theologians to the satisfaction of the emperor. Ulm held aloof from the "four cities" and presented a statement in eighteen articles on the Supper, which, while protesting against the actual chewing (*manducatio oralis*) of the flesh and blood, conformed as closely as possible to the Lutheran mode of expression, insisting that the Supper is more than a mere memorial. The threatening attitude of the Turks and the need of the assistance of the Protestants prevented the emperor from proceeding rashly against them. Finding concessions unavailing and the Lutheran princes stalwart, Melanchthon prepared a defense of the Confession against the Catholic Confutation, which has since held its place side by side with the Confession as one of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church. The em-

peror gave the Lutherans till April 15, 1531, to give in their adhesion to the articles in dispute that had not already been adjusted.

(10) *The Schmalkald League and the Peace of Nuremberg.* The emperor was exerting himself to the utmost for the calling of a General Council for the reunification of his subjects. To strengthen the Hapsburg influence he sought to have his brother Ferdinand chosen king of the Romans. This proceeding was opposed by the Elector of Saxony, while the other electors readily sold their votes. The difficulty could be overcome by excluding the Elector of Saxony as a heretic and a papal bull for this purpose was at hand to be used should it prove expedient. The other electors opposed such a proceeding; but the proposal was in itself sufficient to precipitate the organization of the Schmalkald League. The elector was at last convinced that he could not dispense with the upper-German cities of Zwinglian tendencies, nor disregard the policy of Philip of Hesse, Bucer, and Sturm, to unite all the evangelicals for defense against imperial and papal coercive measures. The formation of this league constituted the evangelicals a political party.

The evangelical princes met at Schmalkalden and protested against the election of Ferdinand as king of the Romans. The Elector of Saxony absented himself from the meeting at Cologne for the election of Ferdinand and the election was accomplished in the face of his protest and that of his evangelical associates (January 5, 1531). The Schmalkald League met on February 27 for the completion of its organization. It was composed of Electoral Saxony, Hesse, Braunschweig-Luneburg, Braunschweig-Grubenhagen, and the cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isny, Lübeck, Magdeburg, and Bremen. The league was to be in force for six years and new members might be admitted by unanimous consent.

The upper-German cities had been admitted to the league through Bucer's compromising measures and strict Zwinglianism lost its hold throughout this region. Zürich, under Zwingli's leadership, soon became involved in war with the five Catholic cantons which, powerfully supported from without, proved more than a match for the Swiss Protestant forces. At Kappel, Zürich and her allies suffered an overwhelming defeat (October, 1531). Zwingli was slain, and peace had to be made on terms wholly favorable to the Catholics. The Zwinglian cantons were obliged to give freedom to Catholic work and worship. Œcolampadius, already in feeble health, died in November. Thus the Zwinglian cause was almost completely prostrated.

In December, 1531, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse were appointed heads of the league, and the cities of Goslar and Einbeck were admitted to membership. The Duke of Bavaria, though a Catholic, had entered into covenant with the evangelicals against Ferdinand. The league soon had the support of France, England, Denmark, King Zapolya of Hungary, and Duke Charles of Gelders. Thus the Lutheran cause had the support not only of all evangelical Germany, but of the Catholic enemies of the house of Hapsburg. The renewal of Turkish hostilities in Hungary still further embarrassed the emperor, who now, deeply humiliated, felt obliged to come to a good understanding with the Protestants and to leave them free until differences could be adjusted by a general council.

This freedom was guaranteed by the Diet of Nuremberg (July, 1532). After this proclamation of toleration the emperor returned to Spain and for nine years the Protestants had almost complete immunity from papal and imperial interference.

The emperor's chief hope of religious and political re-unification now lay in the calling of a general council; but here also he was beset with difficulties. If such a council should overrule the pope and in defiance of his authority attempt a thorough reformation of the church in its head and members so as measurably to satisfy the demands of the Protestants, the Ultramontane interests were sure to repudiate the council and a schism of another kind would ensue. If on the other hand the papal interests should be allowed to dominate the council, the Protestants would repudiate its decrees on the ground that it was not free. The co-operation of England and France was thought to be necessary to the success of the measure. The new Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, was approached by a papal nuncio regarding the council in June, 1533. The Schmalkald League, to which the proposal was submitted, expressed decided distrust and disapproval. Protestants were promised a free council and were asked to promise in advance implicit obedience to its decrees. They had little faith in the freedom of a council in which papal and imperial interests preponderated, and they could not in any case undertake to accept decisions that might militate against their consciences and their interests

To demonstrate to the emperor the stalwartness of the Protestant cause and the hopelessness of inducing Protestants to surrender their principles to a council controlled by pope and emperor, Luther prepared the Schmalkald

Articles, in which he emphasized justification by faith alone. "There can be no yielding in respect to this article, though heaven and earth should fall, since on it depends everything that we teach and live against pope, devil, and the world."

The mass, purgatory, pilgrimages, brotherhoods, relics, indulgences, and the invocation of saints are repudiated with opprobrious language. Monastic institutions of all kinds are to be abolished or turned into schools. Luther was willing to discuss with Catholic theologians theories of sin, law, penance, sacraments, priestly marriage, and the like. Luther's doctrine of the Supper, little modified by the harmonizing efforts of Bucer, found expression in the articles. These articles were not formally subscribed by the League, but they were ultimately adopted (1544) among the symbolical documents of Lutheranism. A sharp polemical tract by Melanchthon on "The Power and Primacy of the Pope" was adopted by the League (1537).

War between the emperor and the King of France necessitated the indefinite postponement of the council, negotiations regarding which had evoked the Schmalkald Articles. Turkish invasion, moreover, tended to bring the emperor again into a more conciliatory state.

The years 1532-1546 were a time of great prosperity for political Lutheranism. The peace of Nuremberg gave the princes a freedom they had not enjoyed before to carry out the Lutheran reforms. Lutheranism triumphed in Anhalt, Würtemberg, Augsburg, and Pomerania in 1534. These, together with the cities of Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Hanover, became members of the League two years later (1536). During the latter year Denmark accepted Lutheranism as the State religion. After the death of Duke George (1539) Saxony and Brandenburg were opened to the propagation of Lutheranism, which was soon triumphant, though the Elector of Brandenburg did not enter the League and sought to occupy a mediating position. In the same year Lutheranism became widely accepted in Livonia. In 1542 Hermann von Wied, Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, renounced Romanism and sought to carry his constituency into the Lutheran fold. The Duke of Jülich-Cleve adopted Lutheranism in 1543, but the emperor was able to suppress the movement and was greatly encouraged by his success

The Zwinglian cause had not yet recovered from its reverses, but a new type of evangelical teaching, which mediated between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, and was destined to a greater career than

either, had appeared in Geneva and was already, in 1546, a mighty religious force.

Luther died in 1546, in time to escape the humiliation that was soon to befall the Protestant cause.

(11) *The Schmalkald War and the Peace of Augsburg (1546-1555).* The general council, after long and repeated delays, had at last assembled at Trent. It had become more evident than ever to the Protestants that they could hope for no advantage from a council whose chief business it was to exterminate them, and that any reforms determined upon would be wholly inadequate. If the anti-papal and anti-Austrian forces of Europe had been at this time thoroughly united and dominated by a single mighty will, they would have been irresistible. Unfortunately there were almost as many distinct private interests as there were political units involved, and a comprehensive plan of defense and aggression, backed up by adequate financial provision and adequate troops under the best available leadership was, under the circumstances, impossible. Philip of Hesse, who more than any of the Protestant princes was fitted to lead, had crippled himself and inflicted irreparable injury upon the evangelical cause by his bigamous marriage. The Elector Joachim II. regarded this action as one of the most foolish things he had ever heard of, and thought it must have cost the devil much labor. Strange to say, Philip's loss of prestige among the evangelicals led him to draw nearer to the emperor, for he "must seek means to save body and goods, land and people." He was soon in closest alliance with the arch-enemy of the Protestant cause. In 1542 war broke out between the two Saxon houses over the collection of taxes for the Turkish war. Philip of Hesse acted as mediator and secured temporary peace; but Maurice (afterward elector) was deeply resentful and was ready at a critical moment to betray his evangelical confederates.

Duke Henry of Braunschweig, one of the most disreputable of the princes of the time, had severely punished the city of Goslar for its anti-Catholic measures. He was attacked (July, 1542) by the troops of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, under the leader-

ship of the latter. Wolfenbüttel, his stronghold, was besieged and captured, and the duke was driven out of his territory and forbidden to return. Roman Catholic altars and other sacred objects were stolen or destroyed, and measures were taken for the complete establishment of the evangelical system.

At the Diet of Speier (Feb., 1544) the emperor asked the estates for twenty-four thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry against the Turks and against France. The aid was granted. The case of Henry of Braunschweig was settled, the terms being that his lands should be restored to him, but the evangelical worship should continue. With the help of the English and the Germans the emperor gained such advantages over the King of France that the peace of Crespy (Sep. 14, 1544) was largely in his favor. The French undertook to join with the emperor in his campaign against the Turks and in procuring the meeting of a general council.

No doubt there was also an understanding that both should exert themselves for the extermination of Protestantism. The Jesuits were already beginning to make their influence felt in favor of drastic measures against the new faith. The refusal of the Protestants to recognize the council that met at Trent in 1545 as ecumenical, or Christian, dispelled the hope of the emperor that conciliation would result from such moderate reforms as would leave the pope at the head of the church and the hierarchical system as of old. The irreconcilableness of the Protestant demands with the preservation of church unity on a hierarchical basis appeared more clearly than ever at the Diet of Worms (May, 1545).

At this time the majority of the Protestant princes were in favor of immediate armed resistance; but John Frederick of Saxony still held out for peace. Meanwhile the emperor was secretly preparing himself for the irrepressible conflict.

A little later in the year Cologne was greatly disturbed by the protest of the university, the chapter, and a large proportion of the clergy against the defection of the archbishop. These had of course the hearty support and co-operation of the emperor.

By September Henry of Braunschweig was again in the field with an army of thirteen thousand five hundred men. He was met by Saxon and Hessian forces nearly twice

as strong. Henry's troops proved unreliable and he was taken prisoner before there had been much bloodshed.

The Elector of the Palatinate now showed a disposition to become a Protestant and to enter the League, and in January, 1546, his wife and part of his court received the communion under both kinds.

The Archbishop Elector Albert, of Mainz, died in September, 1545. The emperor promptly made a nomination for the position. The chapter insisted on making an independent choice, and Heusenstamm was appointed, through the influence of Philip of Hesse and other Protestant princes and with the understanding, it is probable, that he would use his office in the evangelical interest. He soon afterward declared in favor of free preaching, priestly marriage, and communion under both kinds. Thus the Protestants came to have a majority in the electoral body.

At about that time Henry of Braunschweig revealed to Philip of Hesse the design of the emperor to reduce all the princes of Germany, Protestant and Catholic alike, to beggary, and staked the salvation of his soul on the truthfulness of his information. Philip hoped on this ground to secure a union of princes of both religions against emperor, pope, and council.

A conference at Regensburg (January, 1546) between Catholics and Protestants demonstrated afresh the irreconcilable differences between the two parties.

John Diaz, a highly educated Spaniard, a Protestant convert who had spent some time with Bucer and others, made a noble defense of the faith. His brother, Alfonso, a member of the Roman Curia, labored earnestly for his conversion, and failing to move him procured his assassination. This showed the fanatical zeal that was coming to dominate the Catholic supporters of pope and emperor, and still further irritated the Protestants.

The Diet of Regensburg (June, 1546) was poorly attended. The Schmalkald allies sent a protest against the council and petitioned for the continuance of peace. The emperor treated their overtures with contempt, gave orders for extensive military preparations, and expressed his intention of vindicating his imperial authority. In July he pronounced the leaders of the league outlaws and thus declared war against them. The emperor

wished the war to be regarded as a purely political one. The pope on the other hand proclaimed a crusade against heretics and offered indulgences to all who would participate.

Just before the outbreak of hostilities, Maurice of Saxony had entered into alliance with the emperor against the Schmalkald League. His compensation was to be the electoral dignity and certain territorial advantages. He became the enthusiastic executor of the emperor's sentence of outlawry and hurriedly invaded electoral Saxony. After overrunning most of the country he was on the point of being conquered when the emperor with a Spanish army came to his aid. The emperor triumphed at the battle of Muhlberg and John Frederick was taken captive (April 24, 1547). Maurice had been made elector in October, 1546. Wittenberg was compelled to surrender soon afterward, having sustained with remarkable heroism a siege of many months. A sentence of death against John Frederick was commuted to indefinite imprisonment by the entreaty of the Elector of Brandenburg. Most of his lands were bestowed upon Maurice.

Philip of Hesse felt obliged to surrender to the emperor at Halle (June 19). He humiliated himself in the most abject way before the emperor and apologized for his rebellion. He was thrown into prison with the assurance that his imprisonment would not be perpetual.

The rebellious Archbishop Elector of Cologne was deprived of his electoral and archiepiscopal offices and allowed to retire to his family estates.

Thus the Schmalkald League was destroyed and the political power of Protestantism seemed to have come to an end.

The emperor was too well aware of the deep-seated convictions of the evangelicals of Germany in religious matters to suppose that he could at once bring the entire body into conformity with papal doctrine and practice. He felt that compromise would be necessary, at least for a time, to the securing of religious tranquillity. To reunite Catholics and Protestants a Confession of Faith was drawn up, under his direction, known as the Augsburg *Interim*, to which Melanchthon and many of the Luther-

ans gave in their adherence as a measure of necessity. Melanchthon, in a letter to Carlowitz, the Roman Catholic counsellor of Maurice, to whom the defection of the former was due, disclaimed all responsibility for the Lutheran schism and professed his willingness to allow pope and bishops to retain their authority and to have the mass restored to its Catholic form.

The *Interim* repudiated the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone, gave full recognition to the Roman Catholic hierarchical system, including the papacy, as necessary to unity, recognized the seven sacraments, with the sacrificial view of the Supper, intercession and meritoriousness of the saints, prayers for the dead in connection with the mass, and ecclesiastical fasts and festivals. Marriage of the clergy and communion under both kinds were to be tolerated until they should have been finally pronounced upon by a general council. It was arranged that the document should be presented to the emperor in the Diet by two Protestant members, the Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate. The Protestants were at first the more inclined to accept the *Interim* because they supposed that it was to be binding upon the Catholics as well as the evangelical princes and cities; but it soon became apparent that there was no intention on the part of the emperor and the Catholic princes to concede to Protestants within their territory even the small measure of toleration provided for in this document.

Coercive measures, involving severe persecution, were at once entered upon in the South German cities, which had become utterly helpless through the fortunes of war. The threat of the emperor to the imperial cities, "You shall yet learn Spanish," was well understood to mean that they were to be deprived of all civil and religious liberty. Spanish soldiers occupied Constance, Augsburg, Ulm, Strasburg, Regensburg, and all other important cities in this region. Protestant ministers fled for their lives. Roman Catholic services were everywhere introduced and the intimidated burghers were driven to mass by the soldiers.

Maurice of Saxony was still Protestant enough, or at least politic enough, to insist upon the modification of the *Interim* for North Germany. After much negotiation he gained certain concessions incorporated in the Leipzig *Interim*, a document which owed its form to Melanchthon.

It embraced a compromise statement of the doctrine of justification by faith, and a modification of the requirement of Friday fasting, of

the daily celebration of the mass, and of the form of the mass. The aim was to excuse the Protestants of this region from the most offensive aspects of Catholic practice. In some places a pretense was made of conforming to these regulations; in others efforts to reintroduce Catholic ceremonies were strenuously resisted by ministers, people, and municipal authorities. John Frederick, though a prisoner and in great peril, courageously repudiated the measure. Magdeburg became the center of opposition to the *Interim* and a city of refuge for the stanch Lutherans. Amsdorf, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Erasmus Albertus, Nicolas Gallus, *et al.*, waged fierce warfare against the *Interim* and against Melanchthon, Agricola, Major, Cruciger, Bugenhagen, *et al.*, who had had to do with the framing and the promulgation of the measure. (See later section on the Interimistic and Adiaphoristic Controversies.)

The pope and the Roman Curia were utterly opposed to the slight concessions made to the Protestants in the *Interim*, resented civil interference in religious matters, and had no faith in the success of these measures. The papal policy was to define rigorously the doctrines and practices of the church and to give no quarter to heretics. Any attempt to pacify Christendom by compromises was regarded as worse than useless.

By 1551 clouds began to appear in the imperial sky. The emperor and the pope were at cross purposes. Moreover, the inveterate hostility of many of the Catholic princes to the Hapsburgers was showing signs of reawakening. In March of this year Charles had expressed to Ferdinand his intention of having his son Philip succeed him in Germany to the exclusion of Ferdinand's son Maximilian, who had developed strong evangelical tendencies. Philip had been trained by the Jesuits and was known to be a religious fanatic of the deepest die, who would have no mercy on heresy.

Maurice of Saxony had been deeply chagrined by the continued imprisonment of his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse, and at the same time realized the impossibility of carrying out the *Interim* in his own domains.

Henry II., of France, though a zealous Catholic, was willing to join hands with the enemies of the emperor if thereby he could secure the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, in Lorraine. Maurice had for some time been negotiating a coalition against the emperor. After the capitulation of Magdeburg (November, 1551) he raised the war-cry against the emperor and with a rapidly

growing army attacked him unprepared at Innsbruck. At the same time France threw an army into the Netherlands. Even Ferdinand refused him succor.

The treaty of Passau (August, 1552) guaranteed amnesty to the emperor's opponents and religious toleration until differences could be settled.

The next two years brought nothing but misfortune to the aged and discouraged emperor. France triumphed in Lorraine. Albert of Brandenburg raided the imperial cities, Nuremberg, Bamberg, and Würzburg, and assisted France on the Rhine. Maurice gained a decisive victory at Sieverhausen (July, 1553), but lost his life in the battle. In 1554 Charles gave to Ferdinand full power to make peace between the empire and its foes on the best terms possible. He was unwilling to burden his conscience with personal concessions to heresy, although he realized that concessions must be made.

The Augsburg treaty (September 25, 1555) gave to the princes of the Lutheran and the Catholic communions respectively full power over the religious life of their territories (*cujus regio, ejus religio*). Subjects of the other faith were to have the right, without loss of honor or goods, to emigrate. The Ecclesiastical Reservation required that in case a Catholic prelate should change his faith, he should resign and give place to a duly elected successor recognized by the hierarchy. In cities where both faiths were already established side by side, provision was made for their continued toleration. The Augsburg Confession was the only form of Protestantism recognized in the treaty, Lutherans being as determined as Catholics to exclude from toleration Zwinglians, Calvinists, and Anabaptists. This was the first settlement of the religious troubles of the empire that gave any promise of permanence. It was repudiated from the beginning by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and there was no likelihood that either party would observe its provisions any further than policy should seem to require.

A few months later Charles V. abdicated and retired to a monastery (1556). Philip II. succeeded him as King of Spain, while his brother Ferdinand succeeded to the imperial dignity (1556–1564).

10. *Concluding Remarks on the Lutheran Reformation*

(1) In an earlier section[1] the problem of reform, as

[1] P. 21, *seq.*

we conceive it, was stated. Let us take *Lutheranism* as the most influential element in the Protestant Revolution, and as fairly representative of the entire politico-ecclesiastical movement, and test it by the categories that have been laid down. Did Lutheranism employ, to the best advantage, the pure elements of opposition to the hierarchy that had come down from the past, rejecting the vitiating elements? Did Lutheranism secure the ends whose accomplishment was indispensable to a pure reformation—the abolition of sacerdotalism, the abolition of the unhallowed union of Church and State, the reinstatement of the Scriptures as the guide of faith and practice?

We have seen[1] that in Lutheranism the five elements of opposition to the hierarchy were combined. Yet these elements could not possibly be combined harmoniously. The pure elements could not fail to be vitiated by combination with the impure. The final result could not be pure. If a given movement is purely biblical, it may be at the same time mystical, for there is a biblical mysticism; it may be at the same time biblical, mystical, and humanistic, in a measure; but biblical, mystical, humanistic, realistic, and political, it could not possibly be without inner contradictions. Hence we find in the character, the actions, and the writings of Luther,—his writings furnish an almost perfect index to his character,—all sorts of inconsistencies. Luther could be biblical when it suited his purpose. When he would refute the claims of the hierarchy no man could urge the supreme authority of Scripture more vigorously than he. But does he always so urge it? Let us see. When James is quoted against his favorite doctrine of justification by faith alone, with marvelous audacity he turns upon the luckless writing and denounces it as a "right strawy epistle." So, also, he contrasted the Gospel according to John with the other Gospels, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. So, also, the book of Revelation was not of such a character as divine inspiration would have given. Other books of Scripture fared no better. Again, when he came into controversy with

[1] P. 5, *seq.*

rigid adherents of the biblical principle, he no longer held that in ecclesiastical practice that only is allowable which is sanctioned by Scripture, but that it is sufficient if prevalent practices are not distinctly forbidden by Scripture. His Roman Catholic opponents were not slow to see Luther's inconsistencies, and they made vigorous use of them in their polemics.

Again, Luther apprehended the great biblical doctrine of the priesthood of believers, and the consequent right of every Christian to interpret the Scriptures according to his own judgment, enlightened by the Spirit. Yet, practically, he made his own interpretation the only admissible one, and did not hesitate to revile and persecute those who arrived at results different from his own.

Again, Luther apprehended that most important biblical doctrine, justification by faith. He saw in the failure to recognize this doctrine, the ground of all papal corruptions. Instead of tempering this doctrine by the complementary teachings of the Scriptures, he really made it the supreme criterion of truth. Whatever Scripture could not be made to teach justification by faith alone was for Luther no Scripture at all.

So, also, while professing to give the first place to Scripture, he practically put Augustine in the first place, interpreting Scripture by Augustinian dogma rather than Augustinian dogma by Scripture. It is evident, therefore, that Luther did not hold to the biblical principle purely and consistently.

How fared it with the mystical? There is no doubt that the writings of the German mystics had an important place in Luther's own individual development. There is no sufficient reason for calling in question the fact that he was a man of a profoundly spiritual life. But it is certain that the mystical element was almost entirely lost to his followers. The general effect of his preaching, so far as we can judge from his own statements and those of his most intimate friends, compared with those of his opponents, was not in the direction of personal religious experience, but rather of a dead faith and a blind assurance. The preaching and writings of Luther were destructive, rather than constructive. He could, by his denunciations, undermine papal authority, and bring the

doctrine of salvation by works into utmost contempt; but he failed signally to develop an apostolical in the place of a monkish piety in his followers. It may safely be affirmed, that the mystical element among the reformatory forces was not made the most of by Luther and his followers—certainly little of it appeared among his followers. It was almost supplanted by the doctrine of justification by faith alone, apprehended by many in a semi-antinomian way.

How far was the humanistic element utilized? Certainly Lutheranism would not have appeared when it did, nor as it did, without humanism. Certainly humanism had an important place in the personal development of Luther, and especially of Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin. It was humanism that led Luther, from 1512 onward, to combat with so much zeal Aristotle and the scholastic theology. It was humanism that led him to study the Scriptures in their original languages. It was humanism that furnished him with many of his ablest supporters. But this is an altogether different thing from saying that humanism here found its full utilization. Humanism was liberal and tolerant. Humanists thought for themselves, and were willing, for the most part, to accord to others the same privilege. True, this toleration sprang largely from religious indifferentism; but whatever its source, it was a thing sadly needed in that generation. The Reformers were, for the most part, intolerant. They believed that the truth should have free course; but then each one was perfectly confident that he had apprehended the entire scope of the knowable, and was far from recognizing the right of others to think and teach *perversely*—that is, contrary to his own views.

Again, humanists were averse to dogmatizing. Lutherans had no sooner thoroughly overthrown scholasticism than they introduced an era of Protestant scholasticism, with the same deadening and despiritualizing effect as had marked that of the Middle Ages.

Humanists believed in bringing about reformation through the sheer force of the truth. They did not object to reforms introduced by State authority, but neither did they urge such religious revolutions. The new learning, thought Erasmus, will clear away all superstí-

tion and darkness. This done, abuses will vanish in the face of enlightened public opinion. The Reformers had far more faith in external compulsion, far less in the inherent power of the truth. Thus we see that neither the biblical nor the mystical, nor yet the humanistic element, was fully apprehended and made to yield all the fruit that was in it, by Luther and his followers.

The fourth element, the realistic-hierarchical, is to be conceived of rather as a negative than as a positive force. Under this head may be included all the anti-scriptural and Romanizing elements that clogged the Protestant Revolution. In so far as this prevailed, the biblical, mystical, and humanistic were sure to suffer.

(2) *The maintenance of the union of Church and State* was the most vicious point in Luther's system. As the uniting of Church and State had done more than all other influences combined to corrupt the church, and as this union always furnished the most unyielding obstacle to reform, so its retention by Luther made it absolutely impossible that any thorough reformation of the Church should find place. The impossibility of a purely religious reformation of a State church lies in the following considerations :

a. The political relations of States are such that they rarely move without reference to temporal interests. Religion may furnish the ostensible motive, but when we are admitted into the confidence of the negotiators in politico-religious movements we shall almost always see that the matter of lands and dollars furnishes the decisive moment.

b. Admitting as a possibility the purely *religious* motives of the authorities in any politico-religious movement, the consciences of the people and their religious ideas are not the consciences and ideas of the authorities. The people, as a body, were at that time very likely to conform outwardly to the ecclesiastical arrangements of their rulers; yet, who would be so credulous as to think that the entire spiritual status of a nation could be changed in a day or in a year? The Spirit of God worketh not in this wise.

c. The very process of transferring a people suddenly from one communion to another, without any exercise

of volition on their part, tends to foster in their minds the notion that religion is a mere matter of outward form. A sense of carnal security is thus engendered antagonistic to any earnest efforts for salvation.

The leaders of the Protestant Revolution made Protestants by States as far as possible. Temporal advantages furnished the chief motive to most of the rulers. A thoroughly corrupt Christianity could not fail to be the result.

It appears that all the possible ill effects of a politico-religious reformation were realized in the Protestant Revolution of the sixteenth century.

(3) *Infant baptism* has always gone hand in hand with State churches. It is difficult to conceive how an ecclesiastical establishment could be maintained without infant baptism or its equivalent. We should think, if the facts did not show us so plainly the contrary, that the doctrine of justification by faith alone would displace infant baptism. But no. The Establishment must be maintained. The rejection of infant baptism implies insistence on a baptism of believers. Only the baptized are properly members of the church. Even adults would not all receive baptism on professed faith unless they were actually compelled to do so. Infant baptism must, therefore, be retained as the necessary concomitant of a State church. But what becomes of justification by faith? Baptism, if it symbolizes anything, symbolizes regeneration. It would be ridiculous to make the symbol to forerun the fact by a series of years. Luther saw the difficulty; but he was sufficient for the emergency. "Yes," said he, "justification *is* by faith alone. No outward rite, apart from faith, has any efficacy." Why, it was against *opera operata* (works performed for merit) that he was laying out all his strength. Yet baptism is the symbol of regeneration, and baptism must be administered to infants, or else the State church falls. With an audacity truly sublime, the great Reformer declares that infants are regenerated in connection with baptism, and that they are simultaneously justified by personal faith. An infant eight days old believe? "Prove the contrary, if you can!" triumphantly exclaims Luther, and his point is gained. If this kind of personal faith is

said to justify infants, is it wonderful that those of maturer years learned to take a somewhat superficial view of the faith that justifies?

(4) In the very idea of a religious establishment is implied *the maintenance of the Establishment.* The toleration of dissent is antagonistic to the integrity—nay, to the very existence—of an Establishment. The idea that two forms of Christianity could, with any good results, exist side by side in a given State, seemed almost as preposterous to Luther as it did to Philip II. or to Catharine de Medici. Though schismatic themselves, the Reformers had a horror of schism almost as decided as that of the Romanists. The tendency of Protestantism to individualism and endless sectarianism was a reproach which Romanists delighted to heap upon Protestants; and the Reformers did not know enough to admit the fact, and to justify it. The necessity of uniformity in religion felt by civil and religious leaders alike, and the necessity of giving the lie to Roman Catholic reproaches, led the Protestant civil rulers, with the hearty co-operation of the Protestant religious leaders, to persecute to the death those that dared dissent from the established religion.

It was the most natural thing in the world, circumstances being as they were, that a Reformation should be attempted and carried out just as was the Lutheran. A political revolution seems to have been inevitable. Religious affairs were already so intermingled with political that we can hardly conceive of a great political revolution which should not involve the overthrow of the hierarchy. It was the most natural thing in the world that the movement should have begun from the religious side. Considering that the hierarchy was sure to make use of civil and ecclesiastical power combined for the suppression of any movement that threatened its overthrow, it was perfectly natural that the religious and the political reformers should have clung close together, or rather that the two elements should have been combined in the same individuals. Again, it was natural that the politico-religious reformers should have striven to retain full control of the movement, to keep the ranks solid. It was natural that the political elements during the times of outward

danger should have greatly preponderated over the religious. It was natural that deserters from the ranks on the one side or the other should be hunted down and slain. All this was natural, was to be expected. But in a religious movement we demand not what is *natural*, but what is *Christian*,—not the methods of the practical politician, but the methods appointed by Christ. We demand that the men to whom we pay homage as apostles of Christ be swayed not by worldly motives, but by purely Christian motives. We demand faith not in the arm of flesh, but in the Lord, such faith as does the right regardless of consequences, assured that God will take care of the consequences.

(5) The achievements of Luther may be thus summed up: *a*. He overthrew the papal authority in Germany. *b*. He secured recognition of the doctrine of justification by faith, and thereby overthrew a vast amount of the mediæval superstition, to a great extent sacerdotalism, on which the whole mediæval system rested. *c*. He greatly promoted individualism—freedom of thought on the part of individuals, although this was not his desire, and he fought against it with might and main.

These things he accomplished in part voluntarily, in part involuntarily.

What has been said of the Lutheran movement may be said, with some important modifications, of all the other politico-ecclesiastical movements of the sixteenth century. The needed modifications will sufficiently appear in the description of the various movements that is to follow.

IV. THE ZWINGLIAN REFORMATION.

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1. *Political, Social, and Economic Condition of the Swiss Cantons at the Beginning of the Protestant Revolution.*

The Swiss Republic was founded in 1291, when the three "forest cantons," Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, entered by an "eternal covenant" into a confederation. Lucerne entered the confederation in 1332, Zürich in 1351, Glarus and Zug in 1352, Bern in 1353, Freiburg and Solothurn in 1481, Basel and Schaffhausen in 1501, and Appenzell in 1513. Most of the cantons had acquired control over a considerable amount of adjoining territory. Aargau, Thurgau, Wallis, Geneva, Graubünden, Neuchatel, Valangin, and a number of cities, including Biel, Mühlhausen, Rotwell, and Locarno, were thus in close relations with the thirteen confederated cantons. Each canton was for most purposes independent. In the federal Diet each canton, regardless of its

population, had an equal number of representatives. This fact made it possible for a majority of the smaller cantons to defeat the efforts of a minority of the larger cantons, embracing a majority of the population of the confederacy, to introduce the Reformation as a federal measure.

The Swiss had become noted for extraordinary valor in the struggles through which they attained to independence. Though brave and noble-minded they were poor, and when their wars for independence had ceased, they were led by love of adventure and love of money to become mercenaries of foreign powers. By the time of the Reformation the mercenary system had already developed the worst results. The mode of life of the mercenaries was not such as to foster the simplicity and thrift for which the Swiss had been noted. They became habituated to luxury and license, and returning, corrupted the population. The best of the Swiss saw the corrupting and degrading tendency of the system and protested against it; but this naturally had little effect when the inducements to individuals were so strong. Men of influence, moreover, were pensioned by the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, etc., who were rivals in securing the Swiss troops, and thus their mouths were shut.

This corruption of the Swiss was attended with growing indifference and contempt for the church, and with freedom and enlightenment of thought, which made this the most favorable country in Europe for religious innovation. When in 1518 the pope required twelve thousand Swiss troops to fight against the Turks, the Swiss replied that they ought not to be called out before other nations; but they promised him ten thousand men, adding, that if he liked he could take in addition the two thousand priests.

The Swiss cantons may be classified as *urban* and *rural*, or "forest." The urban cantons, as a rule, readily adopted the doctrines of the Reformation, while the rural cantons for the most part remained true to their old faith. How are we to account for this fact? The following considerations furnish a partial explanation:

(1) The Swiss confederation had succeeded in greatly

limiting the financial exploitation of the country by the Roman Curia and the rural cantons had little to complain of on economic grounds. Moreover, they were profiting largely by the hiring of their young men to the Roman Catholic powers as soldiers. As their warlike sons constituted "the only valuable commodity which the peasants and petty nobility of Switzerland could at that time bring into the market,"[1] and as the population of these cantons were for the most part too ignorant to have come under the influence of humanistic modes of thought, it was not to be expected that they would hasten to break with Roman Catholicism.

(2) The wealthy towns were far more conscious of papal exploitation. The well-to-do middle class, that was chiefly influential, derived no benefit from the mercenary system, and regarded it as distinctly disadvantageous; for it "strengthened the power of their enemies, the nobility, and increased the warlike capacities of the lower classes, from whom they derived their wealth."[2] The aggrandizement of the house of Hapsburg was a perpetual menace to the independence of the city cantons, on which their territory bordered and which were coveted on account of their wealth and the advantageous position that they occupied in relation to Germany, Austria, France, and Italy. It is easy to see the enormous value that the Hapsburgers must have placed on the possession of Switzerland and to appreciate the heartiness with which the cantons most concerned welcomed whatever tended to weaken the Hapsburg rule and the papal power that was so largely identified with that of the empire.

(3) The New Learning had found ready acceptance in urban Switzerland, and the University of Basel had become one of its chief strongholds. Erasmus spent much of his time there (1514-1516 and 1521-1529) during the early years of the Protestant Revolution and many of the ablest young men of Switzerland, such as Zwingli, OEcolampadius, Capito, Pellican, Hedio, and Denck, came under his influence. Basel was already one of the great publishing centers of Europe, and from it streams

[1] Kautsky, "Communism in Central Europe," p. 155, *seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, p 156.

of intellectual and spiritual influence went forth into the neighboring cantons and the contiguous Austrian and German districts. Thomas Wyttenbach, who taught theology at Basel (1505-1508), was an evangelical humanist of learning and spiritual power. Long before Luther he had attacked indulgences, the Roman Catholic view of the Supper, and the enforced celibacy of the priesthood. Several of Luther's early works were reprinted at Basel and given a wide circulation throughout Switzerland. Many of Erasmus' works, including his Greek New Testament, were published there.

(4) The old evangelical training was far more widely diffused in the urban than in the rural cantons. This form of Christianity flourished far more among the artisan classes that abounded and were thoroughly organized in urban Switzerland than among the rural classes. As the Waldenses and related parties were fundamentally opposed to warfare, even in self-defense, rural Switzerland, from almost every family of which recruits for Austria, France, Venice, Milan, and the pope went forth, must have been peculiarly uncongenial soil for this type of Christianity, and it would have been exceedingly difficult on this account for secret adherents to old evangelical types of teaching to escape detection.

2. *Characteristics of the Swiss Reformation.*

(1) Far more than the Lutheran the Zwinglian Reformation was a civil and moral reformation. While Lutheranism led many to license, Zwinglianism took measures for the moral amelioration of the people.

(2) The Zwinglian Reformation was at the same time far more *quiet* and far more *thorough* than the Lutheran.

a More *quiet* because: (*a*) Contempt for Rome had come to be looked upon in Switzerland as a matter of course, and preaching against abuses here excited little astonishment on the spot or at Rome. (*b*) No man arose in Switzerland of Luther's vehemence and zeal. The Swiss reformers were more philosophical and cool. What they said, as a general thing, they could adhere to, and they were far less frequently than Luther obliged to withdraw from untenable positions.

b. More *thorough*, because: (*a*) Humanism was more

predominant in the Swiss than in the German reformers. Zwingli was free from the realistic views with regard to the church that dominated Luther's thinking and acting and hesitated less to become a schismatic. (*b*) The government was popular, and no rulers with extensive political relations had to be consulted. The confederation of the cantons and treaties with foreign powers caused considerable embarrassment from time to time, but were by no means so obstructive as the imperial relations in Germany. (*c*) A higher degree of enlightenment and freedom from superstition characterized the Swiss as a people.

3. *Zwingli's Reformatory Work to 1525.*

(1) *Sketch of Zwingli up to 1519.* Ulrich Zwingli was born in 1484, at Wildhaus. His father was a bailiff, and his maternal uncle a priest. Ulrich was early taken charge of by the latter, who sent him to school first in Basel, then in Bern, then to the University of Vienna. In 1502 he returned to Basel as teacher in the St. Martin school. In 1505 Wyttenbach, a man of learning and eloquence, lectured in Basel. He foresaw and foretold the overthrow of indulgences and many other papal abuses. Zwingli had heretofore occupied himself with philosophy and general culture. He was now led to devote himself rigorously to the study of theology. From 1506 he was pastor at Glarus. Here he devoted a great part of his time to the study of Latin classics and philosophy. He preached eloquently, condemning to some extent the mercenary spirit, the evil effects of which he saw ; yet he received a pension from the pope, and maintained that the Swiss ought to assist the Holy See with troops. In 1513 he felt the necessity of a knowledge of Greek, for the sure understanding of the New Testament, and applied himself industriously to the study of this language. He always regarded this study as one of the most important steps in his preparation for the career of a reformer. New light seemed to him thence to dawn upon the sacred word. The influence of Erasmus, who about this time took up his residence in Basel, was of fundamental importance in Zwingli's development.

From the beginning of 1516, his preaching assumed a

thoroughly simple and biblical form. About the same time, in accordance with the words of St. Paul, "that it is good for a man not to touch a woman," he proposed to himself to abandon his unchaste mode of life (which had previously been carried on so modestly and secretly that even his familiar friends scarcely knew of it); but having no companion of the same turn of mind, alas! he fell and returned as "a dog to his vomit," having persisted in his resolution only six months. In view of the extreme laxity of morals that prevailed among the clergy at this time, it is to Zwingli's honor that he even formed such a resolution. Yet this was far from being the last of his irregularities, since the woman he married was his mistress long before she was his wife.

These facts are candidly given by Zwingli in his extant writings.

From 1516–1519 he was pastor at Einsiedeln, where he continued to study with all diligence. He had come to see the need of reformation, and had aided quietly in the suppression of some abuses; but as he was not yet reformed himself, it is easy to understand why he was not more active in reformation.

In 1518 an indulgence preacher of extraordinary effrontery, Bernard Samson, by name, appeared in Switzerland. Zwingli, among others, preached against him, and he was driven away. In this he had the support of the Bishop of Constance, who was at the time selling indulgences for diocesan purposes. The pope advised Samson to withdraw from Switzerland.

In the latter part of 1518, Zwingli was appointed to become chief preacher in Zürich. A report gained currency at Zürich that he had seduced the daughter of a respectable citizen of Einsiedeln. In a letter in answer to an inquiry from a friend in Zürich, he acknowledges that he has sustained unchaste relations with a young woman, but palliates the guilt by alleging that she was not a virgin, but a common harlot. While showing some contrition for the sin, he congratulates himself on having always adhered rigidly to a purpose early formed, never to seduce a virgin or a nun.

(2) *Zwingli at Zürich until the First Disputation.* Here,

Zwingli, with a view to promoting pure scriptural doctrine, at once deviated from the customary mode of preaching from passages of Scripture arranged authoritatively throughout the year, and began expounding in regular order entire books of the Bible. This method of preaching was exceedingly popular. His preaching was very practical, being directed against superstition, hypocrisy, idleness, and inordinate eating and drinking, and insisting on repentance, amendment of life, love, and fidelity. He urged the rulers to be just, to protect widows and orphans, to maintain the independence of the confederacy, etc.

Zwingli was accused by the monks (whose hostility he had excited) of being a follower of Luther. He indignantly rejected the imputation, claiming that he was a follower of Christ; but acknowledging that so far as he had read Luther's writings he had found his teachings so well fortified and grounded in the word of God that it was not possible for any creature to refute them.

In 1520, in order to put an end to the clamoring of the monks against Zwingli, the Council of Zürich enacted that henceforth all the preachers should preach freely from the Old and New Testaments, but should refrain from discussing human innovations. Zwingli probably advised this action, desiring nothing for himself but liberty to expound the Scriptures. He felt that abuses would vanish of themselves, if true doctrine, *i. e.*, a correct understanding of the Scriptures, should have become diffused (Erasmic influence).

Zwingli aimed not simply at an ecclesiastical, but also at a moral and civil reformation. He was highly patriotic, and after he had in 1520 given up his papal pension, he was unsparing in his denunciation of the mercenary system.

Yet even now, in fulfillment of an earlier agreement, Zürich sent military aid to the pope. It is worthy of note that instead of excommunicating Zwingli at this time, the pope sought in every way to win him back to his allegiance. Even as late as 1526 the pope had not wholly despaired of Zürich and could address the council as "beloved sons" and promise to pay the debts of which he was continually being reminded.

The preaching of Zwingli was far more wholesome in

its influence than that of Luther. While he preached justification by faith, he did not make upon his hearers the impression that good works were not worth performing.

Zwingli had preached quietly in Zürich for three years, when, in 1522, some Zürich citizens ate meat on a fast day. This made a great sensation, and the men were thrown into prison. Zwingli defended them before a commission from the bishop of Constance, and soon after published his first polemical writing, "On Choice and Freedom in Eating."

In this he defends evangelical freedom in all things that God has not forbidden.

It is forbidden in the Old Testament not only to take from, but to add to divine ordinances; how much more in the New Testament, which is meant to be the only perpetual law for Christians. Paul urges Christians to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, etc. Those that insist on the observance of fasts virtually condemn Paul. The general assembly has a right to set apart days for fasting, but conformity or non-conformity is a matter that belongs to the individual conscience.

In May, 1522, the bishop of Constance issued a pastoral letter warning against innovations, and the Diet of Lucerne forbade all preaching likely to cause disquiet.

In July following, Zwingli, in the name of ten other clergy, addressed to the Diet a "Friendly Petition and Exhortation." In this writing the unscripturalness and the unrighteousness of clerical celibacy are set forth, and the Diet is exhorted to remove obstructions to marriage. In August, a somewhat similar petition, abounding in sarcasm, was addressed to the bishop of Constance.[1] In this writing he set forth with great clearness the sole authority of Scripture over against all ecclesiastical authority.

At this time (1522) he entered into relations with Anna Reinhart, a young and beautiful widow, which is commonly spoken of as a secret marriage; but the marriage relation was not avowed till April, 1524. His reputation has suffered to some extent from this connection; but there is no sufficient reason for doubting his good faith

[1] "*Apologeticus Architeles*" (Zwingli's Works, Vol. III., pp. 17, 26, etc.).

in the matter. The secrecy was due to prudential considerations.

(3) *The First Disputation at Zürich (January 23, 1523).* The foregoing occurrences had caused a great ferment of popular feeling, and it seemed best to the council to appoint a public disputation for the thorough discussion of such subjects as were agitating men's minds, in the German tongue and with the Scriptures as the authoritative standard. For this disputation Zwingli arranged his reformatory views in sixty-seven articles. His arguments were so convincing to the council that it charged him to persevere in his evangelical methods, and all the other preachers to follow his example. This was a complete triumph for Zwingli.

The sixty-seven articles, which Zwingli afterward expanded into a book, which constitutes one of the completest expositions of his views, and which constituted at the time a sort of text-book of Zwinglianism, are, in substance, as follows:

1. The assertion of the right to preach the gospel regardless of church authority.
2. Christ is the only way to blessedness, and is the only head of the church, which consists of all true believers.
3. Hence the gospel, through which men are brought to a knowledge of Christ, and are taught to put no reliance in human doctrines and ordinances, should be everywhere preached.
4. The mass is not a sacrifice, for Christ was sacrificed once for all for the sins of believers, but only the memorial of the sacrifice.
5. The church universal is invisible, and consists of the whole company of the elect.
6. The highest tribunal on earth is the Christian church in any particular place; hence, the papacy has no claim to obedience.
7. Mediation of saints and of priests is rejected.
8. Celibacy of the clergy is declared to be a great evil.
9. The mass is rejected as idolatry, and the Lord's Supper is declared to be a simple memorial. In a word, all post-apostolic additions to Christian doctrine and practice (except infant baptism and the unregenerate church-membership that it involves), are rejected. He even calls in question the propriety and expediency of infant baptism; but leaves the question to be settled at a later stage

It was with considerable difficulty that any one could be found to dispute with Zwingli. His chief opponent was Faber, vicar of the bishop of Constance, who was no match for the Zürich Reformer.

More decided steps toward reformation followed upon this disputation. Clergy married, convents were thrown

open, and the baptismal service was translated, many ceremonies being omitted. The cathedral chapter, which had supported a considerable number of worthless clergy, was reformed according to Zwingli's ideas, and the public schools under its control were greatly improved.

Through this disputation, and especially through a writing of Louis Hetzer's (a learned Hebraist, who afterward became noted as an anti-pedobaptist) on "Images and Pictures," and a writing of Zwingli's on the mass, the sentiment against images and pictures in the churches and against the mass became almost universal.

A reformer named Hottinger, with a band of citizens, threw down the great cross on the public square (1523). Many approved and many disapproved of this proceeding, and much excitement followed. Zwingli condemned the act, not as criminal in itself, but as an act of wantonness against the magistracy. The perpetrators were arrested; but the popular unrest was so marked that it was thought necessary to appoint another disputation on images and the mass. All the clergy of the confederacy were invited. The bishops of Constance, Basel and Chur, and the University of Basel, were pressed to send their scholars. Only Schaffhausen and St. Gall were represented.

(4) *The Second Disputation at Zürich (October 26, 1523).* On this occasion no champion appeared for the papal party; but the matters were thoroughly discussed by Zwingli, Leo Judæus (Zwingli's Melanchthon), Conrad Grebel (a highly educated man, who soon afterward became an Anabaptist), Balthazar Hubmaier (soon to become a zealous Anabaptist leader), and the burgomasters themselves. Here also the Scriptures were made the sole criterion.

All present agreed that there were great abuses in the matters under discussion, and that these abuses ought to be removed. There was difference of opinion as to whether or not the reform ought to be carried out at once. It was decided that the ignorance of clergy and people, especially in the country, was so gross that it would be best to leave matters as they were until some instruction could be imparted. For this purpose Zwingli, the abbot of Cappel, and Conrad Schmidt, commander of the Knights of St. John at Küsnacht, were to preach throughout the country districts.

Zwingli was also directed to publish an "Introduction," setting

forth in a popular way the meaning and object of the Reformation. Meanwhile, all excess of zeal was held in check, and disturbers of the peace were punished.

The council had the shrined pictures in the churches shut up, and proclaimed that every one was free to celebrate the mass or not; and the mass was almost abandoned in the city by clergy and people.

Zwingli's "Introduction" was sent (January 24, 1524) to the representatives of the cantons of the confederacy at Lucerne. The twelve cantons were unanimous in deprecating innovation, and sent a deputation to Zürich to remonstrate with the council and to insist upon the restoration of the old order in ecclesiastical matters. The council answered (March 21) that while Zürich would remain true to the confederacy, the word of God and the salvation of souls alike demanded reform, and that a return to the old position was impossible.

Many were impatient of any delay, and wished to see the reformation carried out at once. So strong had public opinion become against pictures and mass, that the council gave orders, in June, 1524, to destroy images. As to the mass, it should remain a short time till measures could be devised for abolishing it.

The monasteries were suppressed and changed into schools and almshouses. The council secured the assent of its subjects by a public invitation to declare their opinion on these proceedings.

In April, 1525, the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the great minster at Zürich, under both kinds, and without the liturgy. This completed the Reformation at Zürich. From 1524, onward, a number of Zwingli's ablest supporters, carrying out Zwingli's view that every practice and principle not enjoined or taught in the New Testament should be unconditionally rejected, had come to reject infant baptism; to insist on a regenerate membership in the churches; and to deny the right of the magistracy to dictate in matters of religion. These men soon gained a large following, and were a source of the utmost discomfiture to Zwingli.

At the time of the abolition of the mass and the restoration of the Lord's Supper, Zwingli had designed to vest all disciplinary power, including the power of excommunication, in the local church. He was also disposed to question the propriety of retaining infant baptism. But the separation of the Anabaptists convinced him of the impracticability of these positions, and he felt the necessity of defending infant baptism, and of vesting all church authority in the civil council under the advice of the preachers.

Zwingli published, in 1525, his "Commentary on True and False Religion." In this he sets forth his own views in their most complete form, and combats Roman Catholicism and Anabaptism. He was influential in securing the inauguration of a system of public moral regulations, and thus morality was not only preached but enforced.

4. *Zwinglianism in the Other Cantons.*

(1) *The Reformation in Bern.* At Bern a number of men of high social standing early showed themselves favorable to the Reformation.

John Haller had begun to denounce the corruptions of the church before Luther and Zwingli came forward. He entered into a correspondence with Zwingli soon after his (Zwingli's) reformatory activity began, and was greatly influenced by Zwingli's and Luther's writings. In 1521 he married a lady of high social position, and his friends were influential enough to protect him.

Far abler and more influential was *Berthold Haller*, who came to Bern in 1518 as a teacher, and in 1521 became preacher in the minster (chief church). Haller was neither learned nor enthusiastic, yet his eloquence and geniality, together with his cool persistency, gained him many friends and enabled him under the inspiration and guidance of Zwingli, to accomplish much for the Reformation.

His chief helper was the eloquent and enthusiastic *Sebastian Meyer*. Both preached the simple gospel after the example of Zwingli and Luther, and the latter was bold in his denunciation of monks and clergy. Many of the aristocracy favored the Reformation, but the monks opposed it with all their might.

Nicholas Manuel, a poet and painter, was a member of an ancient family. As a member of the council he protected the preachers against their enemies. From 1520 onward he published satirical poems against popes, clergy, and monks. In 1522 he published three farces, which were acted on the streets and in which the whole hierarchy was unmercifully ridiculed.

The authorities, though on the whole favorable to reformation, dreaded agitation; and while they permitted evangelical preaching they forbade controversy. Sebastian Meyer became involved in controversy and was banished. Haller and others of milder disposition were allowed to remain.

The sentiment in favor of reformation was continually growing, and after a public disputation, in 1528, the Reformation was carried out on the Zwinglian plan.

(2) *The Reformation in Basel.* Basel was the most important city in Switzerland. Its university, endowed by the popes, and its numerous publishing houses, made it a great literary center. Humanism was gaining considerable ground.

Erasmus was there, and was the idol of the learned and the noble and enjoyed the friendship of the bishop.

Wyttenbach had long been denouncing indulgences and the like, and foretelling a great change.

The works of *Luther*, from 1517, were republished in Basel, and from there circulated all over Europe.

The *bishop of Basel* read Luther's earlier writings and greatly admired him. When Luther was supposed to be in want and in danger, the bishop and some others were ready not only to aid him with money, but also to give him a secure place of refuge.

Capito, a learned Greek and Hebrew scholar, drew large crowds by his expository sermons. Evangelical views were widely diffused by 1520. Capito was at heart a Lutheran, but would not yet acknowledge it. Greatly against the wishes of the evangelical party, and probably with a view to escaping the difficult task of becoming a party leader, he left Basel in 1520 for Mainz. This was a great blow to the Reformation in Basel.

Hedio, who, under the influence of Zwingli, had been aroused to considerable activity in the cause, carried on Capito's work for a while, but soon followed him to Mainz.

In 1521, *William Reublin*, who afterward became an Anabaptist, took up the cause thus deserted, and carried it forward with wonderful energy. As preacher at St. Alban's Church, "he interpreted the Scriptures so well," writes a contemporary, "that the like had never been heard before." He confronted popes, bishops, clergy, and various ecclesiastical usages, such as the mass, festivals, etc., with Scripture. In a procession, in place of the usual relics, he carried a beautifully bound Bible, saying: "This is the right holy Scripture, the rest are only dead bones." The rush to his preaching was so great, that he is said to have often preached to four thousand people. Reublin thus preached for about a year. His great popularity shielded him from his enemies, but in 1522 a company of humanists indulged in a pork-feast on Palm Sunday, in order to show their contempt for church feasts. Reublin was held responsible for this outrage, and was, perhaps, a participant in the feast. Erasmus, though he regularly ate meat secretly on fast days,

condemned this manifestation of contempt for the church. Reublin was banished, and again reformation received a check. The banishment of Reublin came near causing an uprising of the people.

Œcolampadius (born 1482), was one of the most thoroughly educated men of his time. He possessed considerable means and studied at Heidelberg, receiving his master's degree at the age of fourteen. Next he studied law at Bologna, returning thence to Heidelberg, where he studied theology. During a residence at Tübingen, he came in contact with Melanchthon. At Stuttgart, he formed the acquaintance of Reuchlin. He then returned to Heidelberg, where he remained until 1512, dividing his time between theology and classical studies. He learned Hebrew from a converted Jew, and was, perhaps, the best Hebraist among the Reformers. His Greek learning was probably second only to Melanchthon's. He seems to have had an insatiable desire for knowledge for its own sake, and to have been almost destitute of ambition for eminence or leadership. After preaching at Basel, Nuremberg, and Basel again (1515–1518), he entered a cloister where he remained for some months; but coming under suspicion of being a Lutheran, he fled to the castle of Franz von Sickengen, where he preached about six months. He returned to Basel in 1522, and took up the Reformation. He always acknowledged Zwingli as his superior, and consulted him about every important movement. Under OEcolampadius' careful management, notwithstanding the opposition of the members of the university and the monks, the Reformation in the Zwinglian form was gradually set up with the sanction of the civil authorities.

(3) *The Reformation in St. Gall and Appenzell.* St. Gall, where a disciple of Columba, St. Gallus by name, had established a monastic mission station (c. 613), was at the beginning of the Protestant Revolution a prosperous manufacturing city. Clergy and monks had controlled the city and were notoriously vicious. The trade guilds had become highly influential and grew restive under corrupt ecclesiastical rule. Zwingli's reformatory efforts at Zürich were applauded by many. Among his earliest and most influential supporters in this community was

Vadianus (Von Watt), one of the most eminent humanists of the time. Born in 1484 of wealthy and noble parents, he had enjoyed the best educational advantages that the time afforded. He entered the University of Vienna in 1502, studied philosophy, theology, law, and medicine, was crowned poet and orator by the Emperor Maximilian (March, 1514), and was made rector of the university in 1516. He returned to St. Gall in 1518, where he practised medicine and led in public affairs till his death in 1551. His efforts to introduce Zwinglian reformatory measures were seconded by Joh. Kessler, a saddler, who had studied at Wittenberg, but declined to enter the ministry. To him we are indebted for a faithful chronicle ("*Sabbatha*," see Literature). The enthusiastic Anabaptist movement that swept over St. Gall in 1525 no doubt occasioned the postponement of the full introduction of Zwinglian reform, which did not take place till 1527–1528.

Appenzell, which had been under the jurisdiction of the abbot of St. Gall, voted for reform in 1523. Here also the Anabaptist movement led to a reaction and a partial restoration of Roman Catholic worship.

(4) *The Schaffhausen Movement.* Zwingli's views found influential adherents in the canton as early as 1520, when he was highly commended by Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister, a Franciscan monk and professor of theology. Under his leadership and that of Sebastian Meyer, another Franciscan, the canton became permeated with Zwinglian teaching. Hofmeister took part in the Zürich disputations and was regarded as one of the foremost representatives of the cause of reform. The more enthusiastic and popular Anabaptist movement of 1525, under the influence of which Hofmeister himself for a time came to reject infant baptism, so disturbed the canton that the authorities felt compelled to banish not only the Anabaptists, but also Hofmeister and Meyer, who were held responsible for the disorder. Hofmeister had great difficulty in purging himself from the suspicion of being an Anabaptist, but at last he went to Zürich and pusillanimously renounced all sympathy with Anabaptist teaching and secured from the Zürich leaders letters of commendation that enabled him to return to his home.

The commotion caused by the Anabaptist propaganda led to the postponement of the full introduction of Zwinglianism until 1529.

(5) *The Graubünden (Grisons) and the Reformation.* The Graubünden was a semi-independent republic, which did not enjoy full cantonal rights (until 1803), but was in alliance with the confederation and in a measure subject to Zürich and Bern. It was far larger than the cantons and embraced German, Italian, and Romanic populations. Nowhere was the democratic spirit more pronounced. "Next to God and the sun, the poorest inhabitant is chief magistrate" (ancient proverb). Individual communities were freer than in most parts of Switzerland to follow their convictions in religious matters. Large numbers early adopted Zwingli's views, but there was little disposition to coerce the Catholics. The Anabaptist movement found this a fruitful field and it required all the pressure that Zürich, Bern, and the other Zwinglian cantons could exert to induce the authorities to persecute its adherents. The chief Zwinglian leader was John Comander, an ex-priest, through whose influence freedom to choose between the Reformed and the Catholic faith was accorded to all the inhabitants (1526) and "the whole heresy of the Anabaptists was strenuously inhibited and its adherents threatened with banishment."

From the contiguity of the Graubünden with the portions of Italy and Austria where Waldenses and related parties were numerous and persistent during the Middle Ages, and from the spirit of freedom that was so marked in this region, it is highly probable that multitudes of those who so readily adopted Zwinglian and Anabaptist views had been previously under old evangelical influence.

5. *The Zwinglian Movement from 1525 Onward.*

It is worthy of remark, that just as Zwinglianism was assuming definite shape in Zürich as a reformatory movement, and the other cantons that sympathized with Zürich were about to follow in her footsteps, two related but widely differing popular movements emerged, that were greatly to modify the future development of Swiss Prot-

estantism. The first was the social democratic uprising that culminated in the Peasants' War. The other was the revival of the old evangelical type of Christian doctrine and life in the form known as Anabaptist. The former has already occupied our attention. The latter demands separate consideration at a later stage of our inquiry. Switzerland was to a great extent free from the worst features of the feudal system, and serfdom no longer existed in the sense in which it prevailed in Germany. But the poor and oppressed still found many inequalities in the distribution and enjoyment of nature's provisions, even in republican Switzerland, and early in the Reformation time the rumblings of discontent, involving demand for agrarian reform, caught the ear of Zwingli and his associates and elicited their sympathy. The Swiss proletariat sympathized deeply with the German and Austrian peasants in their great strike for liberty and a fair share in the products of the soil. Zwingli never went so far as did Luther in his revolutionary attitude toward the social democracy. On the other hand, he had compromised himself, as Luther had never done, in relation to infant baptism, which he had admitted to be neither scriptural nor useful, and yet he felt himself obliged to defend this practice with all his energy, when he saw that its rejection involved the setting up of churches of professed believers only and the complete overthrow of the existing State-Church system that seemed to him essential to the maintenance of civil and religious order. The extreme antipathy of Zwingli and his civil and religious associates to radicalism in social and religious matters was due quite as much to the fact that the toleration of such radicalism would injure the reputation of the evangelical cantons with the German, Austrian, and French authorities and endanger their continued independence, as to their fear of local disorder.

From 1525 to his death, in 1531, Zwingli's time was occupied with literary and political efforts to suppress the great popular Anabaptist movement, literary and political controversy with Lutheranism, efforts to harmonize and secure the co-operation of Lutherans and Zwinglians against politico-ecclesiastical Roman Catholicism, and literary, political, and military conflict

with Swiss Roman Catholicism. His life must have been a very laborious and strenuous one. His correspondence with the evangelical leaders of Switzerland, Southern Germany, etc., was very extensive, and shows that he was the recognized and trusted leader of a widespread movement. His controversial writings, which are numerous and some of them elaborate, show him to have been a master of argumentation and a scholar of high rank. By political sagacity he was able to dominate and lead not only the Zürich Council and the entire religious government of the canton, and also to a great extent the politico-ecclesiastical authorities of Basel, Bern, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, and other Swiss evangelical communities, but also to exert a molding influence on the religious development of Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Memmingen, Lindau, and other cities and towns of Southern Germany. These cities, reformed in a Zwinglian or semi-Zwinglian way, brought to the support of the Zwinglian cause wealth and influence.

The attitude of Catholic and Protestant parties in Switzerland toward each other depended in some measure on the fortunes of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism on the larger European arena that have already been sketched.

(1) *The Conference at Baden* (*May, 1526*). The Swiss Diet, in which the nobility and aristocracy alone had seats and in which each canton voted as a unit, had repeatedly taken cognizance of the innovations and had resisted every effort on the part of the evangelicals to secure its endorsement of reformatory measures. If the canton of Bern had been actuated more by religious than by political considerations the evangelical cause would have had greater strength in the confederacy. The nobles were led to believe that religious innovations would be followed by political innovations, to the overthrow of their class privileges. "The priests are attacked at present," said Faber, "the nobles' turn will come next." For some years a conference between Catholic and evangelical theologians was under consideration as the best means of settling the difficulties. This was advocated by Dr. John Eck, the great Catholic disputant, and Dr. John Faber, of Constance. This conference was at last

brought about (May 21, 1526) at Baden, a Catholic city in Aargau. Zwingli felt that his life was in danger and remained at home. OEcolampadius, the learned Basel pastor and professor, ably sustained the evangelical cause, while Eck, the fiery, stormy, controversialist, who rested everything on ecclesiastical authority, upheld the Catholic side. Berthold Haller represented the Bern evangelicals, but played an insignificant part in the disputation.

The Catholics were victorious in the opinion of the Diet, and it was resolved that innovations should cease throughout the confederacy. Zwingli was declared excommunicated, and the deposition of OEcolampadius by the Basel Council was demanded. Faber insisted upon the burning of all Protestant versions of the Bible, along with heretical works of all kinds. Thomas Murner used all sorts of opprobrious language in relation to Zwingli.

This check to the Reformation was only temporary. The more popular legislative bodies (greater councils) were able in some cases to overrule the aristocratic bodies (smaller councils) and to prevent any serious interference with the progress of Zwinglianism, and after some further hesitation Zwinglianism was authoritatively introduced in Basel, Bern, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, etc. (1528).

(2) *The First Cappel War (1529).* The lines were now very closely drawn between Protestants and Catholics, and there was little disposition on either side to tolerate the other. The parties were so evenly divided, however, in Glarus and the Graubünden, that mutual toleration was a necessity. In November, 1528, the five Forest cantons formed a league for mutual defense against Zwinglian aggression and for the re-establishment of Catholicism throughout Switzerland. A few months later (April, 1529, just as the Diet at Speier was placing Zwinglianism, along with Anabaptism, under the ban), they entered into an alliance with Ferdinand of Austria, against whose ancestors the confederates had defended themselves so nobly for generations past, and who had every reason to encourage the breaking up of the confederation. The Forest cantons secured the support of Freiburg, Solothurn, and Wallis. The Zwinglian (city)

cantons had formed an alliance among themselves (Burgrecht). Constance joined with them (December, 1527), Biel and Mühlhausen (1529), and Strasburg (January, 1530). By 1529 the feeling between the Zwinglians and Catholics had become so embittered that war was imminent. The burning at Schwyz of a Zwinglian preacher from Zürich (Jacob Kaiser), who was evangelizing in Catholic territory, led the Protestants, under Zwingli's leadership, to take the field at once. Zwingli was far more militant than Luther, and during the struggles that followed he was always on the side of military promptitude and aggressiveness and against compromising measures. He insisted on taking his place side by side with the soldiers, prepared military instructions, planned the campaign, and was recognized as the military chieftain. He was indeed "first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Zürich had four thousand men promptly on the frontier. Bern sent five thousand, and smaller numbers were furnished by Basel, St. Gall, and Mühlhausen. Conflict was averted through the mediation of the Landammann Aebli, of Glarus, who, weeping, plead for delay in order that by negotiations the difficulties might be amicably adjusted and the confederation saved. The hostile armies meanwhile exchanged provisions and established friendly relations with each other, and it became evident that at heart the Swiss were one people and were averse to shedding each other's blood. The peace negotiations were furthered by Jacob Sturm, of Strasburg, and by representatives of Glarus, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, Graubünden, Sargans, and Constance, which had taken no active part in the warlike demonstrations.

The Catholic cantons agreed to abandon the alliance with Austria and both parties agreed to mutual toleration. No canton was to seek to coerce another, and the confederation was not to interfere with individual cantons in religious matters. In the allied and dependent territories that did not form constituent parts of the confederated cantons a majority might determine whether Protestant or Catholic worship should prevail. The Catholic cantons were to pay the expenses of the war and to indemnify the family of the martyred preacher.

Zwingli regarded the peace as a triumph for truth and righteousness, and returned to Zürich rejoicing. He composed in the camp a patriotic hymn, which became almost as popular as Luther's "A Mighty Fortress is our God."

(3) *Zwingli in International Politics (1529-1530).* By this time Zwingli had become profoundly interested in international politics. He had come to realize that evangelicals of neither party could expect anything but continued hostility and harassment at the hands of the allied forces of the pope and the Hapsburgers, and that their only security lay in a firmly cemented alliance in which differences of doctrine and practice should be tolerated. Zwingli regarded Luther and his views with an aversion almost equal to that of the Saxon reformer for the Swiss. Neither was able to see in the views of his opponent anything but perverseness and folly. As a matter of fact, their differences of opinion on the Supper and related matters were based upon differences of fundamental philosophical conceptions that divided Christian thinkers in the early centuries, as well as later; but they knew it not and could simply hate each other. Yet Zwingli realized far more completely than did Luther the necessity of a united militant Protestantism, and did not share in the least Luther's reverence for the empire or his aversion to war for the faith. We have seen that at the Marburg Conference (1529) Zwingli was far more conciliatory than Luther and was anxious for union on the basis of a mutual toleration of differences, while Luther would countenance no politico-religious alliance with those whom he refused to recognize as Christian brethren.

At the Marburg Conference Zwingli formed the acquaintance of Philip of Hesse and his correspondence with the Landgrave during the next two years reveals his anxiety to overcome all obstacles to evangelical union against emperor and pope. He also made an earnest effort to win France and Venice to the support of the evangelical cause.

At the Diet of Augsburg (1530) he sent a carefully prepared Confession of Faith to the emperor, which was treated with contempt. In 1531 he sought to conciliate

the king of France by a similar Confession, in which he carefully distinguishes his position on leading doctrines from those of Catholics, Lutherans, and Anabaptists. In this document he expresses the confident expectation that he will meet in heaven good men of all ages and nations without regard to their relations to the Old and New Dispensations. This was Zwingli's last literary work.

(4) *The Second Cappel War (1531).* Zwingli's policy for Switzerland was the overthrow of the constitution of the confederation that gave a majority of the votes in the Diet to a minority of the population, and to reconstitute the confederation on the basis of representation in proportion to numbers. The Catholic cantons were jealous of the rights that they enjoyed under the constitution by reason of their majority in the Diet. Almost from the beginning it was evident that both parties misunderstood or deliberately sought to misinterpret the provisions of the treaty of Cappel. Catholics showed no disposition to tolerate Zwinglianism in the cantons under their control, and the Zwinglian cantons were equally disinclined to tolerate Catholics. Zwingli and his associates began at once to labor with consuming zeal for the establishment of the new doctrine in doubtful places, where evangelical sentiment was strong, but the decisive step had not yet been taken. Zwingli conducted a synod in Thurgau and secured the formal adoption of his programme of reform (1529). St. Gall, the abbot of whose great monastery still sought to rule the territory attached to it, had long been essentially evangelical. The city of St. Gall had long since become Zwinglian and the Reformation was now carried out in the abbot's territory. As the abbot was a prince of the empire, this step involved considerable daring. The abbacies of Wettingen, Hitzkirch, and Baden were brought to renounce Roman Catholicism and to accept the new teaching. Zwinglians were at this time fired with a fresh enthusiasm and were determined to make hay while the sun shone. Catholics regarded this enthusiastic propagandism as a violation of the spirit of the treaty of Cappel and were soon negotiating again with the emperor and Ferdinand of Austria. The great bitterness of the Catholics of the

Forest cantons against Zwingli and his followers is manifest from the defamatory language that was freely used and allowed by the authorities. The Zürichers and the Bernese were denounced as traitors and as heretical trades-people. Their preachers were stigmatized as cup-thieves and soul-murderers. Zwingli figured in their discourses as a Lutheran god. Savoy attacked Geneva in 1530, but was repelled. The Castellan of Musso occupied a portion of Graubünden, but was compelled to withdraw. There had been much wrangling in the Diet over religious questions. The Catholic cantons had refused their aid in driving the Castellan of Musso from Graubünden.

Zwingli was deeply distressed because of the dangers that beset the confederacy and the evangelical cause; but advised immediate resort to arms as the less of evils. Bern proposed to destroy the trade of the Forest cantons and thus bring them to terms. This plan was adopted against Zwingli's counsel. Zürich and Bern united in refusing supplies to the Catholic cantons, which by reason of crop failure and epidemic were soon in dire distress. On July 26, 1531, Zwingli appeared before the Great Council of Zürich and resigned his leadership because of their following the counsel of the Bernese against his own. His resignation was rejected and he was induced to withdraw it. A great comet (Halley's) was visible in August and September. Zwingli interpreted it as portending disaster to the evangelical cause and his own death.

Driven to desperation the Forest cantons raised an army of eight thousand and assumed the offensive (October 9, 1531). The Zürichers and their allies were demoralized by dissension, discontent, and superstitious forebodings, and could muster only fifteen hundred men as compared with the five thousand enthusiastic soldiers that they had sent to Cappel two years before. Zwingli, discouraged and despondent, led the pitiful army to battle. Five hundred of the faithful fifteen hundred, who of course represented the stanchest element in the city and canton, were slain, including Zwingli, seven members of the Small Council, nineteen members of the other councils, and a number of pastors who had led their

flocks to battle. The Forest cantons lost only about eighty men. Their victory was complete. Zwingli's body was cut to pieces and burned, and his ashes mingled with those of swine, were scattered to the wind. Zwingli's widow was bereft at the same time of a son, a brother, a son-in-law, and a brother-in-law. OEcolampadius died a few weeks later. The Zwinglian cause had met with an irreparable catastrophe.

The peace of Cappel (November 20, 1531), between Zürich and the Forest cantons, approved three days later by Bern, Glarus, Freiburg, and Appenzell, provided that the Five cantons and their associates should be left undisturbed in the Catholic faith, and that the Zürichers and their associates, with the exceptions of Bremgarten, Mellingen, Rapperschwil, Toggenburg, and Wesen, should be free to continue in their new faith. Each party agreed to abstain from opprobrious language. The principle of parity, or equal rights under the constitution, was thus established. In the common bailiwicks those who had accepted Zwinglianism should be free to retain it or to return to the old faith and restore the mass, images, etc. Zürich agreed to give up her alliances with foreign cities. The settlement was naturally almost wholly in the interest of Catholicism. Catholics became at once thoroughly aggressive, and the Counter-Reformation was carried out as fully as the treaty allowed. Catholic rites were re-established in Rapperschwil and Gaster. The abbot of St. Gall received back his convent with indemnity from the city and regained his authority over Toggenburg. Convents were restored in Thurgau and Rheinthau. In Glarus, where Zwinglians were in the majority, the Catholics got possession of several churches and gained the ascendency in the government of the canton. Zwinglianism was suppressed in Solothurn, though in the majority, and many Zwinglians were obliged to emigrate. Einsiedeln, where Zwingli, Leo Judæus, and Myconius had labored, became a great center of Roman Catholic influence. The convent of St. Mary, with its "Black Madonna," attracted multitudes of pilgrims, while its printing press became one of the most prolific in Europe.

Aggressive work for the evangelization of Switzerland

as a whole was now out of the question. All that the Zwinglians could hope for, so far as Switzerland was concerned, was to hold what they had acquired, and had been guaranteed to them in the peace. Zürich, Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen have persisted in their Zwinglian faith. Glarus, St. Gall, Appenzell, Thurgau, and Aargau, have remained almost equally divided between the old and the new faiths. Of twenty-three dependent towns and provinces only two became exclusively Zwinglian, Morat and Granson, sixteen remained Catholic, and five supported the two systems side by side. About two-thirds of the people of Graubünden became Zwinglian; but Roman Catholicism has regained most of the inhabitants of the Italian districts. The French cantons, Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel, became Protestant later on, through the labors of Farel, Calvin, and others.

The peace of Cappel thus left Zwinglianism in an exceedingly depressed condition. Henry Bullinger (b. 1504, d. 1575), son of Dean Bullinger, a priest, who accepted the Reformation in 1529, after completing his education as a Catholic in the University of Cologne (1523) and laboring as teacher in a Cistercian convent at Cappel (1523-1529), accepted Zwingli's doctrine, married a nun, and after Zwingli's death became a leader of the party. He carried forward the work at Zürich in Zwingli's own spirit, gave much attention to the organization and consolidation of the Zwinglian churches, took an active and influential part in general ecclesiastical politics, and was a zealous persecutor of the Anabaptists, against whom he wrote several works. He co-operated to a considerable extent with Calvin and Beza and took an active interest in the English Reformation, especially in the time of Edward VI. Beza spoke of him as "the common shepherd of all Christian churches." He harbored persecuted evangelicals from Italy, France, Germany, and England, and carried on an extensive correspondence with leading theologians and statesmen throughout Europe. Many of his practical writings were translated into English and widely circulated. He is the author of the Second Helvetic Confession (1566), which represents an approach to the views of Calvin.

In Basel, Oswald Myconius (b. 1488, d. 1552) suc-

ceeded OEcolampadius as chief pastor. He had been educated under influences similar to those that molded the character of Zwingli and OEcolampadius, and had enjoyed the friendship of Erasmus at Basel. He had devoted himself almost exclusively to classical teaching at Basel, Zürich, Einsiedeln, and Lucerne. He refused ordination and would bear no academic degree. His type of doctrine was essentially like that of Bucer and Bullinger, being intermediate between Zwingli's and Luther's and free from the harsher aspects of Calvinism. He was Zwingli's first biographer (1532).

It remained for Calvin to bring the Reformed theology to a rigorous consistency and to impart to it a burning enthusiasm that was to constitute it by far the most aggressive and successful type of Protestantism.

V. THE ANTI-PEDOBAPTIST REFORMATION.

LITERATURE: Writings of Anabaptist leaders, especially those of Hubmaier, Denck, Hetzer, Grebel, Hofmann, Riedemann, Philips, Menno, Bünderlin, and Czechowitz (most of this literature is excessively rare. The best American collection of *Anabaptistica* is probably that collected by Dr. Howard Osgood and deposited in the library of the Rochester Theological Seminary); writings of such Protestant leaders as Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, OEcolampadius, Vadianus, Bucer, and Amsdorf; Füssli, "*Beyträge*"; Bullinger, "*Der Widertöufferen Ursprung, Fürgang, Secten*," etc., 1561, and "*Von dem unverschampten Fräfel, . . der selbstgesandten Widertöuffern*," 1531; Cornelius, "*Gesch. d. Münsterischen Aufruhrs*," 1855–1860; Röhrich, "*Zur Gesch. d. Strassburgischen Wiedertäufer in d. J. 1527–1543*" in "*Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theol.*," 1860, and *Gesch. d. Ref. in Elsass*," 3 vols.; Erbkam, "*Protestanten Sekten*"; Beck, "*Geschichtsbücher d. Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn von 1526 bis 1785*," 1883; Benrath, "*Wiedertäufer im Venetianischen um Mitte d. XVI. Jahrh.*" ("*Studien u. Kritiken*," 1885); Bouterwek, "*Zur Literatur u. Geschichte d. Wiedertäufer*," 1864; Brons, "*Ursprung, Entwicklung, u. Schicksale d. Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten*," 1884; Calgary, "*Mittheilungen aus dem Antiquariate*" (contains portrait, sketch, and bibliography of Hubmaier and his treatise on the Supper, and Riedemann's "*Rechenschaft unserer Religion*," a full exposition of the doctrines and practices of the Moravian Anabaptists); Cornelius, "*Berichte d. Augenzeugen über d. Münsterischen Wiedertäufer*," 1853, "*D. Niederländischen Wiedertäufer*," 1860, "*Studien zur Gesch. d. Bauernkriegs*," and "*D. Geschichtsquellen d. Bisthums Münster*," 1851–1856; Czechowitz, "*De Pædobaptistarum Errorum Origine*," 1575; De Hoop-Scheffer, "*Geschiedenis d. Kerkhervorming in Nederland*," 1873 (also in German, 1886); Egli, "*Die Zürcher Wiedertäufer*," 1878, "*Actensammlung zur Gesch. d. Züricher Reformation*," 1879, and "*D. St. Galler Täufer*," 1887; Gerbert, "*Gesch. d. Strassburger Sectenbewegung zur Zeit d. Re-*

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1. *Preliminary Observations.*

(1) *Difficulties of Classification.* A scientific classification of the radical evangelicals of the sixteenth century that were popularly known as "Anabaptists," "Catabaptists, or "Baptists" ("Wiedertäufer," "Widertäufer," "Täufer"—"rebaptizers," "perverters of baptism," and "baptizers," the latter with the implication of laying undue stress on believers' baptism), is hedged about with difficulties. These terms of reproach were applied by Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Catholics to all radicals indiscriminately who would own allegiance to none of these communions, repudiated any sort of

connection of Church and State, and rejected infant baptism as unscriptural, inconsistent with their ideas of the purpose and significance of the ordinance, and radically opposed to their conceptions of the church as made up exclusively of baptized believers voluntarily associated for mutual edification and the propagation of the gospel.

(2) *Relation of Anabaptists to Mediæval Parties.* The remarkable diversity of views that appeared at an early date among the Anti-pedobaptist opponents of the dominant forms of religion was due in part to the survival of mediæval modes of thought with which individual leaders were imbued, and in part to the mental and moral idiosyncrasies of individuals influenced by the revolutionary spirit of the time. Such Anabaptist leaders as had been under the influence of mediæval chiliastic enthusiasm, whether of the Taboritic or the Franciscan type, when encouraged by the Protestant Revolution to come forward boldly with their reformatory schemes, were sure, along with their insistence on believers' baptism as the divinely appointed initiatory rite into churches of the regenerate, to emphasize the eschatological views that had long been normative in their religious thinking. Such Anabaptist leaders as had been brought up in the atmosphere of the soundly biblical teaching of the Waldenses and the Bohemian Brethren could not fail, when they had been led by the revolutionary spirit of the age, to seek to form churches according to their own ideals, to perpetuate in their doctrines and practices the leading features of their earlier beliefs. Such Anabaptist leaders as had been brought under the influence of evangelical mysticism might have been expected, when they had reached the conviction that infant baptism is incompatible with regenerate church-membership, to remain mystical in their conceptions of truth. Men who had become imbued with the pantheistic modes of thought of the Beghards and the Brethren of the Free Spirit, if they adopted Anti-pedobaptist views, could not easily escape from the pantheistic conceptions that vitiated these mediæval parties.

(3) *Confusion of Types.* Again, it is not claimed that the different types of Anabaptist teaching were kept rigorously distinct. Several different types are known

to have coexisted in the same community and to have been in close fellowship with each other, and bodies of Anti-pedobaptists fundamentally sound, were sometimes led into fanaticism by unsound teachers who came among them.

It is not denied that most of the phenomena of the Anabaptist movement could be accounted for without the supposition of the persistence in it of mediæval types of evangelical life and thought; but it seems more reasonable to postulate the perpetuity of the older types than to suppose that so many varieties of teaching had independent origin in the two periods and that the older types that can be traced to the Reformation time should have suddenly become extinct to give place to similar parties newly originated.

(4) *Relation of the Anti-pedobaptists to the Lutheran and Zwinglian Movements.* In an important sense the Anti-pedobaptist movement was little more than a consistent carrying-out of the principles that lay at the basis of Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, both of which, repudiating tradition and all human authority, made the Bible the only rule of faith and practice and aimed at the restoration of evangelical Christianity in its primitive and unadulterated form. Men of deep religious earnestness, mastered by this idea, came to see the inconsistency of the State-Church movements of Luther and Zwingli, in which the godly and the ungodly mingled in church-fellowship and participated in all Christian ordinances, with the church purity and the separation of believers from the ungodly exemplified by apostolic practice and required by apostolic precept. They longed for a church of the regenerate, where brethren and sisters in Christ could associate together in true Christian love.

Many who, under the influence of the older evangelical life and thought had longed for a general revival of evangelical religion, hailed with delight the appearing of Luther and Zwingli as evangelical reformers; and trusting that in these their highest expectations would be realized, heartily joined with them in their conflict with papal corruption and oppression. It was only after they had become convinced that no adequate reformation could be hoped for in connection with these politico-ecclesiastical strivings, that they felt an irresistible impulse to organize churches of the regenerate and to enter upon an enthusiastic propaganda of the pure gospel without human additions. It soon became clear to them that churches of the regenerate could only be secured by restricting their membership to such as made a credible profession of saving faith in the Lord Jesus

Christ and by voluntarily submitting themselves to baptism proclaimed their death to sin and their resurrection to newness of life, and who thus assumed the obligation to live, suffer, and die, if need be, in their Master's cause.

(5) *Views of Leading Reformers on Infant Baptism.* Luther was as uncompromising as the Anabaptists in making personal faith a prerequisite to valid baptism.

He reproached the Waldenses for baptizing infants, and yet denying that such infants have faith, thus taking the name of the Lord in vain. Not baptism, Luther held, but personal faith, justifies. If the infant has not personal faith, parents lie when they say for it "I believe." But Luther maintained that through the prayers of the church the infant does have faith, and he defied his adversaries to prove the contrary. This was more than the average man could believe. Hence, he would be likely to accept the former part of the doctrine and to reject the latter.

Luther attached great importance to baptism; Zwingli very little. Hubmaier and Grebel both asserted that in private conversation with them Zwingli had expressed himself against infant baptism. In the interpretation of the eighteenth article of the sixty-seven,[1] Zwingli asserts that in the earlier church the baptism of infants was not so common as at present, but those to be baptized were instructed as catechumens for a considerable time previously, and were only baptized after they had firm faith in the heart, and had confessed with the mouth. He shows, without expressly saying so, that he prefers this method. Elsewhere he writes: "The error also misled me some years ago, so that I thought it would be much more suitable to baptize children after they had arrived at a good age." Yet in 1530 Zwingli denied that any one had ever heard him say anything against infant baptism.

OEcolampadius, Capito, and Bucer agreed with Zwingli in making baptism like the Supper, a mere sign, and were disposed, for a time, to think it needless in the case of infants. OEcolampadius was almost convinced by Carlstadt (Nov., 1524) that infant baptism ought to be abolished, but was at last led by the influence of Zwingli and the confusion that was arising from the Anti-pedo-

[1] Zwingli's "Works," Vol. I., pp. 239, 240.

baptist separation, to defend this practice. Capito, under the influence of Carlstadt, Reublin, and Cellarius, was for years (1525–1527) disinclined to insist upon infant baptism and was on the friendliest terms with Anabaptist leaders. Bucer early recognized with Zwingli the necessity of infant baptism to the maintenance of a State-Church system, and did not hesitate to counsel rigorous persecuting measures. In fact, nearly all of the leading reformers were for a time brought face to face with the fact that infant baptism is without clear scriptural authorization, but were ultimately led to defend it as a practical necessity.

(6) *Characteristics of the Anabaptists.* As already suggested, there were many varieties of Anabaptists, each leader in general having marked idiosyncrasies. The following principles were common to nearly all of the Anabaptists and, with slight exceptions, to the evangelical teachers of the mediæval time:

a. Resting on the New Testament principle of self-denial and brotherhood, and following as they supposed the example of the apostolic churches, they tended strongly toward communism, some insisting upon absolute community of goods, while others were content with regarding their possessions as at all times subject to the demands of Christian charity. It was undoubtedly the strong emphasis placed upon this principle that made the Anabaptist teaching so popular.

b. They insisted upon churches composed exclusively of professed believers and so of the truly regenerate. That the ungodly should participate in Christian ordinances and in church privileges in general was to them an abomination.

c. They were profoundly convinced that the practice of infant baptism was not only unscriptural and antiscriptural, but was also absolutely incompatible with the maintenance of churches of the regenerate. Accordingly, they were never weary of denouncing this practice as "the pope's first and highest abomination," and as a device of Satan for the corruption of Christianity. The earnestness and vigor of their protest against infant baptism constitutes one of the most marked features of the Anabaptist movement.

d. They repudiated absolutely any sort of connection between Church and State, regarding the State as an institution outside of and apart from the gospel of Christ, whose authority was to be obeyed in all things lawful, but which had no right to interfere in matters of conscience. Hence also the doctrine of absolute liberty of conscience was a fundamental tenet of the Anabaptists as it had been of the mediæval evangelicals.

e. In consistency with their views on Church and State, they denied the right of a Christian to exercise magistracy, which seemed to them to involve a violation of Christ's precept and example. Christ refused to sit in judgment in the dispute of the two brothers regarding an inheritance, and he contrasted the kings of the earth who exercised lordship with the humility of his disciples whose Master had not where to lay his head.

f. They regarded oaths as expressly prohibited by Christ and so inadmissible for his disciples. Yet they distinguished between testimony regarding known facts and promises regarding future conduct.

g. Carnal warfare, even in self-defense or in defense of country, they regarded as completely contrary to the spirit of the gospel, and would passively suffer even unto death rather than bear arms.

h. Capital punishment they regarded as antichristian, and its infliction by civil governments was one of the reasons why a Christian could not exercise magistracy.

i. The fact that some Anabaptist parties, led away by chiliastic enthusiasm, supposed that they had been divinely commissioned to set up a theocratic kingdom, in which the saints should gloriously reign and should be the instruments of God in the destruction of the ungodly, is not strictly inconsistent with the above principles, which were fully approved even by the enthusiasts who led in the efforts to establish a millennial kingdom.

k. They were almost without exception opposed to the Augustinian system of doctrine, especially in its Lutheran and Calvinistic forms, insisting upon the freedom of the will and the necessity of good works as the fruit of faith, and regarding faith as a great transforming process whereby we are brought not simply to participate in Christ's merits, but to enter into the completest union

with him in a life of utter self-abnegation. They were unanimous in regarding Luther's teachings regarding the will and good works as in the highest degree immoral and opposed to the spirit of the gospel.

l. From what has preceded it is evident that the type of Christian life fostered by the teachings of the Anabaptists, like that of the mediæval evangelicals, bordered on the ascetical.

Great stress was laid on the imitation of Christ in his life of self-denying toil and suffering and the Anabaptists gloried in being counted worthy to suffer for and with Christ. The idea of earthly comfort and enjoyment most of them utterly renounced. Luxurious living, personal adornment, social amusements, the accumulation of wealth, nearly all of them regarded as inconsistent with the Christian profession; and it was only under the influence of chiliastic hopes that some of them ventured to expect, in a miraculously established theocratic kingdom, the carnal enjoyments that, under the existing dispensation, they realized were not for them.

m. They were unanimous in regarding the Lord's Supper as the most solemn act in which a Christian can participate, involving the renewal of the believer's covenant to devote his life unreservedly to Christ's service renouncing all selfish and secular interests.

Such being their conception of the ordinance, they sought to guard it most sacredly against all desecration by unworthy participants. Only baptized believers were admitted to communion, and discipline was rigorously exercised upon the brethren before the celebration of the Supper in order that none by partaking unworthily might eat and drink damnation unto themselves.

n. Owing to their extremely rigorous principles and the harsh treatment to which they were everywhere subjected by the dominant Christian parties, they carried their separatism to an extreme, not only refusing to join with others in religious acts, but utterly repudiating their right to be regarded as Christian.

The narrowness and bigotry of many of the Anabaptists was at once the product and the cause of the fierce hatred with which they were everywhere regarded. Their pronounced hostility to the systems of civil government under which they lived and to the means employed by these governments for the enforcement of their authority, caused them to be looked upon as the incendiaries of commonwealths. When we consider the bitterness of their antagonism

to all that was deemed most valuable in Church and State, and their uncompromising hostility to the existing social order, including the private ownership of the means of production, the persecution that they suffered at the hands of Church and State, Catholic and Protestant, can be readily accounted for. And yet in most things the Anabaptists were right and their opponents wrong.

o. Wherever the Anabaptists enjoyed sufficient freedom from persecution to enable them to carry out with any completeness their ecclesiological ideas, they never failed to institute, after the example of the Waldenses and the Bohemian Brethren, a system of connectional church government, with a general superintendency, an itinerant ministry, and a clearly defined interdependency of the local congregations. It is reasonable to suppose that this form of organization was due not wholly to the existing needs, but quite as much to the example of the earlier evangelical parties.

2. *Anabaptist Parties.*

In an earlier work the writer has attempted a geographical treatment of the Anabaptist movement, with due regard to genetic relationships. It seems more in accord with the purpose of the present work to form a classification based upon the types of life and thought exemplified. It must be borne in mind, as pointed out above, that the parties here indicated were not rigorously separated from each other in organization or in fellowship, and that the transition from one type to another was easy and frequent. The following classification will, it is thought, prove a convenient one: (1) The Chiliastic Anabaptists; (2) The Soundly Biblical Anabaptists; (3) The Mystical Anabaptists; (4) The Pantheistic Anabaptists; (5) The Anti-trinitarian Anabaptists.

(1) *The Chiliastic Anabaptists.* The earlier of these appeared in close connection with the Lutheran Reformation, but were, no doubt, in an important sense a result of mediæval modes of thought. The Franciscan enthusiasm, with its fondness for biblical types and symbols, its despair of the essential betterment of the world through the agencies available under the present dispensation, and its persistent efforts by the interpretation of prophetical Scriptures to fix the date of the ushering in

of millennial glories, was widespread at the beginning of this period and was highly attractive to many of the most zealous opponents of the standing order. It had assumed among the Taborites of Bohemia a radically anti-Catholic and a violently fanatical form, which had persisted in considerable strength in a section of the Bohemian Brethren.

a. Thomas Münzer and the Zwickau Prophets.[1] Thomas Münzer was never really an Anabaptist. Though he rejected infant baptism in theory, he held to it in practice, and seems never to have submitted to believers' baptism himself nor to have re-baptized others. Yet he is usually regarded as the forerunner of the movement and his influence upon it was highly important. Born about 1490 and educated at Halle and Leipzig, he early came into close relationship with Luther, whom for a time he regarded as "the example and light of the friends of God" (July, 1520). With Luther's approval, he was called to Zwickau (1520), where he soon became involved in controversy with priests and monks, in which he had Luther's cordial support.

The working people, especially the weavers, who constituted a considerable part of the population, took sides with Münzer. Chief among these was Nicholas Storch, a master weaver, who had lived in Bohemia, where he probably came into close relations with the Taborite Bohemian Brethren.

Münzer was naturally inclined to undue enthusiasm, and the zealous support which he received from the common people in his crusade against the corrupt lives and teachings of monks and clergy greatly stimulated his unsound tendencies. He soon became dissatisfied with Luther's politic and half-way measures of reform and demanded the establishment of pure churches regardless of consequences. He denounced Luther as a temporizer, who allowed the people to continue in their old sins, taught them the uselessness of works, and preached a dead faith more contradictory to the gospel than the teachings of the papists. While he held to the divine authority of the Scriptures, he maintained that the letter is useless without the enlightenment of the Spirit, and that to true believers God communicates truth directly alike in connection with and apart from the Scriptures.

[1] See Cornelius, "*Münst. Auf.*"; Merx, "*Th. Münzer u. H. Pfeiffer*"; Seidemann, "*T. Münzer*"; Förstemann, "*Neues Urkundenbuch*"; Strobel, "*T. Münzer*"; Arnold, "*Kirchen-und-Ketzerhistorie*"; Bachmann, "*N. Storch*"; and Kautsky, "Communism in Cen. Eur. in the Time of the Ref."

The excitement among the common people soon became intense. Under Münzer's encouragement, Storch organized a congregation of professed believers and is said to have considered himself appointed by God to lead in the setting up of the kingdom of Christ on earth.

Storch's influence on Münzer was greater than that of Münzer on him. Even before the appearance of Münzer it is probable that he had been secretly propagating the Taborite enthusiasm among his fellow-workmen. He seems at this time to have rejected infant baptism, oaths, magistracy, and warfare, and to have insisted on the separation of a believing husband or wife from an unbelieving partner and on community of goods among Christians.

Partly because of local disturbances resulting from the new enthusiasm and partly in response to what he regarded as a divine call to proclaim to the Bohemians the setting up of the kingdom of Christ on earth and to secure their co-operation, Münzer left Zwickau (April, 1521) and journeyed to Prague, where he proclaimed as a prophet of God the ushering in of a new dispensation in which all social inequalities should be abolished and in which righteousness should universally prevail, and he threatened the vengeance of God, through a Turkish invasion, in case they refused to hearken.

Meeting with little encouragement, he returned to Germany early in 1522. About Easter, 1523, he became pastor at Alstedt, in Thuringia, where he married a nun and attempted to carry out a radical reformation. Here he prepared an elaborate church service in German, and his eloquent preaching attracted vast congregations. Although he had expressed himself against infant baptism he made provision for it in his liturgy.

Returning to Zwickau we find Storch and his followers arraigned before the authorities (December, 1521) charged with repudiating infant baptism. He persisted in his opposition to this practice and was required to submit to an examination at a later date on "some erroneous Bohemian articles."

Accompanied by Marcus Stübner, who had studied at Wittenberg, and another weaver, he visited Wittenberg in order to win the professors to the support of his cause. Carlstadt, rector of the university, accepted their views and attempted to abolish at once all unscriptural objects

and practices in the university and its church. He abandoned his scholastic dress, renounced his doctor's degree, and sought to conform his private life to apostolic simplicity. The learned Cellarius attempted to oppose Storch and Stübner, but was readily won over by their enthusiasm. Melanchthon was greatly impressed by their prophetic claims and was unable to answer their arguments against infant baptism; but he appealed to Luther, who was absent at the Wartburg, and rested on his authority.

Learning of the disturbances at Wittenberg and Zwickau, Luther insisted on leaving the Wartburg, and for some weeks devoted himself with the utmost enthusiasm and determination to the suppression of this radical movement. He sought to bring the prophets into contempt by requiring of them the working of miracles in attestation of their mission. He demanded of them proof that unconscious infants do not exercise saving faith, restored the ceremonies in the university and churches, and drove Storch and his followers from Zwickau. Later Carlstadt and Cellarius felt obliged to retire from the university.

Carlstadt became pastor at Orlamünde (1523), where he attempted to carry out a radical reformation, but refused to join with Münzer in his violent measures. Driven from his position by Luther's influence, he suffered great hardship until 1534, when he secured a professorship in the University of Basel, which he held until his death, in 1541. During his later years, while he did not abandon his Anti-pedobaptist views, he seems to have kept them in the background. Cellarius became well known in Strasburg as an Anti-pedobaptist and an ardent millennialist, but he refused to ally himself with the Anabaptists, and in 1546 became professor in the University of Basel.

Storch traveled widely in Germany and Silesia. At Hof he labored for some months, gaining the support of the burgomaster, Simon Klinger, and was regarded by his followers as a prophet of God, while his enemies, recognizing his marvelous power, attributed it to satanic agency. At Glogau, in Silesia, his teachings met with marked acceptance, but when the enthusiasm had reached

a certain height he was compelled to retire. He seems to have propagated his millenarian views in a quiet way in many localities. His movements during the early months of 1525 in connection with Münzer's agitation is obscure, but it seems probable that he sympathized with Münzer and aided in his propaganda. He died at Munich in 1525.

We left Münzer at Alstedt about the middle of 1523. From this time onward he became more and more violent in his denunciation of priestly and monastic corruption and advised workingmen to withold the payment of tithes and rents for the support of these idle and vicious classes. Monastic institutions were plundered and their inmates maltreated. Luther and the Lutheran preachers came in for their share of condemnation. Lutheran and Catholic princes were declared to be the enemies of God and as worthy of being strangled like dogs if they opposed the doctrine. He insisted that Christians should all be equal, and that private property should be utterly abolished, and he represented himself as divinely commissioned to proclaim the setting-up of the kingdom of Christ on a socialistic basis. Under his inspiration secret societies were formed among the peasants in many communities.

Banished from Alstedt (August, 1524) by the Saxon princes, through Luther's instigation, Münzer betook himself to Mühlhausen, where Heinrich Pfeiffer, an ex-monk, had for some months been leading the social democracy in the spirit of Münzer. Under the joint leadership of Münzer and Pfeiffer the old council was abolished and a new government was established on a theocratic basis. A reaction led to the banishment of Münzer and Pfeiffer (Sep., 1524). During his absence Münzer published at Nuremberg a violent polemic against Luther and the Saxon princes in which he set forth without reserve his radical revolutionary ideas. He says in conclusion, "The people shall become free and God will be the only Lord over them." He afterward visited Switzerland, where he was kindly received by OEcolampadius and where he seems to have met a number of those who afterward became Anabaptist leaders, and Waldshut, where he no doubt conferred with Hubmaier.

Pfeiffer was able to return to Mühlhausen in December, having secured the support of the neighboring villages. Münzer returned about January, 1525, where with Pfeiffer he was able to control the government and to reform the city according to his own ideas. The Peasants' War, which Münzer and Pfeiffer had encouraged but not caused, was already in progress and reached Mühlhausen in May, 1525.

The Peasants' War and the harmful effect of Münzer's fanaticism on the just cause of the peasantry has been fully treated in an earlier section.

b. Hans Hut.[1] Born some time before the beginning of the sixteenth century, Hut was for some years sacristan to the knight Hans von Bibra. He early came under the influence of Münzer, and, refusing to have his child baptized, was driven from the community (1524). He sought in Wittenberg to secure the removal of his doubts regarding infant baptism, supporting himself as an itinerant bookseller. He spent some time in Nuremburg, where he learned book-binding and probably came into contact with Hans Denck, by whom he was baptized in Augsburg (1526). He was in Münzer's army at the battle of Frankenhausen and was taken prisoner, but was released on the ground that he was only a bookseller. It is probable, however, that he was already in thorough sympathy with Münzer's socialistic and millenarian views. We find him soon afterward at Bibra recommending the slaughter of magistrates by their subjects. He claimed to understand the meaning of the prophetical Scriptures beyond any other man, and being filled with enthusiasm and possessed of remarkable personal magnetism, he was able to sway the masses according to his will. Making Augsburg his home, where after Denck's departure his influence was paramount, he labored with consuming zeal in Bavaria, Moravia, Bohemia, Upper and Lower Austria, etc.

So irresistible was his influence, that a few hours' stay in a place often sufficed for the gathering of a church devoted to his principles.

[1] See Cornelius, "*G. d. Munst Aufr.*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 30, *seq.*, 251, *seq.*, and 279, *seq.*; Jörg, "*Deutschland in d. Revolutionsperiode*," *Seit.* 677, *seq.*; Roth, "*Augsburg's Reformationsgesch.*," *Seit.* 100, *seq.*; Nicoladoni, "*J. Bunderlin*"; Hegler, in "*Herzog-Hauck*," 3rd ed., *Bd.* VII., *Seit.* 489, *seq.*

While he seems not to have urged the people to take up the sword and proceed immediately to slay the ungodly he led them to expect a divine summons to arms at an early date. Like other enthusiasts of the time, he expected that the Turks, who were invading Europe, would be used of God as a scourge for the destruction of corrupted Christendom. He conceived of the reign of the saints as a socialistic theocracy.

In Moravia he sought to win to his views the Nikolsburg church which Hubmaier had founded, and gained many adherents; but he was driven away as a disturber of the peace by the Lichtenstein lords. In October, 1527, he was seized by the Augsburg authorities, made a full confession under torture, was thrown into prison, and burned to death by a fire in his cell supposed to have been kindled by himself (December, 1527). The corrupting influence of Hut on the Anabaptist movement can hardly be overestimated.

In a great assembly of Anabaptist leaders in Augsburg (August, 1527), Hut's chiliastic propaganda, with its revolutionary tendencies, was probably the chief matter discussed, and Denck is supposed to have made a final effort to save the Anabaptist movement from the disaster that awaited it.

c. Melchior Rinck.[1] Born near the end of the fifteenth century, highly educated (he was sometimes called "the Greek" because of his Greek learning), we find him in 1523 engaged as schoolmaster and chaplain in Hersfeld, where he successfully combated the disreputable pastor of the church. At this time he came under the influence of Münzer, with whom he co-operated heartily in the socialistic agitations of 1524–1525. Escaping with his life from the battle of Frankenhausen, he was for some time a fugitive. About 1527 he settled down in the neighborhood of Hersfeld as pastor of an Anabaptist church. For six years he exerted a strong influence throughout Hesse and the neighboring regions. The Landgrave Philip persistently refused to destroy him as he was urged by Luther and others to do. Rinck seems to have been particularly severe in his denunciation of Luther's teachings, maintaining that all who receive the sacrament ac-

[1] See Hochhut, "*D. Landgr. Philip u. d. Wiedertäufer*" ("*Zeitsch. f. d. hist. Theol.*," 1858, *seq.*); and Zur Linden, "*Melch. Hofmann*," *Seit.* 171, *seq.*

cording to Luther's view, receive a devil, denying predestination, denouncing infant baptism as a sacrifice to the devil, etc.

No mention is made of his millenarian views in the contemporary accounts of his teaching. As he is said to have been in Münster a short time before the outbreak of fanaticism there, it is probable that he never escaped from this feature of Münzer' teaching.

d. Melchior Hofmann.[1] Born in Schwabisch-Hall about 1490, a leather dresser by trade, we find him in 1523 in Livonia, an enthusiastic Lutheran agitator. However much he may have been influenced by the millenarianism of Münzer and Storch, he seems to have kept clear of the revolutionary movements in which the former figured so prominently. He seems at this early date to have been fully equipped with a knowledge of the letter of Scripture and with a system of allegorical interpretation, whereby he was able to astonish the unlearned and to gain for himself great credit as possessing a key to the divine mysteries. Banished by the head of the Teutonic Knights, he labored for a while in Dorpat, where his teachings gave rise to disturbances that resulted in his expulsion. In June, 1525, he visited Wittenberg, where he published an address to the church at Dorpat and secured Luther's endorsement. Returning to Dorpat he came into controversy with the other Lutheran preachers.

Banished from Dorpat, he labored in Sweden (1526), where he published a number of wildly allegorical writings and attacked Luther's view of the Supper. By this time he had adopted many of the peculiar views of the Anabaptists, and by a computation from prophetic data had fixed upon 1533 as the date for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ. Here also his preaching was attended with disorderly and iconoclastic procedures and he was driven from Stockholm early in 1527. Like riotous demonstrations attended his brief ministry in Lübeck.

Invited to Denmark by King Frederick I., he labored for about two years as a general evangelist. Here he

[1] See monographs on Hofmann by Krohn, Zur Linden, and Leendertz; Rembert, "*D. Wiedertäufer in Herzogtum Jülich*," *passim*; Gerbert, "*Gesch. d. Strassburger Sektenbewegung zur Zeit d. Ref.*"; and Hegler, in Hauck-Herzog, third ed., *Bd.* VIII., *Seit.* 222, *seq.*

purchased a printing plant with his earnings as a mechanic and scattered broadcast his allegorical interpretations and his anti-Lutheran views. At this time he came in contact with Carlstadt, who no doubt influenced his views on the Supper and on infant baptism. Here also his preaching aroused antagonism. Plundered of his goods he left Holstein for East Friesland accompanied by Carlstadt. Here they found Lutherans and Zwinglians in conflict and aided in giving a deathblow to Lutheranism in this region.

Hofmann soon proceeded to Strasburg, where he was heartily received because of his sufferings in defense of the Zwinglian view of the Supper.

By this time he had reached the conviction that the human nature of Christ was not derived from Mary, but was a direct divine creation. This view he continued to the end to emphasize and it was to become a leading feature of Menno's teaching. Strasburg was at this time a great Anabaptist center. Hofmann soon entered into relations with the more fanatical Anabaptists, especially with some who claimed to possess prophetic powers.

Returning to the Netherlands as an Anabaptist and claiming to be fully assured that the end of the age would occur three years later, he was able to influence great multitudes throughout the Netherlands and the lower Rhenish provinces. Through his writings, which were widely dispersed, and through the many missionaries that he sent forth, communities of enthusiasts who eagerly awaited the speedy establishment of the kingdom of Christ were organized.

By this time the cause of the Anabaptists had become most desperate. The edict of Speyer (1529) had outlawed them everywhere, making it not only lawful but obligatory upon Protestants and Catholics alike to seize them wherever found and put them to death without elaborate forms of trial. Most of their ablest leaders had already been destroyed. Free cities, where they had found a measure of toleration, were being forced to adopt rigorous measures for their exclusion. Earthly hope for an amelioration of their condition there was none. If ever conditions were favorable for the propagation of a millenarian type of Christianity, with its catastrophic solution of the difficulties that humanly speaking seemed insuperable, it was now.

Hofmann returned to Strasburg early in 1533, an aged brother having prophesied that he must suffer six months' imprisonment there and then lead the children of God to universal victory. He was

thrown into prison (May, 1533) where he languished for ten years, never abandoning his expectation of the speedy end of the age, but by fresh calculations moving the date forward from stage to stage as the necessity of the case demanded.

About the end of 1531 Hofmann had ordered the suspension of believers' baptism for two years and from this time on had placed all stress on the propagation of his millennial views. He had wrought great multitudes into a state of unwholesome excitement that made them an easy prey to the fierce fanaticism of Jan Matthys.

e. Jan Matthys.[1] With the departure of Hofmann, Jan Matthys, a Haarlem baker, came to the front as the inspired leader of the party. In him we see the spirit of the Taborites and of Münzer revived, and that in an intensified form. His hatred of the upper classes was as bitter as we can conceive. As the oppressors and the persecutors of the poor people of God nothing but divine vengeance would meet their case. The dealings of Jehovah with the Canaanites was the basis of his idea of the way in which the new dispensation was to be established. True believers were to be the instruments in God's hand for the blotting out of his enemies from the face of the earth. It was soon revealed to him that baptism should be resumed. Hofmann had promised that the prophet Enoch would appear just before the inauguration of the new dispensation. Matthys proclaimed himself the promised Enoch. The fanatical propaganda now went forward with wonderful rapidity. The oppressed masses were everywhere ready to receive the new gospel. Within a few weeks many thousands were introduced by baptism into the covenant and were ready at a moment's notice to begin their terrible work.

Matthys' part in the Münster kingdom and his tragical death will be narrated in the following section.

f. The Münster Kingdom.[2] The city of Münster had remained until 1532 a stronghold of Roman Catholicism.

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[1] See works on the Münster kingdom, below.

[2] See Cornelius, "*Münst. Aufr.*," "*D. Nederl. Wiedert. während d. Belagerung Münsters*," and "*D. Geschichtsquellen d. Bistums Münsters*"; Bouterwek, "*Zur Lit. u. Gesh. d. Wiedertäufer*"; Keller, "*Gesch. d. Wiedert. u. ihres Reichs zu Münster*"; Rembert, "*D. Wiedert. im Herzogtum Jülich*"; Göbel, "*Gesch. d. Chr. Lebens in d. rhensch-westphälischen Kirche*"; and Pearson, "The Kingdom of God in Münster" ("Mod. Rev.," Jan. and Apr., 1884).

A dissolute prince-bishop had succeeded in rigorously excluding evangelical teaching. In 1529 Bernard Rothmann, who had been educated in a school of the Brethren of the Common Life and had been somewhat influenced by Protestant teaching, began to preach evangelical sermons in a suburban church. His ministry was thronged by Münster people. Suspended from his office for a year for the correction of his errors by further study, he became thereby still more thoroughly evangelical. Returning in 1531, the social democracy supported him as a reformer despite the inhibition of the bishops. Early in 1532 he secured the use of St. Lambert's Church and was supported by the guilds of the city. The incoming of a new bishop (Erich) checked the progress of reform (March, 1532) and Rothmann was ordered by the authorities to suspend his preaching. Supported by the masses he refused to obey. Erich died in May and the notoriously immoral and irreligious Franz von Waldeck succeeding him, put an end to all hopes of legal reform. The new bishop, attempting to carry out an imperial mandate for the removal of anti-Catholic preachers, provoked a rebellion that resulted in his expulsion from the city (December, 1532). The evangelicals, supported by Philip of Hesse and Ernst of Lüneburg, triumphed (February, 1533). The wildest enthusiasm prevailed not only in the city and the diocese, but throughout the lower Rhenish provinces. Rothmann was the recognized leader in religious matters and each congregation was allowed to choose its own pastor. The monasteries were closed and Catholic clergy and monks were obliged to leave the city.

An important evangelical movement had for some years been in progress in the Cleve-Jülich-Berg Duchy, where a number of highly educated leaders who had been brought under Erasmic influence and led by Johannes Campanus, had passed from Catholicism to modified Lutheranism and were tending toward still more radical views. They were banished by the authorities in 1532. Among those who made their way to Münster were Heinrich Roll, Dionysius Vinne, Johann Klopriss, Hermann Staprade, and Heinrich Schlactscaef. From their Erasmic antecedents these men might have been ex-

pected to be proof against the seductions of millenarian enthusiasm; yet even in the teachings of Campanus there are certain chiliastic tendencies.

Roll became a pronounced Anabaptist soon after his arrival in Münster. Rothmann soon followed his example. Staprade publicly denounced infant baptism as an abomination. In August, 1533, Rothmann triumphantly defended Anti-pedobaptism against Van dem Busche. The Council sought to compel Rothmann, Roll, Vinne, Stralen, and Staprade to resume the administration of infant baptism. They persistently refused. An effort to depose them led to a great popular demonstration.

In a "Confession on the Two Sacraments," published by these ministers (November, 1533), baptism is defined as "an immersion in water, which the candidate desires and receives for a true sign that he has died to sins, and being buried with Christ has been thereby raised into a new life, henceforth to walk not in the lusts of the flesh but in obedience to the will of God." Yet in an earlier paragraph water-sprinkling is given a place in the definition of baptism along with immersion. Infant baptism is regarded as an abominable perversion and as "the source of the desolation and of the complete apostasy of the holy church." Thus far there is no evidence of anything fanatical in the teachings of the Münster Anabaptists.

We left Jan Matthys, after Hofmann's imprisonment, in full command of the great enthusiastic host that had accepted Hofmann's millenarian teachings. The news of the triumph of the Anabaptist cause in Münster greatly interested Hofmannite Anabaptists.

Early in 1534 two emissaries from Matthys reached Münster and made known to Rothmann and the other leaders that Enoch had appeared in the person of Matthys, that the millennial kingdom was at hand, and that the baptized saints should henceforth under the dominion of Christ lead a blessed life, with community of goods, without law and without magistracy. Within eight days fourteen hundred were baptized, including the ministers who had not yet submitted to the ordinance.

A few days later (January 13) John of Leyden and Gert tom Kloster took charge of the Münster movement as the representatives of Matthys.

It soon became evident that the establishment of the theocratic kingdom was to be attended by the merciless slaughter of the un-

godly. Rothmann and his associates hesitated for a time to accept the leadership of the fanatics, but all were at last mastered by the wild enthusiasm. Lutherans and Catholics fled. Monasteries and religious houses were seized and their inmates obliged to be baptized or to leave the city. The entire wealth of the city was soon in the hands of the fanatics. Matthys now proclaimed that Münster and not Strasburg, as Hofmann had predicted, was the New Jerusalem. Strasburg had failed of the honor because of its sins. He sent messengers in all directions to summon his followers to gather in given localities for further instructions. Many thousands from all parts of the Netherlands and adjoining regions were soon moving toward Münster. Many were seized by the authorities and cruelly executed, but a great multitude found their way to the New Jerusalem. Matthys himself was soon in the city as the head of the theocracy. The city was soon beseiged by the bishop and his allies. The fanatics most valorously defended it. A reign of terror ensued, all suspected of lack of sympathy with the new *régime* being remorselessly slain. Matthys was slain in battle (April, 1534). John of Leyden proceeded to organize the New Israel after the model of the Old. Twelve elders were appointed with power of life and death. They were to sit in judgment twice each day. As the number of women in the city greatly exceeded that of men and as the theocratic rules regarding the relations of the sexes were exceedingly rigorous, polygamy was introduced under supposed divine guidance as a means of alleviating the difficulties involved. It was revealed to John that the new Jerusalem should have a king who should have dominion over the whole earth and that he was that king. For more than a year the wretched fanatics stood the siege. Their sufferings toward the end were indescribable. The scene ended in a horrible massacre and in the most revolting torturing of the leaders.

The massacre extended throughout the whole territory that had been affected by the movement. Philip of Hesse was almost alone in discriminating between the wild fanatics and quiet Anti-pedobaptists. The opinion was almost universal that the Münster fanaticism was the logical outcome of the Anabaptist position. In England and America the opponents of the Baptist movement long persisted in holding up the Münster kingdom as a sample of what might be expected when it should have an opportunity to show its colors. In Germany and other continental countries the odium of Münster still attaches to the Baptist name.

2. *The Soundly Biblical Anabaptists.* In using this designation it is not to be understood that all or any of the Anti-pedobaptists here to be discussed were in the writer's opinion wholly free from error in doctrine and in practice. In general, their teaching was conformable to the best type of mediæval evangelical thought. Their adherence to the Scriptures, especially the New Testament, as the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice, their use of reasonably sound methods of Scripture interpre-

tation, their freedom from chiliastic enthusiasm, their intense zeal for the spread of the gospel, and their readiness to suffer even unto death for their faith, commend them to us as worthy of admiration. Most evangelical Christians have refused to accept their interpretation of Scriptures relating to oaths, magistracy, warfare, and capital punishment, which they perpetuated from mediæval times. Some of their mistakes resulted from their antagonism to the corrupt and oppressive political and ecclesiastical conditions of the time. Their extreme separatism was due in large measure to the severity of the persecution to which they were subjected. The tendency toward communism everywhere manifest was a natural outcome of the intense Christian love by which they were characterized and the hard conditions under which they lived. Anabaptists of this type superadded to what was best in mediæval evangelical life and thought a higher degree of aggressiveness, a more consistent and determined opposition to infant baptism, and a refusal to compromise themselves in any way by conforming to the ceremonies of the dominant churches.

a. The Early Swiss Anabaptists.[1] Zwingli's early reformatory preaching awakened great interest among the radicals of Switzerland and the neighboring provinces. All classes of social and religious reformers rallied to his support. By 1523 a large proportion of the people were prepared to cast off the papal yoke and to abolish all anti-scriptural and nonscriptural practices. Zwingli's "Sixty-seven Articles" that formed the programme of the first disputation (1523) were thorough-going in their evangelical character, making the Scriptures the only rule of faith and practice (positively and negatively).

In his elaboration of these articles he stated that in the early church baptism was administered only after catechumens had firm faith in the heart and had confessed with the mouth. It soon became evident that Zwingli and the council were lagging behind public sentiment. To avoid disorder and to determine how far it was safe to go in the direction of practical reform, a second disputation was held (Oct., 1523) in which, along

[1] See works of Egli, Strasser, Nitsche, Burrage, Baur, Usteri, Stähelin, E. Müller, Bullinger, Füsslin, Loserth, Cornelius, and Schreiber, as in "Literature" above.

with Zwingli, such radicals as Hetzer, Grebel, and Hubmaier (soon to become eminent as Anabaptist leaders) took part.

In May, 1523, Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier, a learned and eloquent priest who was carrying on a successful reforming movement in the city of Waldshut, conferred with Zwingli on infant baptism, and secured from him the concession "that children should not be baptized before they are instructed in the faith." Though among the earliest of those connected with the Swiss reformation to agitate in favor of believers' baptism, Hubmaier was far from being the first to put it in practice. During the latter half of 1523, Grebel, Manz, Stumpf, and other radical leaders, had repeated conferences with Zwingli, in which they urged him to take measures for the setting up of a pure church, whose members should be true children of God, having the spirit of God and ruled and led by him. They pointed out the unseemliness of making church reformation dependent upon the will of an ungodly magistracy, and of allowing the ungodly to enjoy the privileges of church-fellowship. Zwingli was conciliatory and promised to proceed as rapidly as he prudently could, but urged them to be patient and pointed out the disastrous consequences of schism. A large group of radicals in the canton of Zürich kept up a persistent agitation from this time forward and their distrust of Zwingli soon became complete.

In the spring of 1524 Wilhelm Reublin, an eloquent priest who had been driven from Basel in 1522 because of his zeal against papal ceremonies, and who was pastor at Wytikon, publicly declared himself opposed to the baptism of infants. Many withheld their children from baptism, and along with Reublin were imprisoned and fined. The Anti-pedobaptist agitation rapidly extended throughout Zürich and the neighboring cantons and provinces.

Hans Brötli, pastor at Zollikon, Andreas Castelberg, an enthusiastic social and religious reformer, Georg Blaurock, an eloquent ex-monk, Conrad Grebel, son of a patrician and educated in the universities of Vienna and Paris, and Felix Manz, an accomplished classical and Hebrew scholar, with many others, now declared

themselves against infant baptism. Late in December, 1524, or early in January, they took the decisive step of introducing believers' baptism and organizing churches of the regenerate. In this act Grebel took the initiative, baptizing first of all Blaurock, who in turn baptized large numbers. The movement spread with wonderful rapidity and within a few weeks multitudes in various parts of Switzerland had received the new baptism at the hands of Grebel, Reublin, Blaurock, Manz, Brötli, and others.

It should be said that these "baptisms" were not immersions.

On January 17, 1525, a disputation was held between Zwingli and the Anabaptist leaders, in which Zwingli vigorously defended infant baptism. The council declared Zwingli victorious, required the baptism of all unbaptized children within eight days on pain of the banishment of the responsible parties, prohibited Anabaptist meetings, and banished such foreigners as were known to be Anabaptists (Reublin, Brötli, Hetzer, and Castelberg).

Zwingli and the council had reached the conviction that the remorseless crushing of the movement was necessary to the maintenance of civil and ecclesiastical order. Rigorous imprisonment on a bread and water diet led some to promise conformity with the laws. Those who remained in prison (including Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock) effected what was regarded as a marvelous escape (April 5).

Reublin and Brötli, when banished from Zürich, labored in Schaffhausen, where Doctor Hofmeister, the chief evangelical minister, accepted their views of baptism, and so far compromised himself with the authorities that he was afterward banished, and only after deeply humiliating himself was able to regain his position. Grebel soon followed, and large numbers were brought to Anti-pedobaptist views. Here he immersed the ex-monk Uolimann, who was to take a leading part in the great Anabaptist movement at St. Gall.

At St. Gall, Uolimann, Hochrütiner, Roggenacher, and Eberle won multitudes to the Anabaptist position (in the spring of 1525), and crowd after crowd went out of the

city to the river Sitter for baptism. Within a few weeks twelve hundred were baptized. Three Anabaptist churches were formed in Appenzell. Urged and aided by Zwingli, Doctor Vadian, the chief leader of the evangelicals, was able at last to check the movement and to carry out exterminating measures like those of the Zürich Council.

Blaurock labored in the canton of Basel, where he held a disputation with OEcolampadius, an account of which published by the latter was effectively answered by Hubmaier.

In Bern the Anabaptist movement soon gained great headway under the leadership of Jacob Gross, a disciple of Hubmaier, Johann Seckler, and Hochrütiner. Exterminating measures were early introduced and frequently repeated, until the latter part of the eighteenth century; yet they have survived in considerable numbers to the present day, and have enriched the religious life of many lands (including America) through their forced dispersion.

Grüningen, a dependency of Zürich, became a chief stronghold of the movement during the summer of 1525. Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock all labored successfully here. The Zürich authorities were obliged to seek the aid of Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, Chur, Appenzell, and St. Gall (1527) before they could get the movement under control. Many influential families were among its adherents.

In Waldshut, in the Austrian Breisgau, Hubmaier had secured complete mastery by the beginning of 1524. Driven out of the city by the Austrian authorities (Sept. 1524), he took refuge in Schaffhausen, where he wrote a tract (on "Heretics and their Burners"), which constitutes one of the most thorough-going pleas for liberty of conscience that the age produced. At the beginning of 1525 he discontinued the practice of infant baptism, except in cases where the parents insisted upon it, and expressed his views on believers' baptism in a convincing way in a letter to OEcolampadius. In February he set forth a "Public Challenge" to all Christian men to prove from Scripture that baptism should be administered to infants. Reublin visited Waldshut early in the spring.

About Easter, Hubmaier and sixty others were baptized by him. Shortly afterward Hubmaier publicly baptized ("out of a milk pail") over three hundred more. His elaborate refutation of the arguments of OEcolampadius and Zwingli in favor of infant baptism was published in July. The Anti-pedobaptist argument has rarely been set forth with greater fullness, clearness, and logical acumen. Modern Zwinglian writers (like Usteri) contrast Hubmaier's sound exegesis and fairmindedness with Zwingli's sophistry and special pleading. Waldshut fell into the hands of the Austrian authorities after heroic resistance (Dec., 1525). Hubmaier barely escaped with his wife and made his way, broken in health, ragged, and wretched, to Zürich. He was thrown into a wretched prison with more than twenty starving Anabaptist men and women who were given to understand that there was no escape from this slow starvation except by a denial of their faith. Hubmaier seems to have been actually tortured into signing a form of recantation. He was at last released and made his way (June, 1526) to Moravia, where he was to do his greatest work.

In 1527 Manz was put to death by drowning because of his persistent disobedience to the mandates of the council and Blaurock was beaten through the streets and assured that he would be drowned in case he returned to Zürich. A few other executions occurred in Switzerland, but there was throughout this controversy a commendable reluctance to inflict the death penalty for heresy.

The difficulty of suppressing the Anabaptist movement in Switzerland was greatly increased by the inefficiency and immorality of a large proportion of the evangelical clergy. In response to repeated complaints on the part of Anabaptists and others, the authorities undertook to remedy the evils complained of and a number of unworthy ministers were disciplined and some were deposed.

By reason of the persistent persecution of Anabaptists and the attractiveness of Moravia as a place of refuge abounding in opportunities, the movement showed a marked decline in Switzerland before 1529, and by 1535 only a few feeble congregations remained.

Grebel, one of the ablest and soundest of the early leaders, died of the pestilence in 1526. Blaurock, who by reason of his great enthusiasm and popular power was designated "Strong George" and a "Second Paul," labored incessantly in Switzerland and the Tyrol till August, 1529. It is probable that he baptized more than a thousand. Reublin, after years of highly successful evangelism in Switzerland and Southern Germany, went to Moravia (1530), where he was disfellowshiped by the communistic Anabaptists, but lived to old age at Znaim as a member of a Swiss congregation.

b. The Moravian Anabaptists.[1] Moravia had shared with Bohemia in the Hussite revolt against Rome and in the Taborite and Bohemian Brethren movements. From 1516 to 1526 the royal authority had been exceedingly feeble and the nobles had done each what was right in his own eyes. A considerable number of nobles and priests who had been under the influence of the older evangelical teaching had declared themselves supporters of Luther. Among the most evangelical of the nobles were Leonard and Hans von Lichtenstein. Whether by prearrangement or not, Hubmaier was received by them with open arms on his arrival at Nickolsburg in the summer of 1526. Within a few months the chief evangelical ministers of this part of Moravia: Hans Spitalmaier, Oswald Glaidt, Martin Göschel, formerly suffragan bishop, at this time provost of a nunnery, had accepted Hubmaier's leadership. A number of other noblemen were sympathetic. In less than a year from six to twelve thousand had, under Hubmaier's influence, submitted to believers' baptism. He was provided with a printing plant which put in circulation one after another Hubmaier's doctrinal, practical, and polemical works.

Hubmaier was almost alone among contemporary Anti-pedobaptists in agreeing with modern Baptists regarding oaths, magistracy, warfare, and the right of Christians to hold private property. Except in his practice of affusion as the act of baptism his position is hardly distinguishable from that of modern Baptists, and few writers of any age have (with this exception) more ably expounded the distinctive principles of the Baptists.

A few months after Hubmaier's arrival a considerable

[1] Works of Beck, Loserth, and Kautsky, as in "Literature" above.

party appeared in the church led by Jacob Wiedemann, who not only denied that Christians could personally engage in warfare, but regarded it as equally un-Christian to pay taxes for the support of warfare. They also insisted on community of goods among Christians. Hans Hut appeared upon the scene late in 1526, gave his enthusiastic support to Wiedemann and his associates in opposition to Hubmaier, and sought to win the community to his chiliastic views. Among those who were borne away by his influence were Glaidt and Göschel. His chiliastic views seem not to have taken strong hold on the community, but the communistic party was greatly strengthened by his visit.

The situation was one of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. The communism insisted upon by Hut and Wiedemann would have necessitated the exclusion from this great church of the Lichtensteins, upon whose support it had so largely depended, or the voluntary abandonment by them of their rank and property and of their means of protecting and supporting the Anabaptist cause.

In July, 1527, the Austrian authorities seized Hubmaier, and on March 10, 1528, he was burned at the stake. Soon after Hubmaier's removal controversy became acute between Spitalmaier, who had the support of the Lichtensteins, and Wiedemann with his communistic following. As the latter could not tolerate private property, magistracy, and warfare, or even the paying of war taxes, they were obliged to seek a new home where they could, without interference, practise their principles.

Under the leadership of Jacob Huter, a Tyrolese hatter, who divided his labors during many years between the Tyrol and Moravia, the organization of the communistic party became complete (1529–1542). Austerlitz was their chief center, but large numbers of households were formed throughout southern Moravia.

The membership of these communities is said to have reached during the period of their greatest prosperity seventy thousand. Persecuted Anabaptists from all parts of Europe were welcomed among them and for the most part readily accepted their communistic mode of life and their doctrinal teachings.

As the Anabaptist leaders in various parts of Europe were for the most part skilled workmen, like those of the mediæval evangelical bodies, the Moravian communities soon came to possess in great abundance the best mechanical skill of the time. The households became hives of industry. They gained almost a monopoly in several branches of manufacture. Their cutlery, linens, and woolen cloths were the best to be found. Their public baths, attended by skilled manipulators, were patronized by the nobility. They excelled in agriculture and in stock-raising. The finest horses came forth from their stables. Because of their industry, skill, and honesty, even Catholic noblemen were glad to place them in responsible positions. Their physicians and surgeons were so skillful as to be patronized even by royalty, and they were among the most effective of missionaries. Every member of the communities was abundantly provided for. Children were carefully brought up and educated in their communal nurseries and schools, and were taught trades or trained in agriculture, as the interest of the community seemed to the officials to require. The communities were heavily taxed by the landlords; but they amassed considerable wealth so as to possess abundant capital for their manufacturing enterprises and to support a large force of missionaries in various parts of Europe. The Moravian nobles came to regard them as essential to the prosperity of the country, and resisted as long as they were able the demands of the Austrian government for their extermination.

Severe persecutions occurred, 1535, 1547–1554, and almost continuously from 1592 onward. They suffered greatly during the Thirty Years' War, but survived with considerable strength. From 1651 onward they were ruined by German, Turkish, and Tartar invasions and by Jesuit persecution. Many of them were taken by the Turks to the far East. Some fled to Hungary and Siebenbürgen, where they maintained an organized existence till 1762. Some removed to southern Russia, where they remained till 1874, when the small remnant settled in South Dakota, where in five small communities they still abide.

The church government of the Moravian Anabaptists

was similar to that of the mediæval Waldenses. A head pastor or bishop, appointed by representatives of the entire brotherhood, but frequently nominated by his predecessor, was at the head of the connection. Each household had its "ministers of the word" and its "ministers of need." The authority of officials once appointed was practically unlimited, and the only freedom possible to the individual member was that of cordial acquiescence in the communal administration.

The teachings of the Moravian Anabaptists are embodied in an able and elaborate "Account of Our Faith," by Peter Riedemann (d. 1556). This writing embodies in admirable form all that is best in old evangelical and Anabaptist teaching. Like Hubmaier, the Huterites were content with pouring as the act of baptism.

Closely related to the great Moravian Anabaptist work was that in the Tyrol and in Upper and Inner Austria. It is probable that the first churches were organized (1525–1526) under the influence of the Swiss movement. From 1527 onward Anabaptist views spread with wonderful rapidity. Notwithstanding the fiercest and most unrelenting persecution in response to the mandates of King Ferdinand, for forty years a vigorous and aggressive work was carried on, supported largely by the Moravians. Several families of the gentry and the smaller nobility became attached to the movement. Among the most eminent workers were Leonard Schiemer (martyred January, 1528), George Zaunring (martyred 1529), Jacob Huter, for years the influential leader of the Moravian Anabaptists (martyred November, 1535), and Hans Mändl, who labored for twenty-four years. By 1531 a thousand Anabaptists are said to have suffered martyrdom in the Tyrol and in Görtz, and six hundred at Ennisheim. Multitudes suffered after this date. Persecution was too severe and continuous to allow the organization of strong communities in the Austrian provinces like those in Moravia.

c. The Mennonites.[1] Next to the Moravian Anabaptists

[1] See works of Menno (Dutch, German, and English); works of Dirk Philips; lives of Menno by Cramer, Roosen, and Brown; Schyn, "*Hist. Mennonitarum*"; Blaupot Ten Cate, "*Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinnten*"; Brons, "*Ursprung, Entwickelung, und Schicksale d. Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten*"; and De Hoop Scheffer, in Hauck-Herzog, second ed., *Bd.* IX., *Sect.* 560–577.

in importance and in influence, if indeed they did not surpass them, was the great Mennonite brotherhood that flourished in the Netherlands and adjacent regions from 1536 onward. After the fall of the Münster kingdom, Menno Simons, who had been a Roman Catholic priest, but had gradually become imbued with evangelical principles, accepted the leadership of such Dutch Anti-pedobaptists as had not been carried away by the chiliastic enthusiasm of the Münster fanatics or had been cured of the delusion by the course of events. Closely associated with him in the leadership of the movement were Dirk Philips, Gillis of Aachen, Henry of Vreden, Antony of Cologne, and Leonard Bouwens.

Menno and his associates were so horrified by the atrocities of Münster that they earnestly disclaimed not only any sympathy with the Anabaptists who had taken part in the fanaticism, but any historical connection of their Anti-pedobaptist party with that of Hofmann and Matthys. They laid more and more stress, as time went on, upon their relation to the Waldenses, whose principles of non-resistance, rejection of oaths, magistracy, warfare, capital punishment, etc., they certainly perpetuated. It was natural that they should use every legitimate means for warding off from themselves the odium of the Münster fanaticism; but they probably went to an unwarrantable length in claiming for themselves an unbroken succession of organized church life through the Waldenses to the apostolic age.

East Friesland, under the regency of the tolerant and evangelical Countess Anna, was one of the few place in Europe where, after the Münster kingdom, Anabaptists of any type could find refuge. Emden was the chief center of the Mennonite movement. Dirk and Obbe Philips and Bouwens were Anabaptists of the older type, who had refused to follow Hofmann and Matthys. Dirk Philips was to become, after Menno, the chief literary expounder of this type of Anti-pedobaptism. Obbe Philips afterward deserted and denounced his brethren, returning to the Roman Catholic faith. Bouwens was the most successful propagator of the principles of the body and is said to have baptized as many as ten thousand converts. Menno evangelized widely and success-

fully, but spent much of his time in literary controversy.

Along with sounder doctrinal elements common to mediæval evangelicals and the Swiss type of Anti-pedobaptism, Menno early adopted Hofmann's view of the incarnation, involving denial of the true humanity of Christ. The persistent defense of this dogma involved him in endless trouble inside and outside of his own communion.

During the years 1543–1545 Menno made his headquarters at Cologne, where the Archbishop-elector, Hermann von Wied, had introduced a moderate form of Protestantism. During these years Menno did much to encourage the remnants of the earlier quiet Anabaptist movement throughout the Rhine Valley from Switzerland to the Netherlands. The overthrow of Hermann von Wied made Menno's removal a necessity.

For nine years he resided at Wismar and labored extensively in the East Sea regions. By 1547 serious differences of opinion had arisen among his followers regarding doctrine and discipline. At a conference in Emden Dirk Philips, Gillis, and Bouwens agreed with Menno in insisting on the most rigorous application of discipline, involving the requirement of marital avoidance in case the husband or wife of a church-member were excluded from fellowship. The other leaders dissented. From this time onward Menno was much concerned about the enforcement of his rigorous disciplinary views. Driven from Wismar (1555) he resided at Wüstenfelde, under the protection of a benevolent nobleman, till his death, in 1559.

In 1555 a great conference of German Anabaptists was held at Strasburg for discussing questions of doctrine and discipline that were in dispute between Menno and his followers. The conference expressed strong disapproval of Menno's dogmatizing about the incarnation. We should be content with the statement, "The Word became flesh and tabernacled among us." It was further declared that "to take from or add to these words is not only disturbing, but it is criminal." The opinion is further expressed that no good end is served by literary controversy. Disapproval of Menno's dis-

ciplinary rules was also frankly expressed. The venerable leader was deeply grieved, but could not be turned aside from his well-matured convictions.

In 1557 another Anabaptist conference was held with representatives from Württemberg, Swabia, Moravia, Alsace, the Palatinate, and Switzerland, to discuss the rules of discipline that had recently been drawn up by Menno and Philips. Reference is made in the report of the meeting to a great conference at Worms in which fourteen or fifteen hundred Anabaptists had gathered. While the conference expressed general approval of Menno's rules, it insisted on the liberty of the churches to deal with individual cases on their merits and with due regard to the usages of the country. There was general disapproval of the rule requiring marital avoidance.

By 1559, the date of Menno's death, there were many thousands of quiet Anabaptists more or less closely associated with the movement organized by Menno in the Netherlands and throughout western Europe from the Baltic to the Alps. Lutheranism had long been practically extinct in the Netherlands and Calvinism had not yet attained to great strength. The establishment of the Inquisition by Philip II. (1567) was followed by the slaughter of tens of thousands of evangelicals, including many Mennonites. The absolute refusal of the Mennonites to bear arms even in self-defense disqualified them for leadership in a time like this. Calvinists, who represented the most militant type of Protestantism, now came to the front and, under the leadership of William of Orange, entered upon the heroic struggle that was to result after forty years in breaking the power of Spain and in making of the United Netherlands one of the most prosperous and enlightened countries in the world.

The Mennonites were on friendly terms with William and his successor and contributed liberally to the expenses of the war. Being honest, industrious, and thrifty, they became exceedingly prosperous and were foremost in all sorts of benevolent work. From 1574 onward the Calvinists were persistent in their efforts to deprive them of the toleration that had been accorded to them.

Long before the death of Menno serious divisions had arisen among the Mennonite churches regarding doctrine and discipline. After his death the party spirit had free play and several non-fellowshiping divisions were soon in the field. The "Waterlanders" were the most liberal. The "Flemings" were the most rigorous. Intermediate between these were the "Upper German" and "Frisian" churches and the "Young" or "Loose Frisians." Local controversies were appealed to all the churches in the connection and were thus the occasion of widespread dissension and schism. Before the close of the century Socinianism had invaded the Mennonite ranks and won large numbers to its support.

(3) *Mystical Anabaptists.* A number of able and earnest men deeply imbued with the evangelical mysticism of Tauler and the "German Theology" early became convinced that while external ordinances are of small importance as compared with the inner spiritual life, infant baptism was one of the great obstacles to a true reformation, and that believers' baptism was worth contending for as the initiatory rite into churches of the regenerate.

a. Hans Denck.[1] Born in Bavaria about 1495, we find him in 1523 an accomplished classical and Hebrew scholar in close association with OEcolampadius in Basel and occupied as a reader for the press. On OEcolampadius' recommendation, he was at this time appointed rector of a school in Nuremberg, where he elaborated his highly spiritual views of the Godhead, Scripture, faith, righteousness, sin, and the ordinances, in such a way as to alarm Osiander, the chief Protestant minister of the city. Driven from Nuremberg (January, 1525), he spent some months traveling in southern Germany and Switzerland and still further maturing his views. At St. Gall he greatly impressed Vadian as a most gifted youth, in whom "all excellencies were truly so present that he even surpassed his age and seemed greater than himself; but he has so abused his genius as to defend with great zeal Origen's opinion concerning the liberation and

[1] See Keller, "*Ein Apostel d. Wiedertäufer*"; Heberle, "*Joh. Denck u. sein Büchlein vom Gesetz Gottes*" ("*Theol. St. u. Kr.*," 1851) and "*Joh. Denck u. d. Ausbreitung s. Lehre*" ("*Th. St. u. Kr.*," 1858); and Kolde, "*Hans Denck*," (in "*Kirchengeschtl. Studien*," 1886).

salvation of the damned." He seems at this time to have been so carried away by the thought of God's infinite love and mercy that he could not conceive of the eternal punishment of the wicked as a part of the divine plan. In September we find him in Augsburg, where he was soon surrounded by a number of kindred spirits, enjoyed the friendship of the young nobleman Sebastian von Freiburg, and supported himself by private teaching. His most important work, on "The Law of God," was probably written at this time. Seemingly as a result of Hubmaier's visit (June, 1526), Denck proceeded to organize an Anti-pedobaptist church, which soon had a membership of several hundreds.

The efforts of Urbanus Rhegius and Gynoræus, evangelical pastors, to convince him of his errors proved unsuccessful; but to avoid trouble he quietly departed (October, 1526). By this time he had attained to great eminence as an Anabaptist leader. Rhegius called him "the Anabaptist abbott," Haller "the Anabaptist Apollo," and Bucer "the Anabaptist pope." Among his most influential followers in Augsburg was the young patrician, Eitelhans Langenmantel, who wrote extensively in defense of his principles and at last died as a martyr (May, 1528).

Denck seems to have gone directly to Strasburg, which by reason of its tolerance had become a place of refuge for persecuted radicals. Here he was able almost immediately to gain a large following. During his short residence here he began, with Hetzer, a translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, which he was to continue at Worms. The portion published (1527) was highly meritorious and was freely used by Luther in his translation of the Prophets. As a result of a colloquy with Bucer, Capito, and others, who were shocked by some of his speculative opinions and convinced of his radical unsoundness, he departed (December 25), and after a disputation at Landau with Johann Bader, who published a full report of the discussion and afterward became an Anti-pedobaptist, he settled at Worms, where, supported by Hetzer and Jacob Kautz, a brilliant young minister who adopted his mystical views, he quietly exerted a widespread influence. They were obliged to

leave Worms (August, 1527). Denck visited Augsburg (about September), where he participated in a great convention of Anabaptist leaders, and afterward Nuremberg and Ulm. Arriving ill at Basel, he died in the house of his friend OEcolampadius (November, 1527).

During the last two years of his life, Denck published a large number of deeply spiritual and highly eloquent writings, which represent the purest type of evangelical mysticism. He was accused by his opponents of denying the deity of Christ, and it is probable that he would not have subscribed to the orthodox formulæ regarding the Trinity and Person of Christ; but nothing appears in his published writings that compels one to regard him as an anti-trinitarian.

b. Ludwig Hetzer. Born about 1500, in Thurgau, he received a liberal education and we find him (1523) among Zwingli's enthusiastic supporters. As early as 1525 he became an Anti-pedobaptist, but he lacked the courage of his convictions and we find him (September, 1525) seeking to re-establish himself in the confidence and favor of Zwingli and OEcolampadius. He was closely associated with Denck in Strasburg, Augsburg, and Worms. Like him he was an accomplished classical and Hebrew scholar and it is probable that he sympathized with Denck's speculative theology without being able fully to enter into its spirit. Zwingli claimed to have had in his possession, and to have destroyed in the interest of orthodoxy, a writing of his in which anti-trinitarianism was taught. He was beheaded at Constance (February, 1529), ostensibly for adultery (unproved), but really on account of his Anti-pedobaptist views.

c. Other Mystical Anti-pedobaptists. Jacob Kautz, who came under Denck's influence at Worms, was for some time an enthusiastic propagator of mystical Anti-pedobaptism. In July, 1528, at Strasburg, he set forth his position in seven articles in which the most objectionable features of Denck's teaching are expressed far more harshly and offensively than he himself would have expressed them. The external word is declared to be "not the true living, eternally abiding word of God, but only the witness or indication of the inner word." Universalism is distinctly taught. The propitiatory nature

of Christ's death is expressly denied. As late as 1536 we hear of Kautz as a teacher in Moravia.

Still more radical was Johann Bünderlin,[1] born at Linz, in Austria (about 1495), and educated in the University of Vienna. While carrying on evangelical work in the service of an Austrian nobleman he became converted to Anti-pedobaptist views. After spending some time at Nikolsburg, Moravia, he betook himself to Strasburg (1529). By 1530 he had reached the conviction that apostolic ordinances should not be practised by Christians of the present time. "Christians need neither baptism nor the Supper. . . Christ baptizes in the Holy Ghost and in fire, as from the beginning of the world this has taken place in every believing heart."

His idea was that the ordinances had been lost in the apostasy and that no one had a right to restore them without special divine authorization.

d. Casper Schwenckfeldt.[2] A pronounced Anti-pedobaptist (not Anabaptist) was Casper Schwenckfeldt, a Silesian nobleman. Born in 1490, educated at several universities, finishing at Cologne, he became an ardent student of evangelical mysticism and a Hussite. He was among Luther's early supporters and greatly furthered the spread of Lutheranism in Silesia. By 1525 he became convinced that Luther was astray on baptism, the Supper, justification, and a number of other points. Personal conference with Luther failed to restore harmony. He objected also to the political methods employed by Luther for church reformation, insisting that spiritual methods alone were in accordance with the spirit of Christianity.

It seemed to him that the tendency of Luther's teachings was to produce a state of carnal security, that the faith Luther preached was a dead faith, that his doctrine of Scripture was a doctrine of the letter and not of the spirit. It was his opinion that Luther had departed widely from the old evangelical position he had occupied in 1517. Only the spiritually enlightened man can properly under-

[1] See Nicoladoni, "*J. Bünderlin*"; Gerbert, "*Gesch. d. Strassburg. Sectenbewegung*"; and Jäkel, "*Zur Frage über d. Entstehung d. Täufergemeinden in Oberösterreich*," 1895.

[2] See Schwenckfeldt's Works; Arnold, "*Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*"; Erbkam in "*Hauck-Herzog*," 2 Ed., *Bd.* XIII., *Seit.* 776, *seq.*; Kadelback, "*Gesch. Schwenckfeldts u. d. Schwenckfeldtianer*"; and Gerbert, "*Gesch. d. Strassb. Sectenbeweg.*"

stand the Scriptures, which *contain* but are *not identical with* the word of God. Faith is a personal appropriation of Christ and involves a complete transformation of character, baptism is a symbol of the inner transformation that has occurred in regeneration and is wholly inapplicable to infants, the Supper is a symbol of the spiritual partaking of Christ and of communion with his sufferings and death.

Driven from Silesia (1529), he took up his abode in Strasburg, where he was entertained by Capito and Zell and was for years in close association with several of the Anabaptist leaders. He persistently refused to become a member of any evangelical party. He prays the Lord to keep him in this position and not to allow him to despise what is good, right, and well-pleasing in any. "Yet I see in one party much more of God than in the rest, more divinely given blessedness and imitation of the crucified Christ; this I cannot deny." It can hardly be doubted that he refers to the Anabaptists. By 1542 his attitude toward the Anabaptists had become distinctly less favorable and he wrote somewhat bitterly against them for laying undue stress on external forms. His most distinctive teaching was that regarding the deification of the flesh of Christ, which he expounded (1539) in a work entitled "Summary of some Arguments, that Christ according to his humanity is to-day no creature, but absolutely our God and Lord."

It was far from Schwenckfeldt's purpose to found a sect, but at his death (1561) he left many faithful followers who thought it their duty to circulate widely his voluminous writings and to propagate his principles by organized effort. His influence was considerable in the formation of the Society of Friends in England in the following century. In 1734, a number of Schwenckfeldtian families settled in Pennsylvania, where they have maintained an organized existence until the present time.

(4) *The Pantheistic Anabaptists. a. David Joris.*[1] Born in 1501 or 1502 in the Netherlands, educated at Delft, where he also learned the trade of glass-painting, he became an enthusiastic Protestant and was imprisoned (1528) for his violently denunciatory and iconoclastic proceedings against the Catholic priesthood and cere-

[1] See Nippold in "*Zeitschr. f. hist Th.*," 1863, 1864, and 1868; Jundt. "*Hist. du Pantheisme*," p. 164, *seq.*; and Hegler, in "*Hauck-Herzog.*" 3d Ed., *Bd.* IX., *Sett.* 349–352.

monies. About 1533 he became an Anabaptist and was actively engaged in the agitation that led to the Münster kingdom, although he seems to have had no part in the later fanaticism. After the fall of Münster he attempted to unite the various Anabaptist parties (the quiet Anabaptists led by Dirk and Obbe Philips, the Hofmannites, and the Münster fanatics led by Battenburg). In this he failed, but his enthusiastic followers declared him the anointed of the Lord, and he himself claimed to be the recipient of special divine revelations. He soon won the adherence of a large number of the extreme Münsterites and gained the reputation of possessing miraculous as well as prophetic powers. In 1539 permission was given him to labor in the territory of Philip of Hesse. He sought in vain the endorsement of Luther and Bucer. Conferences with John a Lasco, the Polish reformer, and Menno Simons yielded him no advantage. Menno wisely refused to have any fellowship with him and thereby saved his party from contamination.

Among his numerous literary products the most important was his "Wonder Book" (1542), a strange medley of enthusiastic fantasies, mysterious intimations, complaints, and threats, allegorical interpretations of Scripture passages, and strong assertions of his divine mission. In the first part he gives an explanation of figures and mysteries, in the second his views of God, in the third he treats of Christ, and in the fourth of the restitution of the kingdom of Christ. His speculations have much in common with those of the mediæval Franciscan enthusiast, Joachim of Floris. He was fundamentally a pantheist of the enthusiastic type and his teachings closely resemble those of the Beghards and of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and, like these, are supposed to have led to immoral living.

In 1544 he left the Netherlands and settled under an assumed name in Basel, where he lived quietly as a respectable citizen, associated with leading freethinkers, and published secretly many writings setting forth his heterodox and immoral views. His identity was not discovered until after his death in 1556, when he was tried for heresy and his body and his books condemned to the flames (1559).

b. Heinrich Niclaes.[1] Born in Münster (1501 or 1502),

[1] See Nippold, "*Heinrich Niclaes*" in "*Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*," *Bd.* XXXII.

he spent his early years as a merchant. Some time before 1528 he seems to have abandoned the Catholic faith, though he could find no satisfaction in Lutheranism. About 1531 he settled in Amsterdam, where he devoted his leisure to mystical reading and meditation. To what extent he was influenced by the Anabaptists in general and by David Joris in particular is uncertain. About 1540 he supposed that God had poured out upon him "the Spirit of the true love of Jesus Christ," and had made him "at one with the will and word of God" and the organ of a completer revelation than had yet been made. From 1540 to 1560, Emden was the center of his mercantile business and of his religious propaganda. In both interests he spent considerable time in England, where he gained many disciples. His mystical sect was called "The House of Love" and his followers were commonly called "Familists."

The party seems to have been elaborately organized with a hierarchy consisting of elders, archbishops, and four classes of priests. Niclaes seems to have identified the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ with his own appearing and the promised kingdom of Christ with the House of Love. He believed that in himself God and Christ had become incarnate and that his followers were also partakers of the divine nature. This extreme pantheism could hardly have failed to lead to immoral consequences among his followers. There is no evidence that Niclaes laid any stress on the rejection of infant baptism. The party is of interest chiefly as showing the tendency of mediæval types of religious thought and life to perpetuate themselves.

(5) *Anti-trinitarian Anabaptists.* A considerable number of the sounder Anabaptists of the various types made use of language which indicated that their view of the person of Christ fell considerably short of the orthodox formulæ (such as the Nicene and Athanasian). Anabaptists in general were strongly averse to the rigorous doctrinal definitions of the Greek and Roman churches and preferred the simple New Testament statements. Hetzer, Denck, Kautz, and Bünderlin closely approached anti-trinitarianism. Ambrose Spitalmaier, an Austrian Anabaptist leader, taught that "Christ here on earth became a real, essential man, such as we are, of flesh and blood, a son of Mary, who conceived him, however, without human seed, . . but according to his

deity he was a natural son of God from eternity to eternity, born in the paternal heart through the word." Yet elsewhere he teaches: "As often as Christ is mentioned in Scripture by this name he is to be understood as a mere man with flesh and blood, corporeal and mortal as ourselves; therefore, not as God but as a man, an instrument through whom God hath made known to us his word." It is probable that the Christology of most of the Anabaptist teachers was Adoptionist, like that of many of the mediæval evangelicals.

a. Johannes Campanus.[1] Born about 1495, educated in the University of Cologne, whence he was expelled (1520) because of his opposition to the scholastic teachers, he preached for some time as a Lutheran in the duchy of Jülich, where he enjoyed the favor of some of the nobility. During these years he seems to have been profoundly influenced by a party of semi-pantheistic freethinkers that was strongly represented in Antwerp (1520 onward). They were known as Libertines, or Loists, and sometimes as Lutherans. A statement of their views has been preserved.[2]

They were strongly Antinomian in their tendency, denying the eternal punishment of the ungodly and insisting that through Christ all men will finally attain to salvation. They taught that while the outer man is disobedient to God and follows the lusts of the flesh the inner man cannot sin because it proceeds from God. As therefore the flesh must sin, so the spirit cannot sin. The righteousness of God appears in punishing eternally with death the outer man, but his mercy is fulfilled in the inner, spiritual man which is liberated from its carnal prison-house and returns to God who gave it.

Among the other tenets of these Dutch free religionists are the following: "We live in the age of the Holy Spirit. After the supremacy of the Father and the Son comes that of the Third Person, the Holy Spirit, . . the Holy Spirit is our understanding; every one possesses it, therefore, and nobody sins. . . God cannot sin, and sin cannot be imputed to man, since his understanding does not belong to him. . . Since God cannot condemn himself, so also no man can sin. . . Every one must be justified, even Lucifer (since Christ made satisfaction for all). . . There are no such things as purgatory and hell. . . The outer man, that which is bestial in him,

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[1] See Rembert, "*D. Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Jülich*," *Seit.* 160–305; Trechsel, "*D. Antitrinitarier vor F. Socinus*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 26–34; and Hegler in "*Hauck-Herzog*," 3rd Ed., *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 696–698.

[2] Döllinger, "*Beiträge zur Sectengeschichte d. Mittelalters*," *Bd.* II., *Seit* 664–668.

is damned; the manner of its death, . . is the real hell. This part of man cannot rise again. . . The resurrection is the return of all souls to God, whence they proceeded. . . Christ moreover rose for all."[1]

This type of teaching was probably a survival from mediæval times brought into aggressiveness by the Lutheran agitation and is said to have been widespread in Flanders and Brabant.

The influence of the Erasmic humanism on Campanus' thinking must have been considerable. In 1527 he accompanied some noblemen to Wittenberg, where in 1528 he was registered as a member of the university. Here he gained a high reputation for genius and learning. While at Wittenberg he came in close contact with George Witzel, who had been a zealous Lutheran but had returned to the Catholic faith. He was present at the Marburg Conference (1529), where he opposed Luther's doctrine of the Supper, and yet was not in agreement with Zwingli.

Campanus interpreted the passage "This is my body" to mean, this is a corporeal substance which belongs to me as its creator. Returning to Wittenberg he soon fell into suspicion of denying the doctrine of the Trinity. He spent much time with Witzel in studying the church Fathers. Both Campanus and Witzel had been strongly influenced by Erasmus and each influenced the other to a considerable extent. It would be interesting to show in some detail the direct indebtedness of the type of Anabaptist teaching that prevailed so largely in Jülich and the surrounding regions to Erasmus.[2]

Witzel and Campanus agreed (following Erasmus) that the Jerusalem church had a normative importance and in regarding the social life of their time as out of harmony with the spirit of Christianity; and in this both were at this time on the platform of the Anabaptists. In 1531, Witzel, who had left the Lutherans the year before, expressed his strong disapproval of a new church and his earnest desire to return to a true apostolic church. "The apostolic church flourished to the times of Constantine; from that time onward it degenerated because the bishops devoted themselves to the world." His horror of schism prevented him from casting in his lot with the Anabaptists and finally led to his return to the Roman Church with the hope that he might aid in reforming it.

Campanus returned to Jülich (1531) and was soon involved in bitter controversy with the Lutherans. Before leaving Wittenberg he had broached his anti-

[1] See extracts from documents and references to sources in Rembert, "*D. Wiedertäufer in Jülich*," *Seit.* 165-167.

[2] This has been admirably done by Rembert in the work before referred to. See his index under "Erasmus."

trinitarian theory. A copy of an anti-trinitarian writing of his that came into the hands of Sebastian Frank, the freethinking mystic, drew forth from him a long letter which has been preserved.

Frank earnestly sought to win Campanus to still more radical views. He insisted that the church should be purely spiritual, all external forms being worse than useless. The church became apostate with the reign of Constantine, all the church Fathers from Ambrose onward being apostles of antichrist. No one has a right without a special call to restore the sacraments or to gather visible churches. He condemns Protestants and Catholics alike for placing the Old Testament upon a level with the New, thereby justifying war, oaths, magistracy, tithes, etc., which are against the will of Christ. He declares that no one in all Germany is truly sent and called. He sends Campanus a copy of Bünderlin's book in which he seeks to prove that water baptism, together with other external forms used in the apostolic churches, is practised in the present time without command and the witness of Scripture, inasmuch as the church is in apostasy and will remain in desolation to the end. He approvingly calls Campanus' attention to Servetus' anti-trinitarian views. He warns him against binding himself down so much to the letter of Scripture. "Receive nothing, believe nothing, against the heart, constrained thereunto by the letter." He insists that everything learned from pope, Luther, or Zwingli, must be unlearned or freely changed.

In the same year Campanus published his writing "Against the Whole World after the Apostles." In 1532 appeared his "Restitution," which constituted an abbreviated German edition of the former work published in Latin.

The first part treats of the Trinity. The personality of the Holy Spirit is denied. "In God and God's form are two persons and yet only one God; . . if Christ calls himself one with the Father this unity is to be understood of a divine knitting together and uniting of two persons in one godhead as man and wife are knit together in marriage; . . that the Holy Spirit proceeds from God is thus to be understood. As a flame consists in itself even after it gives its heat from itself so God remains in his essence and yet works where and what he will. God's power and Spirit are one thing." He sharply combats Luther's view of the Son as having his being in and of himself. Derivation from another is of the very essence of sonship. He also rejects Luther's and Melanchthon's theory of the perpetual generation of the Son. "God begat his Son for his own glory. He made him his administrator and his under-lord in order to show forth his effectuality, power, and potentiality." When Christ said, "The Father is greater than I," he meant greater not according to essence, but according to authority.

He expounds anew his view of the Supper, controverting those of the pope, Luther, and Zwingli. "All have gone astray who as great men have written on this question,—the transubstantiation of the pope, the Synecdocha of Luther, the 'signify' with Zwingli,—the correct interpretation is my own." He attached great importance to his chapter on baptism, regarding it as absolutely fundamental. He lays open his heart and mind to his readers and applies all his powers in the highest degree to an effort to put it in a proper light. He expresses the conviction that baptism, as he expounds it, is more important than Noah's ark, the former saving the soul, the latter only the body. He defines baptism as dipping in the water and insists that it is applicable only to believers. A right understanding of the significance of baptism is essential to saving faith. "No one can believe what he does not understand, but no one knows what he does not understand, therefore, one must first know before one understands, and understand before one can believe." He lays the utmost stress upon the necessity of baptism as an act of obedience which conditions our being recognized as God's children.

For a time Campanus' polemics against Luther and his followers won for him the support of the Catholics of Jülich and the adjoining provinces. Under his influence a number of well-educated and earnest ministers, such as Roll, Vinne, Klopriss, Staprade, etc., who ended their career as Münster fanatics, passed from Erasmic Catholicism to an eclectic Protestantism, and from this to moderate Anti-pedobaptism.

From Campanus' general mode of thinking it might have been expected that he would be free from vain theorizing regarding times and seasons. But he was as much given as Hofmann to figuring out the dates of the fulfillment of prophecy, and he believed the time of the restitution of all things was at hand: hence the title of the book. His influence was diminished after the Münster kingdom, in which, however, he took no part. He was thrown into prison about 1555, where he died about twenty years later.

b. Michael Servetus.[1] Born in Spain, probably at Tudela (about 1509), of well-to-do parents (his mother is said to have been French); educated at the University of Saragossa, where he became skilled in the classical languages, scholastic philosophy, mathematics, as-

[1] See Mosheim, "*Gesch. d. berühmten Span. Arztes M. Serveto,*" 1748, and "*Neue Nachrichten von Serveto,*" 1750; Trechsel, "*Mich. Servetus u. s. Vorgänger*"; Saisset, "*Mich. Servet*" ("*Rev. d. Deux Mondes,*" 1848); Tollin, "*Characterbild M. Servets,*" and "*D. Lehrsystem M. Servets*"; Willis, "Servetus and Calvin." Only two copies of the original edition of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*" are known to exist; but an exact reprint was published in 1790.

tronomy, and geography ; trained in law at the University of Toulouse, where also he devoted considerable attention to theology and especially to biblical studies, he seems to have turned against the Catholic faith before he entered the court of Charles V., as secretary of Quintana, the emperor's confessor (1529). In this latter capacity he traveled widely in Italy and Germany, getting an inside view of ecclesiastical corruption and coming into close contact with several of the leading Reformers. He was present at the Diet of Augsburg (1530). Leaving the imperial court shortly afterward he visited Basel, where he was much with Œcolampadius, with whom he discussed the Trinity, the person of Christ, etc. Early in 1531 he published at Basel and Strasburg his "Errors of the Trinity." While in Strasburg he became acquainted with Bucer, Capito, and others.

From a youth of twenty his first work is remarkable for learning and argumentative power. It was sharply criticised by the leading theologians (Luther, Bucer, Melanchthon, etc.), and its author was generally regarded as a dangerous heretic. Yet Melanchthon and Capito were free to confess that the doctrine of the Trinity involved very grave difficulties and the former thought it unprofitable to inquire too curiously into the ideas and differences of the divine persons.

In 1532 he entered the University of Paris under a new name (Villeneuve). Here he studied with great zeal mathematics, physics, and medicine. In 1534 he came in contact with John Calvin, who had recently embraced the Protestant faith. The two compared views and were on the point of holding a public disputation ; but Servetus thought it more prudent to break the engagement. The next two years (1534–1536) he spent at Lyons, where he edited Ptolemy's geographical works (1535) and published a number of medical and astrological tracts. Returning to Paris in 1536 he soon secured the degrees of M. A. and M. D., and was able to offer courses of lectures on Ptolemy's geography and on astrology.

He is said to have derived considerable income from the casting of horoscopes. In 1538, he was charged by the medical faculty with violating the statutes by lecturing on and practising divination. He was ordered to withdraw from circulation his astrological works and to avoid in his lectures all illegal phases of astrological lore.

He left Paris soon afterward and after a short residence at Charlieu, he settled at Vienne, where he enjoyed the protection of the archbishop, a former fellow-student. Here he was engaged chiefly in literary work, bringing out a new edition of Ptolemy (1541) and an annotated edition of Pagnini's Latin Bible, in which he made constant use of the Hebrew language and showed himself a biblical critic of no mean order (1542).

By 1541 he seems to have reached the conviction that baptism, which he called the laver of regeneration, should not be received until the thirtieth year, after the example of Christ. Before this age "no one is a fit recipient of that which gives the kingdom of heaven to man."

In his "Restitution of Christianity" (1553) he says: "Pedobaptism is a detestable abomination, an extinction of the Holy Spirit in the soul of man, a dissolution of the Church of Christ, a confusion of the whole Christian faith, an innovation whereby Christ is set aside and his kingdom trodden under foot. Woe to you, ye baptizers of infancy, for ye close the kingdom of heaven against mankind —the kingdom of heaven into which ye neither enter yourselves, nor suffer others to enter—woe! woe!" He stigmatized infant baptism as "a figment of Satan," "a figment of antichrist," etc.

He laid so much stress upon believers' baptism as to insist that of two catechumens, the one receiving baptism and the other dying without it, the former would be saved and the latter lost; yet he regarded personal faith as an indispensable prerequisite to valid baptism. His idea of the act of baptism was that the candidate should kneel in the water and the administrator should pour water upon his head.

His view of the Supper involved the sharpest condemnation of the Papal, Lutheran, and Calvinistic. His theory is not easy to define, being tinged with his pantheistic mode of thought, and some of his expressions seeming to involve a doctrine of the real presence, resembling the Lutheran.

From 1546 to 1553 he carried on a correspondence with Calvin wherein he irritated the great theologian beyond measure by his harsh criticism and his raising of difficult questions. Despairing of removing his difficulties Calvin at last sent him a copy of his "Institutes" as a full statement of his views. Servetus returned it annotated with the most ill-natured criticisms. "There is hardly a page," wrote Calvin, "that is not defiled by his

vomit." In 1533, he published his greatest and last work "*Christianismi Restitutio.*"

The introduction begins: "The task we have set ourselves here is truly sublime; for it is no less than to make God known in his substantial manifestation by the word and his divine communication by the Spirit, both comprised in Christ, through whom alone do we learn how the divineness of the word and the Spirit may be apprehended in man. . . It is high time that the door leading to knowledge of this time were opened; for otherwise no one can either know God truly, read the Scriptures aright, or be a Christian." His invocation to Christ is eloquent and devout: "O Christ Jesus, Son of God, Thou Who wast given to us from heaven, Thou Who in Thyself makest Deity visibly manifest, I, Thy servant, now proclaim Thee, that so great a manifestation may be made known to all. Grant, then, to thy petitioner Thy good Spirit and Thy effectual Speech; guide Thou his mind and his pen that he may worthily declare the glory of Thy Divinity. . . The cause indeed is Thine, for by a certain divine impulse it is that I am led to speak of Thy glory from the Father. In former days did I begin to treat of this, and again do I enter upon it; for now am I to be made known to all the pious; now truly are the days complete, as appears from the certainty of the thing itself and the visible signs of the times. The light, Thou hast said, is not to be hidden; so woe to me if I do not evangelize."

As it was Servetus' teachings regarding the Godhead and his Christology that furnished the chief ground for his condemnation as a heretic, it seems important that this aspect of his teaching be somewhat carefully set forth. It may be premised that his reverence for the Scriptures was unbounded. From the invocation quoted above (and similar utterances abound) it is evident that it was far from his intention to dishonor or degrade Jesus, whom he recognized as in the fullest sense Lord and Saviour. That the divine Logos was in the beginning, was with God, and was God, he believed with all his heart; and that the Logos became flesh in the Person of Christ and wrought atonement for sinful man, was the ground of his hope and trust. He differed from the orthodox theologians of the Nicene and following ages in denying emphatically that the preincarnate Logos was Son of God. Sonship began when Jesus was begotten of Mary by the Holy Spirit.

There is a strong pantheistic strain in his discussion of the Godhead, the neo-Platonic and Arabic-Jewish philosophy being at the

basis of his conceptions. Father, Son, and Spirit are simply manifestations of Godhead under various conditions and for various purposes. As already suggested, he heartily believed in the supernatural birth, resurrection, ascension, and glorification of Jesus, the Messiah, to whom all power in heaven and on earth have been given and upon whom we are absolutely dependent for eternal life.

It was the fanatical zeal with which he urged his own dogmas as exclusively Christian and denounced those of his opponents as utterly absurd and destructive of Christianity, that caused him to be regarded as a pestilential heretic worthy only of the flames. The current trinitarian doctrine he denounced as a "three-headed Cerberus," and its advocates, as the enemies of Christ.

When we remember that Calvin, in consistency with his theocratic ideas, was intolerant on principle, and take into account the pertinacity with which Servetus had for years pressed upon him his erratic views and denounced him as a hypocrite, a disciple of antichrist, and a propagator of the most dangerous errors, it is not much to be wondered at that when he received a complimentary copy of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*" he should have felt prompted to put even the Roman Catholic authorities in the way of seizing the abominated author, or that when Servetus, with an infatuation hard to be explained, came to Geneva, Calvin should have used his influence to secure his arrest, condemnation, and execution.

It is not improbable that Servetus had hoped by secret negotiations to secure such support from Calvin's opponents as would lead to his overthrow and make Geneva a suitable field for the propagation of his own views. As a matter of fact, few even of Calvin's most bitter opponents felt themselves at one with Servetus or cared to put forth effort to save him from his fate.

On October 27, 1553, having with rare courage refused to withdraw his objectionable teachings, he was burned at the stake along with his books. After writhing in the flames for half an hour, he cried aloud, "Jesus, thou Son of the eternal God, have compassion upon me!" and gave up the ghost. The leading Reformers of Germany and Switzerland heartily commended Calvin and the Genevan Council for ridding the world of one who was regarded as an arch-enemy of the truth.

c. The Italian Anabaptists. Northern Italy had been a center of old evangelical life and thought during the mediæval time. Humanism had blended therewith for the production of a type of religious liberalism out of which anti-trinitarian anti-pedobaptism might readily arise. In 1546, or earlier, we meet with a college or club of freethinkers at Vicenza, in the republic of Venice. Luther's writings had been widely circulated among educated Italian liberals, but so far as we know had produced no Italian Lutherans. The writings of the Swiss Reformers met with greater acceptance, but few Italians were able to accept fully and permanently even this more humanistic type of Protestantism. Owing to their mental idiosyncrasies and their intellectual and spiritual antecedents, there seems to have been an irresistible tendency among Italian anti-Catholic thinkers toward still more radical modes of thought.

Among the earliest and ablest of the Italian radicals was Camillo Renato, who in a controversy with the Zwinglian Meinardo repudiated baptism received "under the pope and antichrist" and denied that infant baptism was in accord with "the doctrine of the gospel." He laid great emphasis on regeneration, which transforms our nature and constitutes us children of God and heirs of eternal life. He labored with zeal over a wide territory during the years 1542–1545. Of still more importance was Tiziano, whom we first meet as a zealous propagandist of radical views about 1547 or 1548. He is said to have insisted on believers' baptism, rejected magistracy, maintained the symbolical and memorial nature of the sacraments, exalted the Scriptures as supremely authoritative, and denounced the Roman Church as anti-Christian and devilish.

By 1550 forty or more Anti-pedobaptist churches in northern Italy and the contiguous parts of Switzerland and Austria were in fellowship and enjoyed the periodical visitations of a general superintendent. At this time a convention was called to settle the question "whether Christ is God or man." About sixty delegates, two being the limit for each church, assembled at Venice. Among them were Tiziano, Iseppo of Asola, Manelfi, Celio Secundo Curio, Francesco Negri, Hieronimo Buzano

(an ex-abbot), and a number of others who were to become famous liberal leaders. Thrice during the meeting the Lord's Supper was solemnly celebrated. The Old and New Testament Scriptures were accepted as the fundamental authority. The members seemed deeply concerned to get at the exact truth. Yet their conclusions were as remote from evangelical orthodoxy as we can well conceive.

According to Manelfi, who afterward returned to the Roman Church and betrayed his brethren to the Inquisition, the conference reached the following conclusions: (1) Christ is not God but man, begotten by Joseph of Mary, but full of all divine powers. (2) Mary afterward bore other sons and daughters. (3) There are no angels as a special class of beings; where Scripture speaks of angels, it means servants—that is, men sent by God for definite purposes. (4) There is only one devil, namely, human prudence. By the serpent who, according to Moses' account, seduced Eve, nothing else than this is to be understood. (5) The godless are not to be awakened at the last day, but only the elect, whose Head Christ has been. (6) There is no other hell than the grave. (7) If the elect die, they slumber till the day of judgment, when they shall all be awakened. (8) The souls of the godless pass into dissolution with their bodies just as in the case of the beasts. (9) Human seed has from God the capacity to propagate flesh and spirit. (10) The elect are justified through God's eternal mercy and love, without any sort of external work, that is, without the merit, blood, and death of Christ.

Manelfi, who as a zealous itinerant preacher was thoroughly acquainted with the ministers and churches of the connection and with their manner of work and devices for concealment, put all of his information at the disposal of the Inquisition (1551). The Italian congregations were all dispersed. Many were seized and executed. Others fled to Moravia and Poland.

Among those who found their home among the Moravian Anabaptists were Giulio Gherlandi, who had been educated for the Catholic priesthood and had been converted to Anti-pedobaptist views, and Francesco della Saga, who had been educated at the University of Padua and had been converted by a pious artisan. Both of these able men had been cured of their anti-trinitarian errors by their association with the Moravians, and were sent by their brethren as missionaries to warn their Italian friends against "that pestilential error," denial of the deity of Christ, and to invite them to migrate to Moravia. On Gherlandi's second visit (1559), he was seized by the officers of the Inquisition, bearing on his person lists of the Anti-pedobaptists in the various communities where they survived.

This led to the arrest and punishment of many of the unhappy people. Gherlandi was condemned to death by drowning (October, 1562). His confession of faith constitutes one of the best statements we have of soundly evangelical Anabaptist teaching. Francesco della Saga was arrested on a similar mission in 1562. His confession and his letters to his brethren in Moravia and to members of his own family are also in harmony with the highest and purest type of Anabaptist teaching. He was condemned to drowning in 1565.

d. Polish Anabaptists. Italy and Poland, though geographically remote from each other, were closely associated in religious life and thought. The Hussite movement had exerted a strong influence in Poland, and many of the nobles were tolerant and evangelically disposed. Many highly educated Italian freethinkers found protection and employment there. Lutherans, Reformed, Bohemian Brethren, Anabaptists, and anti-trinitarians existed in considerable numbers, and each party had its special favorers among the nobility. Lælius Socinus, a highly-educated Italian noble, who had been closely associated with Camillo Renato and was himself suspected of Anti-pedobaptist views, gave a great impulse to the anti-trinitarian movement in Poland (c. 1555). Peter Gonesius, a Pole, who had studied at Wittenberg and in Switzerland, returned to Poland about this time and zealously propagated his views. He denounced the Nicene and Athanasian creeds as human fictions and denied the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. In 1558 he sought to convince the Reformed synod that infant baptism is neither scriptural, ancient, Christian, nor reasonable.[1] His views met with wide acceptance among nobles and ministers. His chief supporter in the propagation of Anti-pedobaptist views was Martin Czechowitz, who wrote a valuable polemic against infant baptism. The most influential propagator of the anti-trinitarian side of Gonesius' teaching was George Biandrata. Among the most zealous of the anti-trinitarian Anabaptist leaders was Gregorius Paulus, of Cracow.

John a Lasco charges Gregorius Paulus not only with thundering against God's essence and trinity, but as madly denying "that infants ought to be admitted to baptism as the fountain of life and the

[1] Foch, "*Der Socinianismus*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 143, *seq.*

door of the church," and insisting on believers' baptism. After instructing them in his principles, "he leads them to the river and immerses them." The same writer distinguishes between the religious condition of Greater Poland, where the "Waldensian Brethren" are resisting heresy, and Lesser Poland, where anti-trinitarianism and Anti-pedobaptism were prevalent.

By 1574 the anti-trinitarian party had become strong and well organized in Poland and Siebenbürgen, and a catechism was set forth in which baptism is restricted to believers and is defined as

> The immersion in water and the emersion of a person who believes the gospel and repents, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or in the name of Christ only, whereby he publicly professes that by the grace of God the Father, in the blood of Christ, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, he is washed of all his sins, in order that being inserted into the body of Christ he may mortify the old Adam and be transformed into that heavenly Adam, with the assurance that after the resurrection he will attain to eternal life.[1]

Faustus Socinus (b. 1539), the great theological leader of the anti-trinitarians of Poland, denied that the ordinance of baptism was of perpetual obligation, and refusing to submit to believers' baptism, lived during most of his career outside of the fellowship of the churches that in other respects embodied his teachings. Yet in the Racovian Catechism (composed about 1590, first issued in 1605), in whose preparation he had a large share, baptism is defined to be

> A rite of initiation whereby men, after admitting his doctrine and embracing faith in him, are bound to Christ and planted among his disciples, or in his church; renouncing the world, with its manners and errors, and professing that they have for their sole leader and master in religion, and in the whole of their lives and conversations, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who spoke by the apostles; declaring, and, as it were, representing by their very ablution, immersion, and emersion, that they design to rid themselves of the pollution of their sins, to bury themselves with Christ, and therefore to die with him, and rise again to newness of life; binding themselves down in order that they may do this in reality; and at the same time, after making this profession and laying themselves under this obligation, receiving the symbol and the sign of the remission of their sins and so far receiving the remission itself. . . It does not pertain to infants, since we have in the Scriptures no command for, nor any example of, infant baptism, nor are they as yet

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[1] Foch, "*Der Socinianismus*," *Seit.* 152, *seq.*

capable, as the thing itself shows, of the faith in Christ which ought to precede this rite and which men profess by this rite.

In answer to the question: "What, then, is to be thought of those who baptize infants?"

You cannot correctly say that they baptize infants. For they do not baptize them—since this cannot be done without the immersion and ablution of the whole body in water; whereas they only lightly sprinkle their heads—this rite being not only erroneously applied to infants, but also through this mistake evidently changed.

Yet the authors of the catechism were not disposed to make the rejection of infant baptism a term of communion.

Nevertheless, Christian charity incites us, until the truth shall more and more appear, to tolerate this error now so inveterate and common, especially as it concerns a ritual observance in persons who, in other respects, live piously and do not persecute those who renounce this error.

VI. THE CALVINISTIC REFORMATION.

LITERATURE: Calvin's Works (best edition that of Baum, Cunitz, Reuss, Lobstein, and Erickson, Braunschweig, 1863 onward. About sixty volumes have appeared, and the work is still in progress); works in English in fifty-three volumes, Edinburgh; Bonnet, "*Lettres de J. Calvin*" (also Eng. transl.); Herminjard, "*Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les Pays de Langue française*," 1866 onward (nine volumes have appeared, embracing correspondence to 1544); "*Mémoires et Documents de la Soc. d'Hist. et d'Archeol. de Genève*"; Farel's Works; "*Bulletin de l'Histoire du Protest. France*"; Beza, "Life of Calvin"; Henry, "*Das Leben J. Calvins*" (English trans. with Documents omitted. This is a very important work, but possibly too appreciative); Geffcken, "Ch. and State"; Dyer, "Life of J. Calvin"; Willis, "Calvin and Servetus"; Baum, "*Th. Beza*"; D'Aubigné, "Hist. of the Reformation in the Time of Calvin"; Guizot, "St. Louis and Calvin"; Baird, "A Hist. of the Rise of the Huguenots of France"; Cunningham, "Reformers and Theology of the Reformation"; Schaff, "Hist. of the Christian Church," Vol. VII., pp. 223–882 (this is the best work of the author, and constitutes one of the most complete and most trustworthy accounts of the movement); Roget, "*Hist. du Peuple de Genève depuis la Réforme jusqu'a l'Escadade*," seven volumes, 1870–1883; Doumergue, "*Jean Calvin, les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps*" (splendid illustrated work in five volumes, still appearing); Buisson, "*Seb. Castellio*," two volumes, 1892; Zahn, "*Studien über J. Calvin*," 1894; Cornelius, "*Historische Arbeiten*," *Sect.* 105–557; articles on Calvin, Farel, Viret, Geneva, etc., in Lichtenberger, Hauck-Herzog, and Schaff-Herzog; Hagen-

bach, "History of the Reformation"; Galli, "*Die Luther. u. Calvin. Kirchenstrafen*"; Kampschulte, "*J. Calvin's Kirche u. seine Staat in Genf*"; Tissot, "*Les Relations entre l'Eglise et l'Etat a Genève au Temps de Calvin*"; Stähelin, "*J. Calvin; Leben u. Ausgewälte Schriften*," 1863.

1. *Characteristics of the Calvinistic Reformation.*

The Calvinistic Reformation may be regarded (1) as a continuation of Zwinglianism; (2) as a gathering up of the vital elements of Zwinglianism and Lutheranism with a tendency and design to mediate between the two and to unite the Protestant forces; (3) as in many respects an original movement.

Calvin, beginning his work at Geneva (1536), had the benefit of nearly twenty years of Protestant experience and prestige. Had his ability been no greater than that of Zwingli and Luther, he might yet have been expected to improve upon their reformatory efforts.

(1) Though he built upon Zwinglian foundations, Calvin was far from being a Zwinglian. He had little esteem for Zwingli—much for Luther. Zwingli was liberalistic, humanistic, Erasmic. His theology was not Augustinian. On election, original sin, baptismal regeneration, the salvation of pious heathen, etc., Zwingli fell far short of the Augustinian-Calvinistic rigor. Zwingli had not scrupled to carry on his reformation in subserviency to the civil authorities. Calvin rejected such subserviency unconditionally. The church must not only not be dependent on the State, it must rule the State.

(2) Partly consciously, partly unconsciously, Calvinism was a mediation between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism—as on the Lord's Supper, the chief point of dispute between the two parties. Zwinglianism had never been highly popular, and had lost much in territory and vigor; Lutheranism was becoming more and more dogmatic and intolerant. Calvinism soon regained what Zwinglianism had lost, and made important inroads upon Lutheran and Roman Catholic territory, winning over Melanchthon, the great scholar of Lutheranism, and extending its influence, not only throughout Protestant Germany, the Netherlands, and England, but into Roman Catholic France, Scotland, etc.

(3) Calvinism had the following advantages over Lutheranism and Zwinglianism:

a. As compared with Lutheranism, (*a*) It was more thoroughly evangelical, being hampered by no ecclesiastical realism; (*b*) it was far more consistent in its theology and its church polity; (*c*) Christian life was emphasized more, and the hundreds of young men that went forth from Calvin's training were filled with a spirit of self-sacrifice and evangelical zeal unknown among Wittenberg students; (*d*) Calvinism was less national and more catholic in spirit than Lutheranism; (*e*) Calvinism respected and utilized, while Lutheranism and Zwinglianism drove forth, in the form of Anabaptism, etc., most of the intense religious zeal developed through its influence.

b. As compared with Zwinglianism, (*a*) It had an incomparably greater leader; (*b*) whereas Zwinglianism put itself into a polemical attitude toward Lutheranism, Calvinism was irenical in its tendency; (*c*) the religious earnestness and moral rigor of Calvinism shine forth as conspicuously in comparison with Zwinglianism as in comparison with Lutheranism; (*d*) Calvinism carried out thoroughly what was only feebly attempted by Zwinglianism and not at all by Lutheranism—church discipline.

(4) It is well to bear in mind that these differences are due not exclusively to Calvin's mental and moral superiority, but almost as much to circumstances of time and place. The political condition and the geographical situation of Geneva were most favorable for the success of Calvin's experiment, yet only Calvin could have succeeded there.

2. *Characterization of John Calvin.*

A Frenchman by birth and education, yet early brought into relations to Swiss and German Protestant thought; educated in Roman law and thereby trained for his task of organizing Protestant doctrine and ecclesiastical life; not deficient in philological learning; aristocratical by nature and training; fitted to be a leader of men, not by his powers of working upon the emotions, but rather by his ability to appeal to the moral and intellec-

tual faculties ; self-sacrificing in the highest degree, yet believing firmly that his cause was identical with the cause of God, and therefore absolutely uncompromising and almost despotical in carrying out what he supposed loyalty to his trust required, he could not have failed of eminence in any community that should tolerate his activity. He combined moral earnestness, learning, analytical power, and practical organizing and administrative ability in a degree unapproached by any other Protestant leader.

3. *Sketch of Calvin till his Settlement in Geneva* (*1536*).

(1) *To his Conversion* (*1533*). John Calvin was born in 1509, at Noyon, in Picardy. His father was secretary to a bishop and was thus in a situation to secure the education and the promotion of his son ; yet he was a man of marked independence of character, and because of his opposition to the ecclesiastical corruptions of the time incurred censure in 1528, and died excommunicated in 1531.

When twelve years of age John was given an ecclesiastical benefice, and two years later he was sent to Paris to study classics and philosophy. His admirable success in his studies led to his appointment, in 1527, to an important curacy. Up to this time he was ardently attached to papal superstitions.

Before 1529 Calvin had come somewhat under the influence of the German Reformation. In 1529 he went to Orleans, and afterward to Bourges, to study law. At these institutions he had not only rare facilities for the study of Roman law, but, under the learned German Wolmar, an opportunity to read Homer, Demosthenes, and the Greek New Testament. Whether the division of his time and interest between theology and law was due to his growing dissatisfaction with the current theology and ecclesiasticism, or to his desire for a distinguished career as an ecclesiastical statesman, for which law was as important as theology, we have no means of determining. Whether the humanist Wolmar was a Lutheran in sympathy and exerted a direct influence upon Calvin in favor of evangelical religion, is also a question that research has so far failed to solve.

It was at this period that he became deeply interested in classical literature. He progressed so rapidly in his studies that he soon came to be regarded by his teachers more in the light of a colleague than in that of a pupil, and he was frequently called upon to supply their places. From 1530 onward he became more and more absorbed in religious matters, so that he gradually laid aside his legal studies and became a recognized leader in the university of all who had a yearning for the true doctrine. In 1531, after his father's death, Calvin went to Paris, where he devoted himself to theological and philological pursuits. In 1532 he published an annotated edition of Seneca's "De Clementia," orginally addressed to Nero. There is some reason to believe that Calvin's aim in editing this work was, in part, to induce Francis I. to greater leniency toward Protestants.

The work contains no distinctively Protestant teaching, but is characterized by a profound moral quality that relates it to evangelical thought and life.

(2) *The Conversion and Early Evangelical Labors of Calvin.* In 1533, on All Saints' Day, Nicolas Cop, rector of the University of Paris, delivered before the members of the university an address strongly Protestant. Great indignation was aroused and Cop fled for his life.

According to a somewhat late tradition (Colladon, 1565, adopted late in life by Beza) Cop's address was composed by Calvin, and the fact having become known, the latter was also compelled to leave Paris. The latest researches have failed to give full confirmation to the tradition. It is probable, however, that Calvin gave some assistance to Cop in the preparation of the address and was known to be on intimate terms with him. That he should have found it advisable to leave the city in consequence of the anti-evangelical zeal aroused by Cop's address, can be easily understood apart from the supposition of his participation in its authorship.

In May, 1534, Calvin returned to Noyon, resigned his ecclesiastical benefices, and was thrown into prison as an apostate from the faith. How he escaped we are not informed. On his release he made his way to Angoulême, where he enjoyed the protection of Margaret of Navarre, sister of King Francis I., who throughout her life took a deep interest in Calvin and his work. Here he was the

guest of Canon Louis du Tillet, whose library he employed to good advantage. While residing at Angoulême he visited Nerac, where he met Faber Stapulensis, the Humanistic reformer, and Poitiers, where he met the evangelically disposed Pierre de la Place, with whom he "discoursed magnificently concerning the knowledge of God." It is probable that he began at Angoulême his "*Institutio.*"

The conversion of Calvin has been the subject of a number of recent learned monographs (by Lecoultre, Lafranc, and Lang), but the data are so meagre that assured results seem unattainable. Beza attributes his awakening to his cousin Robert Olivetan, a fellow-townsman, who left France for Geneva as early as 1533 and who published in 1535 a French translation of the Bible. It seems almost certain that Olivetan's influence was at least one of the factors in Calvin's reluctant acceptance of the new faith. Others suppose that his intercourse with Wolmar at Bourges was the decisive factor in his experience. We know little of Wolmar's views, but it is highly probable that as a Humanist his influence helped at least to free his pupil from the fetters of popery and to encourage independent searching for truth. His reverence for the church long prevented him from accepting evangelical teaching. "Offended by its novelty," he wrote to Cardinal Sadolet some years later, "I could hardly be persuaded to listen to it, I resisted it strenuously and with animosity." In the preface to his "Commentary on the Psalms" he speaks of his conversion as "sudden." The fact seems to be, that for some years he had been earnestly considering the great question of his personal relation to Christ and truth, that he failed utterly to find lasting satisfaction in the Roman Catholic system, and that at last (probably early in 1534) he suddenly made up his mind to yield to the truth that he had been strenuously resisting and at once found complete satisfaction and was ready to devote his life wholly to its promulgation. The saving truths of the gospel thus shaped themselves in his mind: "Faith lies in a knowledge of God and Christ, not in reverence for the church. Faith is situated not in ignorance, but in knowledge, a knowledge not only of God, but of the divine will. For we do not obtain salvation on the ground that we are prepared to embrace as truth whatever the church shall have prescribed . . ; but when we recognize that God the Father is propitious to us by the reconciliation made through Christ, that Christ has truly been given for us as righteousness and life" ("*Institutio.*" *Lib.* II., *C. II.*). On the supposition that Calvin wrote Cop's address, Lang, the most recent monographist, by a comparison of the address with contemporary writings reaches the conclusion that he was greatly influenced by both Erasmus and Luther, the Prolegomena to the Greek New Testament by the former and one of Luther's sermons having been largely drawn upon by the writer of the address.

Calvin might have labored quietly in Paris, where he again took up his abode, during the summer or early autumn of 1534, had not Feret, a Protestant fanatic, brought frightful persecution on the

evangelical party by placarding the city with copies of a tract on "The Horrible, Great, Intolerable Abuses of the Popish Mass." Large numbers were thrown into prison. Six Protestants were horribly tortured and burned, January 29, 1535, after a day of solemn festivities for the purgation of the city. Before May 5 twenty-four had died at the stake for their faith, and many more had suffered terribly in body and estate. Among those who fled were Calvin and Du Tillet. They made their way to Strasburg, where they were hospitably entertained by Bucer. About January, 1535, Calvin reached Basel, where he remained till about March, 1536, when the "*Christianæ Religionis Institutio*," issued from the press. This work was afterward expanded to three-fold its original dimensions and greatly improved; but the first edition is itself a masterpiece, and placed the youth of twenty-seven in the foremost rank of the theological thinkers of the ages. It was dedicated to King Francis I., and its chief aim was to exhibit Protestantism in its true light to the French court, with a view to securing toleration for Protestantism in France.

Leaving Basel, he visited the court of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara (Italy), daughter of Louis XII., of France. Renée was an ardent Protestant, and gave protection and support to many persecuted adherents of the new faith. Finding it impracticable, at present, to labor for the spread of the gospel in his native France, Calvin decided to take up his abode in Germany. Passing through Geneva, on his way thither, he was pressed into service by Farel, who had been chiefly instrumental in introducing Protestantism into Geneva. Here Calvin soon became the acknowledged leader of the Protestants, and devoted himself zealously to the popular expounding of the Scriptures, to theological teaching, and to the enforcing of a rigid system of discipline.

4. *Geneva and the Reformation.*

(1) *Geneva's Struggle for Independence.* Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel, the French cantons of Switzerland, had made little progress in reform before the reverses that befell German evangelical Switzerland (1531). Geneva was in a few years to become the stronghold of Protestantism, not only for Switzerland, but for the world, "the Protestant Rome." A diminutive territory, comprising only one hundred and nine square miles, it had been governed conjointly by a bishop and a count. Charles III. of Savoy, with the aid of a bishop whose appointment he had secured, attempted the subjugation of the city; but the patriots led by Berthelier, Hughes, and Bonivard, and aided by the German cantons, gained their independence (1526). An alliance was formed with Bern and Freiburg which the citizens of Geneva heartily approved, shouting "The Swiss and liberty." The

bishop strove in vain to re-establish his authority, appealing to pope and emperor, and cultivating the minority in the city that disapproved of the new *régime*. He gave up the struggle in 1536.

(2) *Farel and Viret.* The patriotic party was not avowedly Protestant. It was civil and religious liberty and not evangelical religion for which Berthelier and his associates fought so heroically; but the overthrow of episcopal authority and defiance of the pope himself prepared the way for an evangelical propaganda, and William Farel and Paul Viret were soon on the ground organizing the anti-Catholic element of the population into a vigorous evangelical community. Freiburg, being Catholic, withdrew from the alliance. Bern had formally adopted the Reformation and used all of her influence to secure the triumph of the new faith in Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel.

Farel (b. in Dauphiné, 1489) had studied Greek and Hebrew under Faber Stapulensis, and had proceeded to his M. A. degree in the University of Paris (1517). For some time he engaged in evangelical labors under the evangelically disposed Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux (1521–1523); but he proved too aggressive for the bishop and was compelled to leave. He labored for a while at Gap, where he brought four of his own brothers to a knowledge of the truth. Finding his life in danger he fled to Basel, where he entered zealously into the contest with Rome and did much to promote the reformation of the city. OEcolampadius wrote to Luther that Farel was capable of afflicting, if not of destroying, the whole Sorbonne. His drastic methods, and especially his denunciation of Erasmus as a coward and a Balaam, led to his expulsion. After spending some months in Strasburg with Bucer and Capito and journeying as an evangelist, he settled for a while in the canton of Vaud, then subject to Bern, where he taught and preached, arousing violent opposition. From 1528 onward he labored with consuming zeal as an evangelist throughout French Switzerland, having been specially commissioned thereunto by the Bernese authorities, Bern having just formally entered the Protestant ranks. Farel was frequently remonstrated with by OEcolampadius, Zwingli, and others, because of his immoderate zeal and the violent quality of his reformatory efforts, but to little effect. He several times suffered severely at the hands of his enraged opponents and his life was sometimes imperiled. His greatest triumph was at Neuchâtel, where under the protection of Bern he secured access to the principal church (October, 1530) and was instrumental in turning many throughout the canton and the adjoining districts to the new faith. In 1532 he visited the Waldensian valleys and strongly influenced the old evangelical Christians there in favor of his type of teaching.

On his return he visited Geneva, where a revolution had just occurred, resulting in the repudiation by the city of the authority of the bishop and its friendly subjection to Bern because of its aid against Savoy. On June 30, the Council of Two Hundred had required of all incumbents the preaching of the pure gospel in the churches and monasteries. Farel arrived in October and began preaching at his lodgings to large numbers of visitors. In company with Robert Olivetan (Calvin's cousin referred to previously) he was cited before the ecclesiastical tribunal, where he defended himself nobly and narrowly escaped assassination, the musket aimed at him having exploded in the hands of the would-be murderer. He was ordered to leave the city in three hours. He barely escaped violence as he was withdrawing. He was able to return in March, 1533, under the protection of Bern. The bishop prohibited the hearing of preachers not licensed by himself and ordered the burning of all Bibles to be found in the city. Furbity, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was sent to counteract Farel's influence. A disputation between the two (January 29, 1534) resulted in favor of the evangelical cause, which from this time onward made rapid progress. Farel had been joined by Peter Viret and Antoine Froment, the former a native of Vaud, who had been educated for the priesthood in Paris, the latter a fellow-countryman of Farel (Dauphiné) and one of his earliest converts.

In June, 1535, Farel held a disputation with Peter Caroli, which made so favorable an impression for the evangelical cause that St. Peter's cathedral was placed at Farel's disposal and soon afterward stripped of its idolatrous paraphernalia.

At the beginning of 1536 the Duke of Savoy made another effort to subdue the city. He was repulsed with the aid of Bern. This victory was immediately followed by the authoritative adoption of the evangelical faith for the entire canton, involving the exclusion of Roman Catholicism. Under Farel's guidance worship was reduced to almost apostolic simplicity and a rigorous church discipline was introduced.

An evangelical school was established, with Antoine Saunier at its head and attendance at schools outside the canton prohibited. Resorting to Catholic churches outside the canton was made criminal. All the inhabitants of suitable age were required to attend regularly the Sunday services. Unchastity and gaming were made penal offenses.

Farel felt sorely the need of strong helpers. Viret's services were required at Lausanne. Fabri, who had aided him, had gone to labor in Savoy. It seemed to him providential that just at this juncture John Calvin, whose "Institutes" published a few months before had shown him to be a young man of marked ability, reached Geneva on his way to Strasburg. Once in the hands of the strong-willed, ardent reformer, who with prophetic fervor besought him to remain and declared that God's curse would rest upon him if he should turn his back

upon this great opportunity for service, Calvin felt himself powerless to resist and accepted Farel's invitation as the voice of God.

5. *Calvin in Geneva till his Banishment (May 26, 1538).*

Calvin arrived at Geneva late in July, 1536. After a short visit to Basel, he took up his work in August, not as chief pastor but as teacher and preacher. With the good-will of Farel and the authorities, and without any striving for ascendency on his part, he was in a few months, by reason of his masterful ability as a theologian and an ecclesiastical statesman, the recognized leader of the canton in spiritual things. For the first half-year he received scarcely any salary. Farel had grown more prudent with advancing age and he was glad now to put forward his younger colleagues, Calvin and Viret, to bear the brunt of the controversies that arose.[1] Calvin took part, not very prominently, in the synods of Lausanne and Bern (October, 1536).

(1) *Scheme of Church Order.* In November Farel presented to the council a new system of church order in the preparation of which Calvin had had the leading part.

It provided for the excommunication of the incorrigible, to be followed by the infliction of civil penalties. A preference is expressed for frequent celebration of the Supper (weekly or oftener), after the example of the primitive church; but monthly communion has been decided upon as best for the present, on the ground that frequency might lead to contempt of the ordinance. The guarding of the Supper from desecration by the unworthy was to form the ground for the exercise of discipline. All were required to offer themselves for the communion and only the worthy were to be admitted. Those rejected were by this fact placed under discipline and were obliged to qualify themselves for worthy participation or to incur excommunication with its heavy civil penalty. Persons of approved character were to be appointed in every quarter of the city to observe and report upon moral and religious delinquencies. As many enemies of the gospel were known to be in the community steps should be taken to ascertain who were on the Lord's side by compelling each individual to make a confession of his faith. Provision is made for instruction of children and for the regulation of marital matters. This scheme of the ministers was approved by the council in January, 1537. It involved the establishment of a theocratic government in Geneva, that was to assume a more definite and more rigorous form at a later date.

[1] See letter to Capito, May 5, 1537, in Herminjard, *Tom.* V., p. 439.

(2) *An Authoritative Catechism.* It was felt by the ministers that the process of testing the faith of the people would be greatly facilitated by the use of a concise statement of orthodox doctrine to be subscribed or rejected. It fell to Calvin to prepare a catechism for the instruction of the young and an extract from the catechism became the standard by which the entire population was to be theologically judged.

On April 17 the council ordered the district censors and others to make a house to house visitation for reading the confession and securing its acceptance or rejection. Farel and Calvin were impatient of the delay and lack of thoroughness in the execution of the order, which no doubt involved grave difficulties because of widespread and influential opposition to the measure. They were joined by the zealous blind preacher Courault in still further pressing the matter. Some of those entrusted with the execution of the order lacked courage or zeal, and these had to be sifted and tested. Calvin and the ministers afterward proposed that the people be required to assemble by districts at St. Peter's Church and to swear to the confession. This recommendation was adopted by the council (July 29) and large numbers obeyed the order, but many refused to appear.

(3) *Opposition to the Rigorous Measures of Farel and Calvin.* The infliction of severe penalties upon parents for refusal to send their children to school, upon a keeper of a gaming house, and upon a milliner for decorating a bride in an unseemly manner, aroused popular indignation to an alarming extent. But the ministers would hear of no compromise with evil. Their system of discipline and doctrine must be carried out without modification, though the heavens fall. To yield in the slightest degree involved unfaithfulness to the divine requirements and could only bring divine judgment.

To harass Calvin and Farel, rather than from zeal for othodoxy, Peter Caroli, a doctor of the Sorbonne who had professed conversion to the new faith, married and settled at Lausanne, but who proved wholly untrustworthy and finally returned to the Roman Catholic communion, preferred a charge of Arianism against the authors of the confession at a synod in Lausanne (May, 1537). The ground of his charge was the avoidance of the terms "Trinity" and "Person." He demanded that they should sign the Athanasian creed with its damnatory clauses, which they refused to do. They were able to vindicate themselves, however, by handing in a satisfactory statement on the Trinity and Caroli was censured for calumny and declared unworthy of the evangelical ministry.

Anabaptists were to the front here as elsewhere. After a disputa-

tion they were perpetually banished on penalty of death in case they returned (March 19, 1537).

The Genevese had been struggling for years, at great sacrifice, for civil and religious liberty, and now to be brought under the galling yoke of a theocracy, with three foreign preachers as the dictators, seemed unendurable to many. In September all who had failed to swear to the confession were required to do so on pain of banishment. On October 30, Calvin again appeared before the council to urge the immediate execution of the order for the banishment of all who had refused to swear to the confession. The council gave fresh orders for the completion of the work and when many still refused, especially those on the German street, and when one of the censors was maltreated, a decree of banishment was issued by the Little Council (November 12) and approved by the Great Council (November 14). This proceeding precipitated a crisis.

The opposition, led by Jean Philippe, called a general assembly of the citizens. The council attempted to forestall this independent movement by summoning a general assembly for November 25, and asking for a vote of confidence. The vote of confidence was refused, and Jean Philippe proposed the appointment of a committee of twenty-five for hearing grievances, insisting that the council is not the master but the servant of the people, to whom all authority ultimately belongs. The council saw that its authority was at an end. It had also become manifest that Bern strongly disapproved of the iconoclastic and drastic measures that had been adopted by the council at the instigation of Farel and Calvin. Nothing further could be accomplished in the direction of compelling the people to swear to the confession.

(4) *The Liberals Triumphant and Supported by Bern.* A new election (February, 1538) resulted in the choice of four of the leaders of the liberal party, including Jean Philippe, as syndics, and an anti-clerical majority in the council.

The new council sought to introduce a more moderate type of Protestantism, like that of Bern. Courault was banished for his persistence in denouncing the new *régime*. Calvin denounced the council as the devil's own and refused to recognize its authority. On March 12 the council forbade the ministers to meddle with politics. During the same month a synod at Lausanne disapproved of the use of unleavened bread in the Supper by the Genevese, the abolition

of all church festivals but Sunday, and the setting aside of the baptismal fonts. The Bernese Council urged upon the Genevese conformity to the Bernese order in these matters. The order was given by the latter body, but treated with contempt by Calvin, who attached little importance to such differences, but would not be coerced.

Calvin and Farel found warm recognition and moral support in Bullinger, of Zürich, and Gynoræus, of Basel. It was Calvin's earnest desire at this time to secure the unification of the Swiss evangelical churches in doctrine and practice along the line of his own thinking, and he hoped to gain thereby for his Genevan theocracy sufficient outside support to enable him to overcome the machinations of the godless.

From this time onward the preachers were treated with contempt. Ribald songs in which they were lampooned were sung on the streets and before their very doors. A rumor of a project of putting Geneva under French protection and withdrawing from the alliance with Bern caused great commotion in the city and in the council. Stormy sessions of the council were held March 2 to 12, which resulted in the expulsion of those who were suspected of French leanings.

A general assembly of the citizens was held on March 10, which criticised severely the conduct of the syndics of the past year in ecclesiastical matters. On March 11 the Great Council, on motion of a representative of the assembly, ordered Calvin and Farel to cease meddling with politics and to preach the gospel. Calvin had denounced the assembly as an assembly of Satan because of its antagonism toward himself and his supporters. The council, pressed by Bernese emissaries, resolved (March 11) to adopt the Bernese church order in place of that of Farel and Calvin.

At the request of the Bernese Council Farel and Calvin were sent to a synod at Lausanne (March 28–April 4). They took no public part in the proceedings. Bern still insisted on the observance of four church festivals, the use of the baptismal stone, and the use of unleavened bread against the well-known wishes of the Genevan preachers. If the Bernese authorities had been conciliatory they might easily have averted the catastrophe in Geneva; but they resented the seeming obstinacy of Farel and Calvin, regarded them as enemies of Bernese ascendency, and were willing to play into the hands of their opponents in Geneva by seeking to force upon them practices that neither party made a matter of conscience or supposed to be enjoined or prohibited by Scripture, and which the Genevese preachers could not now introduce without great loss of dignity and prestige.

Calvin and Farel appealed to a joint synod of the Swiss churches to be held at Zürich, and sought the co-operation of Bucer and the Strasburg theologians. They would have been willing to submit to a decision of an ecclesiastical tribunal in regard to the ceremonies, but they could not consent to being coerced by the Bernese and Genevan Councils. On April 15 the Bernese Council urged the Genevan to carry out the decision regarding ceremonies reached at Lausanne. The latter held a meeting on the nineteenth and decided that on the following (Easter) Sunday the Supper should be celebrated according to the Bernese form. Calvin and Farel begged that the matter be deferred till after the proposed meeting of theo-

logians at Zürich. Calvin, Farel, and de la Mere resolutely refused to celebrate the Supper in the Bernese way. Courault had been prohibited from further preaching on account of intemperate language recently used. The other three preachers, on refusal to obey the order of the council, were now ordered to discontinue their ministry. The council sought to secure from abroad ministers to carry out their wishes on Easter Sunday. They failed, and Courault, Calvin, and Farel all appeared in their places to preach but not to administer the ordinance. Courault was thrown into prison. Calvin and Farel preached amid great commotion and disorder. Many present were armed, and the voices of the preachers were drowned by the shouts of their opponents.

(5) *Deposition and Banishment of Farel and Calvin.* On Monday and Tuesday following (April 22 and 23), the Little Council, the Great Council, and the Council of Two Hundred met in St. Peter's, deposed Farel and Calvin, and ordered them to depart from the city in three days. Calvin replied: "So be it. It is better to serve God than man. If we had been serving men we should have been poorly rewarded, but we serve a great Lord who will reward us." Farel said: "I receive it from God's hand." They proceeded at once to Bern, and laying their case before the council (April 27), asked for its intervention.

The Bernese Council seemed deeply grieved because of the Genevan disturbances and the scandal to the evangelical cause involved, disclaimed any desire to force its ceremonies on the Genevans, and urged the Genevan Council to liberate the "poor, blind Courault," that they might not be entirely destitute of pastoral guidance. The latter body claimed that Calvin and Farel had distorted the facts, and sent messengers to Bern to present their view of the transactions.

Calvin and Farel next went to Zürich, where a synod of the evangelical churches of the confederacy was in session. They were kindly received and were allowed to present their case fully and to state the terms on which they would return to their work in Geneva. They were willing to conform in most points to the Bernese regulations, but they wished the Bernese to make a public declaration of the fact that they did not consider the Genevan practices unscriptural, and that the changes to be introduced were simply for the sake of uniformity and good order. They would return to Geneva only on condition that all calumnies circulated against them be pub-

licly withdrawn; that the number of ministers be increased; that the division of the city into parishes be carried out; and that district censors for reporting upon the conduct of the people, and excommunication for persistent violation of ecclesiastical regulations be restored.

The opinion of the brethren met at Zürich was that they were holy and learned men, but somewhat over-zealous, and that the evangelical cause not only in Geneva but throughout French Switzerland required the continuance of their labors. The synod was not in a position to take any definite action in the premises; but arranged for friendly negotiations with a view to the reconciliation of the Genevan parties.

Calvin and Farel returned to Bern, in pursuance of the advice of the synod, and at last yielded to the desire of the Bernese for uniformity in ceremonies; but their insistence on their system of discipline and their demands on the Genevans made reconciliation impracticable.

The decree of banishment was confirmed on May 26. They spent some weeks in Basel with Gynoræus, one of their most steadfast friends, awaiting the direction of Providence. Farel settled in July at Neuchâtel, where he had previously labored, having secured the consent of his constituents to the introduction of his system of discipline. Calvin two months later accepted Bucer's invitation to labor in Strasburg as minister to the French Protestant refugees and as theological teacher.

6. *Calvin's Strasburg Labors (1538–1541).*

Bucer, who had long been the chief minister in Strasburg, had for ten years been earnestly striving for the unification of Protestantism and in his efforts to harmonize the views of Lutherans and Zwinglians on the Supper had reached a mode of thought very similar to that of Calvin. Strasburg had by this time become one of the cities of refuge for persecuted French Protestants. What more natural than that he should invite the banished Genevan leader to join him in his work?

Besides preaching to the French congregation and lecturing on the Bible Calvin found much leisure for literary work. He rewrote and enlarged three-fold his "Institutes," with a view to making it suitable for a text-book for theological students and an introduction to Scripture study (1539). His great "Commentary on Romans" speedily followed. During the same year he married Idelette von Buren, widow of an Anabaptist whom he had convinced of his errors (?). He was in deep poverty, receiving nothing for his labors during the first few months and afterward a pittance of fifty guilders a year for his lectures; yet he refused to receive gratuities from his friends elsewhere, preferring to sell his library and to take student boarders. At Stras-

burg he came to know and appreciate Lutherans, and entered into friendly correspondence with Luther himself. He found time also amid his engrossing labors to work out in detail a scheme of church order, which he afterward had an opportunity to put into practice in Geneva. His reply to Cardinal Sadoleto, who was seeking to win Geneva back to the Catholic faith, was written during his stay in Strasburg.

7. *Geneva During the Absence of Calvin.*

(1) *Weakness of the New Government.* The factious spirit that led to the banishment of Calvin, Farel, and Courault increased rather than diminished after their departure. New ministers were procured through the help of the Bernese, but they were weak men and accepted their positions with the understanding that they would be entirely subservient to the magistracy. The Bernese church order was introduced in its entirety. The moral regulations that had been adopted at the instance of Farel and Calvin were still retained, but were little regarded.

The partisans of Farel and Calvin treated the ministers and the administration in general with contempt and refused to attend the church services. Farel from the beginning, and Calvin later, encouraged their friends in their insubordination, holding that they (Farel and Calvin) were the rightful ministers, that those in office were intruders, and that the party in power were the "godless." In March, 1539, representatives of Geneva, sent to Bern for the final settlement of questions at issue between the two cantons, renounced all claim to independence, and yielded almost absolute sovereignty to the Bernese, involving complete control in religious matters. This action seems to have been due to a desire to secure the help of Bern in crushing the opposition.

(2) *Catholic Aggression.* The perturbed state of Geneva led the Roman Catholic bishop to renew his efforts at reestablishing his authority. On his behalf Cardinal Sadoleto wrote a very friendly letter to the Genevese, in which he sought to prove the superiority of Catholicism to Protestantism and invited them to return to the old faith. The Genevan preachers felt incapable of answering this adroit polemic and the friends of Calvin urged him to reply.

(3) *Calvin Answers Sadoleto.* He consented and his answer is a masterpiece. A considerable number of the Genevans were still Catholics at heart and some of them

no doubt participated in the effort for the re-introduction of the mass. The authorities arraigned the suspects and required them to answer categorically whether they regarded the mass as good or bad. The surrender of the rights of the canton by the party in power and the necessity of looking to the banished Calvin for the guarding of the city from Catholic aggression greatly weakened the hands of the enemies of Farel and Calvin and greatly strengthened those of their friends. Those who had been chiefly concerned in treacherously signing away the liberties of the city were banished for a hundred and one years. Jean Philippe was beheaded. Two of the new ministers found their positions untenable and left the city.

(4) *Calvin Urged to Return to Geneva.* The council, now Calvinistic in sentiment, sent a deputation with Ami Perrin, one of his former antagonists, at its head, to urge him to return at once and aid in the restoration of civil and religious order. Calvin was not easily moved. He had at first entered upon his Genevan career with great reluctance. He had retired from his position even more reluctantly. Bucer had to warn him of the danger of becoming a Jonah and fighting against the divine will before he could be induced to take up the work in Strasburg. Now a return to Geneva seemed to him equivalent to crucifixion. He had rather die once for all than to enter upon a perpetual martyrdom there. No place in the world was more dreadful to him. He felt that if he returned he must carry out his theocratic idea in the face of all opposition and of death itself. He could not return simply as a preacher. He must take the leadership in the reorganization and government of the city as a theocracy. But the logic of the situation was irresistible and his decision to return was a foregone conclusion.

Calvin's opponents had utterly failed to pacify the city and to prevent anarchy. His friends now in control felt that he alone could give to the city the religio-political government that they desired. He was in a position to dictate terms and he would be content with no half-way measures. A theocracy pure and simple, with the remorseless punishment even unto death of opponents of the theocracy and disseminators of false teachings, was his programme. He received an ovation when he entered the city (September 13, 1541).

He was presented with a costly coat, a liberal annual allowance of wine and wheat was granted him, and an extraordinarily large stipend was provided in order that he might be free to practise hospitality on a liberal scale. From what we know of Calvin's unselfishness we may be sure that these provisions were purely spontaneous. The Strasburg preachers congratulated the Genevan on having secured the services of "that elect and incomparable instrument of God, by whose side our time has scarcely a second worthy to be placed, if indeed a second to him can be spoken of at all." The Strasburgers had come to recognize him as the foremost theologian and ecclesiastical statesman of their own time and every other, and they were not far astray.

8. *The Genevan Theocracy (1541 onward).*

Never did a man come to his life-work with a fuller realization of the difficulties and the responsibilities involved or with a more resolute determination to carry out, regardless of consequences, what he believed the will of God required, than did Calvin. He had not the slightest misgivings as to the absolute correctness and the sole validity of his own particular schemes of Christian doctrine and of church government. All who set themselves in radical opposition to the one or the other were under the guidance of Satan, were out of the pale of salvation, and deserved no consideration at the hands of the faithful. Gentleness toward such would be "cruel humanity" (*crudelis humanitas*).

His absolute intolerance was a result not of a desire to take vengeance on his enemies or to rid himself of those who stood in his way, but rather of a deep-seated conviction that fidelity to God required their punishment. For a Christian minister or a Christian magistrate to allow heretics to disseminate their errors was as inexcusable as it would be to allow miscreants to spread contagion. The example of the faithful, God-approved kings of the Old Testament time, who remorselessly suppressed idolatry and destroyed its votaries, was constantly before him, while that of the careless kings who allowed idolatry to run riot and brought upon themselves thereby the divine displeasure he held up as a warning against the toleration of error. As a thoroughgoing theocrat, Calvin was necessarily and on principle a persecutor. Luther was such by force of circumstances and because of his intolerant disposition, against his clearly-expressed convictions in earlier times; persecution was the logical outcome of Calvin's most cherished convictions. Like Farel, he felt that if he should teach error and persist in it he would deserve to die. He meted out to others what he felt he would have others mete out to him under similar circumstances.

Immediately on his arrival his "Ecclesiastical Ordinances" were submitted to the council. Six members were appointed to go over the document with him. Calvin made some concessions by way of diminishing the absoluteness of ecclesiastical authority in the matter of discipline, the control of the schools, and the appointment and dismission of ministers; but with slight modifications the scheme was adopted (November, 1541). Soon afterward he was entrusted with the task of drawing up a civil code for the city. His legal learning stood him well in stead, and he wrought out a system which was the counterpart of his ecclesiastical ordinances. Thus he was the lawgiver of the community, not because of his own desire to be such, but because the dominant party in the city wished to have it so.

The government of the church was vested in a consistory composed of six ministers and twelve lay elders. Two of the latter were chosen from the Little Council and ten from the Council of Two Hundred. These elders were nominated by the ministers, and before they were allowed to take their seats their names were published, to give opportunity for charges of unworthiness. The general assembly of burgesses had a veto on their appointment. According to the rules the meetings of the consistory were to be presided over by one of the syndics, but Calvin soon became permanent president. This consistory assembled every Thursday, and had jurisdiction over blasphemers, drunkards, fornicators, brawlers, dancers, dancing-masters, disseminators of heresy, absentees from divine service, those acting disrespectfully toward church or clergy, etc. The penalties imposed by the consistory extended no further than to excommunication. Those that were guilty of grave offenses, and were obdurate, were handed over to the council for punishment.

In the Genevan system there were four classes of ecclesiastical officers: *Ministers* or preachers, elected by the college of ministers and approved by the council, the people also having theoretically the right to object; *elders*, chosen as above, whose business it was to watch over the morals of all classes and, as members of the consistory (together with the six ministers), to exercise church discipline; *deacons*, whose office was to administer church charities and to look after the sick; *teachers* or *doctors*, who were to give instruction in Greek, Hebrew, and other branches of learning to students for the ministry.

As a standard of doctrine Calvin prepared (*c.* 1542) a new catechism (known as the "Genevan Catechism," one of the chief symbolical works of the Reformed Church). Next he prepared a liturgy ("Form of Pray-

ers and Ecclesiastical Songs with the Manner of Administering the Sacraments and Consecrating Marriage according to the Custom of the Ancient Church," 1542).

The forms of prayer did not exclude extemporaneous prayer on the part of the ministers. Psalm singing, which the Zwinglians had omitted, was provided for. Daily services in the churches, with suspension of business meanwhile, formed a feature of the scheme. Weekly discourses for adults, with the privilege of questioning and discussing, were arranged for Fridays. Calvin laid the utmost stress on church life as a means of developing and directing the life of the individual, and he subordinated the individual to the ecclesiastical community as much as the Roman law subordinated the individual to the State. "The church is our mother. This designation itself shows how useful and necessary it is to know her. For we cannot otherwise enter into life than if we are generated in her womb, nourished at her breasts, and kept under her guardianship and tutelage until, freed from this mortal body, we become like the angels. . . Accordingly God has, on the one hand, endowed the church with a teaching office instituted by himself to which believers are bound to render obedience; and, on the other hand, has bestowed upon her (the church) the duty and right to enact laws and to administer church discipline, because no society can exist without order and discipline." He compares doctrine with the soul and discipline with the nerves through which the different members are bound together and kept in order.

Calvin's theory of the relations of Church and State was quite in accord with the Genevan practice. He defines the local church as consisting of the whole body of clergy and laity who are of the same faith in fundamental points. Wherever the word of God is sincerely preached and heard, and the sacraments duly administered according to the institution of Christ, there no doubt is a church of God.[1]

He had to contend against the civil power which wanted to control the church, and the Libertines and the Anabaptists, who rejected absolutely any connection between Church and State. Most of his arguments are directed to showing that the church has the right and calling to exercise discipline not simply moral but also physical. The civil administration exists only for the defense of the church. It belongs to the State to carry out the regulations of the church, to prevent idolatry, sacrilege, heresy, etc., to take care that true religion is neither insulted nor injured, to defend the laws of the Two Tables. It has no right to enact laws concerning religion nor to interfere in matters purely ecclesiastical. Just as the Roman hierarchy had done long before, in its efforts to bring everything under the jurisdiction of canon law, Calvin virtually made every sin a crime, and so did not hesitate to make use of the civil power for the execution of church discipline. Calvin's view of the subordination of the civil power to the ecclesiastical does not appear to be radically different from the papal.

[1] "Inst," Vol. IV., Chap. I., § 9.

9. *Renewed Opposition to the Theocracy.*

The rigor with which Calvin's ordinances were executed soon called forth a storm of protest. No mercy was shown to the enemies of the theocracy. New methods of torture were introduced, and the obstinate were given to understand that unless they yielded, "They would end their days in such torment." A system of espionage was introduced to prevent secret transgression. Informers shared in the fines imposed, and the testimony of children against parents was freely received. During the years 1542 to 1546, fifty-eight executions occurred and seventy-six were banished. During the pestilence of 1545, thirty-four women were burned or quartered on suspicion of spreading the plague by magical means. The refusal of the preachers to minister in the pesthouse when ordered by the council to do so (1543), greatly strengthened the opposition.

Calvin's opponents may be divided into two classes: (1) The *spiritual libertines*, a large body of semi-pantheistic freethinkers, who became more and more embittered against Calvin and his ordinances. In 1545 Calvin wrote "Against the fantastic and furious sect of the Libertines who called themselves Spirituals." He attributes their origin to one Coppin, of Flanders (about 1530), and estimates their number at four thousand. That their teachings were blasphemous and utterly subversive of true religion and morality there can be no doubt.

(2) Of even more importance was the opposition of the *political libertines*, led by Pierre Ameaux, a distinguished citizen who refused to attend the services of the church or to conform with his family to the rigorous regulations regarding dress, amusements, etc. In spite of the fact that he and his wife lay in prison for violation of the ordinances, the Council of Two Hundred chose him to a position in the government. Calvin triumphed and Ameaux was led through the city barefooted and arrayed in his shirt, and was compelled to kneel on the public square and in a loud voice to ask forgiveness for his offense. This proceeding, as might have been expected, intensified his hatred of Calvin. The punishment of Ami Perrin (1546), for participating in a dance, made of this

former friend of Calvin and highly influential citizen, an inveterate enemy of the theocracy. The execution of Jacques Gruet (1547) still further intensified the opposition, and for a time Calvin's life was in danger. The Council of Two Hundred was equally divided between his supporters and his opponents, but by sheer force of character he again triumphed.

Calvin's position was greatly strengthened (1549–1554) by the inflow into Geneva of large companies of zealous and devoted followers from France and other parts of Europe, who sought refuge from persecution in this great evangelical center. Calvin was able to secure for them the rights of citizenship, and they in turn heartily supported him in his theocratic government. Within the time mentioned thirteen hundred and seventy-six foreigners settled in Geneva, and more than half this number became citizens. A final uprising against Calvin and his foreign supporters occurred in 1555, and resulted in the complete discomfiture of the opposition and the execution of some of its leaders. From this time until his death, in 1563, his authority was almost undisputed.

Calvin's relations to Servetus and his participation in his condemnation and execution have been sufficiently set forth in the account of Servetus.

10. *Calvin as a Controversialist.*

Reference has already been made to the local conflicts in which Calvin was engaged. It would have been impossible for a man of his energy of conviction, under circumstances like those under which he was placed, to have escaped controversy on the great questions that agitated the age.

As a polemical writer Calvin is infinitely more argumentative and less abusive than Luther, and yet even he occasionally lost his temper and indulged in unbecoming raillery. As he was the greatest systematic theologian and the greatest ecclesiastical statesman of his age, so also he was the greatest polemicist.

(1) *Calvin and Roman Catholics.* The "Institutes" as it is an apology for Protestantism so, necessarily, it is an attack on Roman Catholicism. Most of Calvin's

literary work was consciously aimed at tearing down Roman Catholicism as well as building up Protestantism. The following are some of the most decidedly anti-Romanist treatises:

a. The "Reply to Cardinal Sadolet's Letter." Calvin had been driven from Geneva, and the Romanists, seeing the Protestants without a leader, hoped to win them back. Calvin's reply is dignified and overwhelming.

b. The tract on "The Necessity of Reforming the Church," addressed to the Emperor Charles V. on the occasion of the Diet of Speier (1543). This is one of Calvin's most important treatises against the Roman Catholic system. The treatise was written in the name of the German Protestants, and the aim was to show that the Reformation was absolutely necessitated by the radical corruption of the church.

c. "An Admonition, showing the Advantages which Christendom might derive from an Inventory of Relics." This is conceived in a sarcastic spirit, and could not fail to convince the reader of the absurdity of relic worship, and of conscious imposture on the part of priests and monks.

d. "Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, with the Antidote." One by one the articles of the early sessions of the council are taken up and answered with consummate ability.

(2) *Calvin and Extreme Lutherans.* The most noteworthy controversy under this head was that with Westphal, of Hamburg. In 1549, after many vain attempts, the Zürich and Genevan churches, under Calvin's leadership, came to an agreement as to the sacraments. Luther was dead, and the peace-loving Melanchthon, having long been dissatisfied with Luther's rigor and in sympathy with Calvin's mediating position, was forming, quietly and secretly, a crypto-Calvinist party in Germany. Westphal, an extreme and intolerant Lutheran, made a fierce attack upon Calvin's view of the sacraments. This led Calvin into a somewhat prolonged controversy, in the course of which he wrote three treatises on the sacraments, in defense of the articles agreed upon by the churches of Zürich and Geneva.

Calvin held, in opposition to Zwingli, that "to deny that a true communication of Jesus Christ is presented to us in the Supper, is to render this holy sacrament frivolous and useless—an execrable blasphemy, unfit to be listened to"; that if the words of Christ (John 6 : 53), are "not to go for nothing, it follows that in order to have our life in Christ our souls must feed on his body and blood as their proper food."

In opposition to Luther he held "that the bread and the wine are visible signs, which represent to us the body and blood, but that the name and title of body and blood are given to them because they are, as it were, instruments by which the Lord distributes them to us." He denied the Lutheran doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's human body, by which the Lutherans easily explained their doctrine of the real presence, and he maintained that the body and blood of Christ are partaken of only spiritually, by faith.

(3) *Calvin and Religious Freethinkers.* Calvin's fiercest theological conflicts were with impugners of what he regarded as fundamental doctrines: Servetus, Castellio, Bolsec, the Anabaptists, the Socinians, etc. The Roman Catholics were organized and respectable, as were also the Lutherans, with whom he was at variance only on a few minor points. But disorganizing heresy he could not away with, and he soon decided that the only efficient argument against it was the fagot or the sword. Many of the Anabaptists Calvin was enabled to win over by argument, the earnestness of Calvin and the rigorous discipline which he introduced commending him to them.

The most notorious controversy under this head was that with Michael Servetus. Servetus, a Spaniard, one of the most learned and most acute men of his time, no less decided in his convictions of religious truth than Calvin, and even more polemically inclined, was, from 1534 onward, a source of considerable annoyance to Calvin. The important facts relating to this controversy have been given in an earlier section. Calvin's views regarding the Trinity, the person of Christ, and baptism, the chief points at issue between him and Servetus, have been so fully perpetuated in the great Reformed churches that they are sufficiently familiar.

Mention should be made of Calvin's controversy with Sebastian Castellio, an Italian humanist, who had come into close relations with him at Strasburg (1540), and who had been appointed through his influence as professor and preacher in Geneva. Castellio enjoyed the distinction of being the only member of the Genevan clergy who would minister at the pesthouse in 1543. As early as 1544 he attacked Calvin's doctrine of election and shocked him by describing the Song of Solomon as an erotic poem unworthy of a place in the canon. Taken to task for such teachings, he charged the Genevan clergy with pride, avarice, and worldliness. Driven from his position he betook himself to Basel where, in deep poverty, he engaged in important literary labors, including a new Latin translation of the Bible. In 1552 he was appointed to a professorship in the university, which he held till his death, in 1563. One of his most important works was "The Opinions of Learned Men concerning Heretics, whether They Should be Persecuted" (1560). It is a powerful plea for liberty of conscience. He declares that Christ would be a Moloch, or some such god, if he desired to have men sacrificed to him and burned alive. He also wrote "Against Calvin's Little Book, in which he endeavors to show that Heretics ought to be coerced by the Right of the Sword," but this was not published until 1612.

Castellio had much in common with the Socinians and may be regarded as a forerunner of the Arminians. Like most of the Italian Humanists who embraced Protestantism, he revolted against the harsher aspects of Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrine. It will not be necessary to define particularly Calvin's attitude on the questions at issue between himself and Castellio.

Of a somewhat similar nature was Calvin's controversy with Jerome Bolsec, a French Protestant physician who had settled in the neighborhood of Geneva under the patronage of a Calvinistic noble. In 1551 he attacked Calvin's doctrine of predestination in the congregation, where all had the right to propound questions and join in the discussion. Calvin was at great pains to defend this doctrine on the basis of the Scriptures and the writings of Augustine. Bolsec, refusing to be convinced, was thrown into prison.

Banished from the city he was persistent in his attacks on Calvin and the Genevan theocracy, and he made the most of the scandal involved in the execution of Servetus. Bolsec finally returned to the Carmellite order of monks which he had deserted and devoted the rest of his life to writing against the reformers. He died about 1584.

II. *Calvinism in France: The Huguenots.*

LITERATURE: See Beza, "*Histoire des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France*"; Quick, "*Synodicon in Gallia Reformata. . .* Acts . . . of the Seven Last National Synods of the Reformed Churches in France," 1692; "*Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*," 1853–1865; Herminjard, "*Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les Pays de Langue Française*," 1866–1893; Soldan, "*Gesch. d. Protestantismus in Frankreich*," 1855; Baird, "History of the Rise of the Huguenots in France," 2 vols., 1879, "The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre," 2 vols., 1886, "The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," 2 vols., 1896 (these six volumes constitute by far the best account of French Protestantism in English); Heath, "The Reformation in France," 2 vols., 1886–1888; Lives of Coligny by Tessier (1872), Delaborde (1879–1882), Besant (1894), and Bersier (1884); Lichtenberger, "*Encyclopedie*," articles on "*France Protestante*" and on leading characters and principal events; and Hauck-Herzog, third ed., on chief characters and events.

(1) *Condition of France at the Beginning of the Reformation.* The course of the Reformation in France, as in other countries, depended largely upon the political, social, and religious condition of the population.

During the Middle Ages France was more independent of the papacy than any other European nation. Louis IX., although an earnest Catholic and a crusader, issued (1269) a Pragmatic Sanction against the "intolerable exactions of the Court of Rome." This furnished the basis for the "Liberties" of the French Church and the French king. Philip the Fair vanquished Boniface VIII., and captured the papacy (1305). "Gallicanism" came to be the technical name for a system of ecclesiastical polity in accordance with which councils are superior to popes, and the rights of national churches are recognized. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) confirmed the "Liberties" of the French Church.

By the close of the fifteenth century France had become thoroughly centralized. In 1439, at a meeting of the States General, the troops of the nobles, lawlessly paid, were disbanded and the right of maintaining a regu-

lar force limited to the king, who was thus enabled to attach to his court the nobles now incapable of private adventures. The common people were purposely kept unused to arms, and were heavily taxed for the maintenance of mercenary troops—Swiss, German, etc. The States General were no longer called together and the right to assemble had been almost forgotten. Parliament, which had formerly had considerable independent authority, was now almost completely subservient to the king.

In 1516 Francis I. had sold the "Liberties" of the Gallican Church, and had made a concordat with the pope in accordance with which ecclesiastical patronage and spoils were divided between king and pope. The pope was to have the right to collect annates and other revenues in France. The king was to have the right of nominating to the high ecclesiastical offices. There were in France at this time ten archbishoprics, eighty-three bishoprics, twenty-seven abbacies, and a large number of smaller foundations. Most of these were very heavily endowed. Nominations to these were sold by the king, and the highest offices were commonly purchased by influential nobles or bestowed upon them in reward of services past or prospective. During the time of Francis I. France had thirteen cardinals, who were commonly elected through royal influence, and who held numerous benefices in France. Five of these—the cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, Châtillon, Du Bellay, and Armagnac, were nobles of the highest rank. Most of the higher clergy were non-residents and the lower clergy followed the example of the higher in pleasure-seeking and idleness. The chief judicial offices, like the ecclesiastical, were sold to the highest bidders.

(2) *Hindrances and helps to the French Reformation. a. Hindrances.* Among the obstacles to reform in France we may mention: (*a*) The centralized condition of the government, whose financial interest lay so decidedly in the maintenance of the hierarchical church. The theory prevailed, moreover, among the French kings that a change of religion involves a change of rulers.

(*b*) The evils of this royal absolutism were enhanced by the fact that, after the death of Henry II. (1559) the

government fell into the hands of Catharine de Medici, one of the most unscrupulous women of history, trained in the school of Macchiavelli, and willing to sacrifice the lives of half her subjects if thereby some object of ambition could be attained. Just as unscrupulous and much more astute were the Guises (the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Cardinal of Guise, the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Aumales, the Marquis of Elbeuf, the Grand Prior of France), who had attained to great influence under Henry II., and who, partly as counselors and military leaders and partly as rivals of Catharine de Medici, controlled the government for a number of years (1559 onward). Possessing princely revenues from ecclesiastical benefices, they were ever rapacious, and their relentless inquisitorial proceedings against Protestants were prompted by the two-fold desire of maintaining the existing ecclesiastical order from which they derived their wealth and of confiscating the property of the persecuted. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (1572) is only an instance of what was going on almost constantly, on a smaller scale, for nearly fifty years.

(*c*) The influence of Philip II. of Spain, a bigoted Romanist and an earnest supporter of the Inquisition, was baneful to Protestantism. Having married a daughter of Catharine de Medici, he was able to exert much personal influence upon Catharine. He incited Catharine, her royal sons, and the Guises to the carrying out of an exterminating policy against the Protestants by promises of troops and money, and by threats of invasion in case Protestantism should be tolerated. He strove persistently to secure the full establishment of the Inquisition in France.

(*d*) The lower classes in France were ignorant and degraded, and were content with their condition. Calvinism presented to them not an attractive and an emancipating front as Lutheranism did to the German peasants; but it seemed to them rather austere and oppressive. Lutherans appealed to the lowest motives as well as to the highest, Calvinists only to the highest. Moreover, Calvinistic preaching was generally too abstruse to be appreciated by the illiterate. It may be safely laid down as a principle that the uneducated class, as a class, is

never won to the support of any cause except by the promise of outward amelioration. The priests were able, at almost any time, to stir up the populace to deeds of violence against the Protestants.

(*e*) The University of Paris, still highly influential, opposed Protestantism with all its might.

b. Helps. (*a*) The extreme corruption of the French clergy, and their scandalous negligence in the performance of the functions assigned them, favored Protestants in two ways: By creating in the minds of intelligent people a longing for reform, and by making it possible for Protestants long to labor unmolested in many places.

(*b*) Francis I. had generously promoted the new learning by founding a school of languages and by patronizing scholars. France contained a large class of intelligent people, and intelligence has generally been found favorable to Protestantism.

(*c*) As a matter of fact the intelligent people of France (belonging chiefly to the middle and upper classes) rapidly embraced Protestantism.

(*d*) A constant stream of zealous missionaries flowed from Geneva into France. The influence of Calvin, through these men, through his published writings, and through his letters to leading Protestants in France, is incalculable.

(*e*) Three noblewomen—Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I.; Jeanne d'Albret, her daughter and successor, and Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII.—were of great service to the Protestant cause in protecting its adherents and in winning over noblemen to Protestantism.

(*f*) The Bourbon family, "princes of the blood," were led, partly by conviction, and perhaps more by political considerations, to assume the leadership of the persecuted Protestants. Feeling that their rights had been invaded by the Guises, they had the most powerful political motives for striving to overthrow the government whose policy they were dictating. The influence of Jeanne d'Albret on her husband, Antoine de Bourbon, was considerable; but his weakness and pusillanimity probably injured as much as aided the Protestant cause. Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, was far

more valiant, and as counsellor and military leader did good service for the Protestant cause. Finally, Henry of Navarre, son of Antoine and Jeanne d'Albret, put himself at the head of the Protestant party, and, by rare military genius and political tact, succeeded, after the death of the last of the sons of Catharine de Medici, in winning the crown of France. He secured for the Protestants most of the rights they had so long struggled and suffered for, but showed his insincerity and his ingratitude in returning to the Roman Catholic Church, and thus making it almost certain that Romanism would regain the ascendency and crush out the new faith. The chief service of the Bourbons was to give legality to the Protestant revolt.

(*g*) The Châtillon family rendered very efficient service to Protestantism. The Cardinal Châtillon embraced the new faith and, while retaining his office, promoted Protestant preaching. He was finally excommunicated by the pope. The greatest military leader of the French Protestants was Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, "the noblest of all Frenchmen." For military genius, religious earnestness, moral courage, and complete devotion of self and all, he stands without a rival among the leaders of the sixteenth century. Francis d'Andelot, younger brother of the cardinal and the admiral, possessed, in a less degree, most of the virtues of the latter, and was a military leader of no mean ability.

(*h*) The influence of the Chancellor L'Hopital who, without declaring himself openly in favor of Protestantism, did all in his power to prevent illegal persecutions of Protestants, must not be overlooked.

(*i*) William of Orange, second only to Coligny in military ability and Christian heroism, found time to render some service to French Protestantism.

(*k*) Elizabeth of England aided the Protestant cause with money and with troops, yet by no means so liberally as might have been expected.

(3) *Course of Events until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. a. French Protestants before the Organization of the Party in 1559.* In 1525 a commission was appointed by Parliament to detect and to try Lutherans. Louis de Berquin, a man of high rank, of rare talent,

and great learning, who had become a Protestant in 1523, was the first victim of the commission. After repeated imprisonments and horrible tortures he was executed (1529). The effect of these proceedings was probably, on the whole, favorable to Protestantism. The Swiss and German Protestants, rulers and theologians, interceded for the persecuted brethren, but to little purpose. The massacre of the Waldenses (Vaudois) in Provence occurred in 1545. The learned and eloquent Anne du Bourg, a member of Parliament, boldly defended the Protestants in 1559. After imprisonment in the Bastile he died most heroically for the faith. This execution, more than that of Berquin, aided the Protestant cause. Thousands are supposed to have embraced the new religion in consequence.

b. French Protestants from the First National Synod (1559) till the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Persecution was raging almost constantly throughout France during the reign of Henry II. (1547–1559), and the victims might be numbered by thousands. Yet in 1559 representatives of about fifty Protestant churches could assemble in Paris, the center of persecution, for the purpose of completing the organization of their forces. They adopted a Calvinistic confession of faith and a system of church order based upon that of Calvin, but more congregational in character. The first article reads: "No church nor church-officer, be he minister, deacon, or elder, shall claim or exercise any jurisdiction over another." A system of synods was inaugurated, beginning with the consistory of each church, the pastor and elders, ascending to the provincial synod assembling twice a year, and finally to the national synod. No minister should be chosen by less than two or three ministers and their consistories, and to the people is accorded a right to object to the elect minister. Differences between pastors and pastors or officers and people are to be referred to the provincial synod. The national synod is the highest court of appeal.[1]

There are supposed to have been at this time in Normandy fifty thousand Protestants. In Brittany they were very numerous, and

[1] See Quick, "*Synodicon Gall. Ref.*" Lib. I.

assembled publicly, in large numbers, to hear preaching. Picardy was swarming with Protestants. La Brie had a large Protestant element. Protestants were gaining a foothold in Champagne and Bourgogne. In Poitou, Anjou, and Saintonge the new religion had early become firmly established. Guyenne, "Catholic in name, was Protestant in fact." Forty pastors were at work in Dauphiny, yet it was said that a thousand would not suffice. Quercy, Albegeois, Cevennes, Provence, and Languedoc were ready to embrace Protestantism. Sixty churches are said to have been in process of formation simultaneously in Provence, and many other bands of Protestants were only waiting for pastors to organize them into churches.

The death of Henry II., and the elevation of Catharine and the Guises to power (1559), led the Bourbons to put themselves at the head of the now strong and aggressive Protestant party. Protestants from various parts of France assembled at Nantes and formed a conspiracy for seizing and trying the Guises, and delivering the regency to the Bourbons. The conspiracy was betrayed and the "tumult" of Amboise resulted in a horrible massacre of Protestants (1560). Louis of Condé was arrested and condemned to death, but the Chancellor L'Hopital refused to sign the death warrant, and the young king, Francis II., dying (December 5, 1560), Catharine resolved to assume the regency, and, by the aid of Louis and Antoine of Bourbon, to throw off the Guises. For a time Catharine was gracious to the Protestants. A hearing was granted them, and Theo. Beza ably and eloquently defended the Protestants, and pleaded for toleration. The Huguenot leaders demanded not only toleration in religious matters, but also the abolition of certain religious orders, the exclusion from the king's council of foreigners (the Guises), and the partial confiscation of church property. The numbers of the Huguenots were multiplying, and they were daily becoming more and more aggressive. Through the defection of Antoine, and the influence of the Guises, the massacring of the Protestants was resumed (1562).

In April, 1562, the Huguenots, assembled at Orleans, resolved to take up arms. Three sanguinary religious wars follow each other in quick succession, the results in each instance being indecisive, and the Protestants making moderate terms of peace only to be betrayed by

Catharine and the Guises. The peace of St. Germain (August 8, 1570) gave the Protestants a limited liberty of worship outside of Paris and the right to challenge a certain number of judges in the Parliaments of Paris, Rouen, Dijon, Aix, Rennes, Grenoble, and Bordeaux. Moreover, four cities of refuge were entrusted to them for two years—La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité.

Coligny was invited to the royal court and treated with the utmost consideration. He soon gained, apparently, the ascendency over the feeble young king, Charles IX. A marriage was arranged between Henry of Navarre and the king's sister. Catharine finding that she was losing her influence, formed, with her son Henry and the Guises, a conspiracy for the assassination of Coligny.

Jeanne d'Albret, who opposed the marriage of her son to Margaret of Valois, died suddenly and mysteriously, possibly from poison, June 8, 1572. The marriage occurred August 18. Coligny was shot, not mortally, by a hired assassin, August 22. The details of the massacre were arranged by Catharine, her son Henry, the Duchess of Nemours, her son Henry of Guise, and her brother-in-law, the Duke of Aumale.

c. French Protestants from the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day till the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes (1572–1598). A large number of Huguenot nobles had, by invitation, come to Paris, on the occasion of the marriage of Henry of Navarre and the Princess Margaret. It was designed at first only to secure the assassination of Coligny. The shot not proving fatal, alarm seized upon the conspirators lest the king should avenge the attempt on the life of his favorite. Visiting the wounded Coligny, in company with his mother and brother, the king had a secret interview with Coligny, in which the latter warned him against the undue influence of Catharine and Henry. Charles, in a fit of passion, blurted out the substance of the conversation. Catharine and Henry resolved to make sure of Coligny's death. They succeeded, by false representations of the intentions and movements of the Protestants against the king, in working Charles into a desperate and frenzied state of mind. He now entered

passionately into the scheme, and the general massacre was agreed upon. The horrible details of the massacre, which occurred August 24, must be omitted. Coligny was slain, and with him hundreds of the noblest of the Huguenots. The number of victims throughout France was probably from twenty to fifty thousand. There was great rejoicing in the papal and Spanish courts.

The Protestants who escaped were soon reorganized and ready to strike another blow for freedom. Years of war and massacre followed. Three Henrys filled important places in the history of this period: Henry III., brother and successor of Charles IX.; Henry, Duke of Guise, member of the Spanish League, through whom Philip II., of Spain, distributed his ducats for the perpetuation of civil war in France, and himself an aspirant to the throne; and Henry of Navarre, after the death of Coligny the greatest military leader of the Huguenots. The authority of Henry of Guise becoming formidable through Spanish gold, the king secured his assassination, December, 1588. King Henry III. was himself assassinated, through the influence of the Spanish League, August, 1589. Henry of Navarre was now the most legitimate claimant of the crown. Yet he had to fight his way to it against the combined powers of Spain and Roman Catholic France. He received some aid from the struggling Netherlanders, from England, and from Germany. Finally he made terms with the pope (1593) and secured the allegiance of the papal party in France. His throne was now secure, but peace had not yet come.

Having by 1598 secured civil tranquillity, Henry now applied himself to the task of quieting the State ecclesiastic. The "Edict of Nantes" was directed to this end.

This edict, so far as it affected Protestants, contained the following provisions: Complete liberty of conscience; limited freedom to exercise the Reformed religion, *i. e.*, lords, gentlemen, and others, having the privilege of high justice, were to be permitted to hold religious exercises in their houses for their families, tenants, etc.; Protestant worship was to be permitted in all places where it was practised in 1596–1597, and where Protestants had a right to worship according to the Edict of Pacification (1577), and according to articles, etc., made at Nerac and Felix; in every bailiwick, seneschalship, and government depending immediately upon the royal courts of Parliament one place in the suburbs of one town was accorded to the Protestants

for public worship. Yet the Protestants were so hampered by restrictions that anything like peaceable aggressive work was impossible.

(4) *Concluding Remarks.* As a result of the forty years' struggle for religious liberty the French Protestants had become more a political than a religious party. Partisanship had taken the place of evangelical zeal. The laws, combined with the extreme antagonism of the two parties, put Protestant progress out of the question. The Romanists had all the means of aggression in their own hands. The Protestants could hope, at best, for nothing better than a gradual extinction. The Jesuits were at work here, as everywhere, and their diabolical principles were soon to work the ruin of their defenseless adversaries. Continuance in the enjoyment of the meagre provisions of the Edict of Nantes depended almost entirely on the will of the monarch. One by one the privileges of the Protestants were abridged, and their condidition became gradually more and more intolerable.

The Edict of Nismes (1629) partially restored the privileges, the withdrawal of which and the consequent persecutions of the Protestants had led again to civil war.

Persecution and oppression were soon renewed. Protestant children were taken from their parents to be brought up as Catholics; Protestants were made incapable of holding any office or preferment; spies were sent to their places of worship, and the slightest expression of dissatisfaction with the government was made a ground of imprisonment, etc.; extraordinary taxes were imposed upon Protestants, and their means of living were continually decreasing.

The revocation of the Edicts of Nantes and Nismes (1685) deprived the Protestants of all privileges and made it necessary to renounce the faith, suffer martyrdom, or flee the realm. Large numbers emigrated to England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and America. The number of emigrants has been variously estimated at from five hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand. Hundreds of thousands renounced the faith. Thousands suffered martyrdom. A small proportion remained secretly and were enabled, after the rigor of the persecution had somewhat abated, to reorganize their forces.[1]

[1] See on the French Protestants, Lichtenberger, "*Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses,*" esp. art. "*France Protestante.*"

12. *Calvinism in Scotland: The Scottish Reformation.*

LITERATURE: See on the Scottish Reformation: Knox's Works, ed. Laing; Spotswood, "History of the Church of Scotland"; Woodrow, "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland," ed. Burns; McCrie, "Sketches of Scottish Church History," "Life of John Knox," "Life of And. Melville"; Hetherington, "History of the Church of Scotland"; Calderwood, "The True History of the Church of Scotland"; Row, "Historie of the Kirk"; Howie, "Scots Worthies," ed. Carslaw; Lorimer, "Pat. Hamilton"; Burton, "History of Scotland"; Grub, "Eccl. Hist. of Scotland"; Stanley, "History of the Church of Scotland"; Rainey, "Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland"; Cunningham, "Church History of Scotland"; Brown, "John Knox," 2 vols., 1895–1896; Geffcken, "Church and State," Vol. I., p. 396, *seq.*; Sack, "*Die Kirche von Schottland*"; Gemberg, "*Die Schott. National Kirche*"; Rudloff, "*Gesch. d. Reform. in Schottland*"; and Lichtenberger, art. "*Ecosse.*"

The reformatory elements in the Scottish movement were essentially the same as in the French. Yet the results in the two cases were very different. The differences of results are due chiefly to three causes: difference of national characteristics, difference of internal political condition, difference of external political relations.

(1) *Condition of Scotland at the Beginning of the Reformation.* Scotland was first evangelized by British missionaries, and hence received Christianity in a comparatively free and pure form. For a long time nothing like diocesan episcopacy was known. During the latter half of the eleventh century, through the influence of Margaret, the intensely Roman Catholic wife of King Malcolm, and the retinue of Norman courtiers that followed her to Scotland, Pope Hildebrand was enabled strongly to impress the Roman type of Christianity upon the Scottish Church. The Culdees were replaced by secular clergy. Italian and French monasticism was introduced. The Scottish clergy had a prolonged struggle with the English archbishops who demanded their obedience.

From 1235 to 1314 the Scotch were engaged in a struggle for freedom from England. The victory of Bannockburn, due to the valor of Wallace and Bruce, resulted in Scottish independence (1314). The sturdiness and patriotism of the Scotch, remarkable before, were enhanced by these struggles and this victory.

In 1330 Robert Bruce, now king of Scotland, established a university on the model of the University of Paris. Already closely allied to France, Scotland became, from this time onward, so thoroughly Gallicanized that it came to be remarked, that if one would see France he must begin with Scotland. The intimate relations existing between Scotland and France, and the inveterate antagonism existing between Scotland and England, account for the fact that Scotland received reformatory impulses from the country of Calvin rather than from that of Cranmer.

The French pope and king had encouraged and aided the Scotch in their war of independence. The Roman Catholic sway in Scotland became complete, and the clergy and monks were as vicious and worthless here as anywhere in Europe.

The reformatory efforts of Wycliffe and Huss sensibly affected Scotland. In 1407 the Lollard preacher, John Resby, and in 1432 the Hussite Bohemian, Paul Crawer, were burned in Scotland for disseminating their anti-papal views. From this time onward a strong, but for the most part suppressed, sentiment in favor of reform prevailed in Scotland among all classes.

In 1494 thirty Lollards were seized at Kyle and examined by the Archbishop of Glasgow. They were charged with utterly repudiating the hierarchical church with all its non-scriptural and anti-scriptural doctrines and practices, insisting on the universal priesthood of believers, denying the lawfulness of oaths and warfare, and the right of kings to judge (in religious matters presumably). It can hardly be supposed that these vigorous evangelicals were alone in their protest against ecclesiastical corruptions and perversions.

(2) *Hindrances and Helps to the Scottish Reformation.* *a. Hindrances.* These were very slight as compared with the hindrances to the French Reformation. There was here no thoroughly centralized government, no Catharine de Medici, no controlling Guise influence, no subservient parliament, no University of Paris, no paramount Spanish influence, no degraded populace unused to war, no concordat with its cardinalates, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and abbacies to be conferred upon influential noblemen.

Most of the opposition to reform resulted from French influence, and especially from the influence of the Guises;

but the Guises had abundant occupation nearer home, and their designs upon Scotland were easily frustrated.

Of course a considerable amount of resistance was offered by the corrupt hierarchy, and by the ignorance and superstition of the people. But all these obstacles were sure to yield to the enthusiasm of a Knox.

b. Helps. (*a*) The power of the nobles was so great that the Romanizing sovereigns could not withstand a combination of these in an opposing cause. The Scottish nobles had little interest in the maintenance of the papacy, and much in its abolition. Here, as in Germany, the nobles were influenced in part by a desire to appropriate the church property.

(*b*) A spirit of independence existed among all classes of Scotchmen. This spirit, which had earlier taken a political direction, could easily be turned in opposition to ecclesiastical oppression.

(*c*) A large number of people had been under Lollard influence, and there was wanting only a little encouragement to induce a formidable manifestation of opposition to the hierarchy.

(*d*) This encouragement was afforded, from 1525 onward, by the writings of Luther, extensively circulated in Scotland; by the teachings and martyrdom (1528) of Patrick Hamilton, a man of princely lineage, thorough education, and magnificent devotion to the truth; and by the extensive circulation of Tyndale's English Bible.

(*e*) The Scotch had a leader who combined the enthusiasm and the popular power of Luther with the sternness and steadfastness of Calvin. Had the obstacles to reform been even greater than they were, we can but feel that John Knox would have overcome them. A patriot, a prophet, he could proclaim the truth as boldly in the presence of hostile kings as in the presence of peasants—and sovereigns, no less than peasants, were awed by the intensity of his convictions.

(*f*) The Scottish people showed the same sturdiness and tenacity of purpose, when once they had adopted Protestant principles, in their resistance to papal domination, as they had earlier shown in their struggle against English oppression. The "Covenant" was not a mere form of words. Its signers meant just what they said.

(3) *Characteristics of the Scottish Reformation. a. It was Calvinistic, i. e.*, it was a doctrinal rather than a political movement; it was thorough; it made much of church discipline; it exalted the Church above the State; it exalted the Scriptures and claimed to make them the only norm of faith and practice.

b. It Succeeded in Winning all Classes to its Support. The nobles were among the first to enroll themselves in its ranks and the common people were not long in discovering that Protestantism was best for them. A remarkable unanimity soon appeared among the Scotch in religious matters.

c. It was Democratic. The church order of the Scottish Church was, like that of the French Protestants, more democratic than that of Geneva. The right of the congregation to elect its own minister is distinctly recognized. The Kirk-session, or Consistory (ministers, elders, and deacons), met once a week; the Provincial Synod, twice a year; the General Assembly, once a year.

d. It was Educational. The Scottish reformers, like Calvin, laid great stress upon education, especially education in the languages and the interpretation of the Scriptures.

e. It was Exceedingly Intolerant. Like all other branches of the Reformation, except the Anabaptist and Socinian, Scottish Protestantism was exceedingly intolerant. Knox and his followers, like Calvin, believed that heresy ought to be promptly and violently suppressed, and so great was their energy of conviction that their practice was generally conformed to their theory. But their system was so well adapted to the needs of the people and the time that little Protestant dissent occurred in Scotland, and the Roman Catholic dissent was soon overcome.

(4) *Course of Events until the Complete Establishment of Protestantism. a. Scottish Protestantism Before the Appearance of Knox.* Patrick Hamilton, a man of royal lineage, was educated in the University of Paris (master's degree, 1520), where he studied scholastic theology, was brought under Erasmic influence, and learned something, doubtless, of Luther's reformation. He also studied at Louvaine, where he may have had personal intercourse with Erasmus. Returning to Scotland he became a student

in the University of St. Andrews (1523), and afterward a member of the faculty (1524). The act of Parliament against the circulation and reading of Luther's books (1525) may have led Hamilton to declare himself in favor of reform earlier than he would otherwise have done (1526). In 1527 he went to Wittenberg, and thence to Marburg. Here he probably met Tyndale and Frith, the English reformers. Especially influential on Hamilton's development was the earnest and spiritual Francis Lambert, an ex-Franciscan who had left his native France for Wittenberg, had been appointed to a professorship in the new University of Marburg (1526), and was to take a leading part in carrying out the reformation in Hesse. In the autumn of 1527 Hamilton returned to Scotland, full of missionary zeal, and resolved to devote himself to the reformation of his native land. His preaching and his theological teaching were ardent and earnest. He was soon accused before Archbishop Beaton, tried and condemned for heresy. His brother, Sir James Hamilton, and Duncan, Laird of Airdrie, attempted, with a small army, to rescue him, but failed. Having made a most earnest and effective address to the people, he died heroically at the stake, February, 1528.

Hamilton's influence called forth a number of other zealous preachers of noble birth, who likewise suffered for the faith. Many noble laymen were also aroused by his labors and sufferings to the necessity for reform. The powerful hierarchy and the priest-ridden king, James V., promptly and recklessly suppressed the earlier manifestations of dissent, but here, as elsewhere, persecution strengthened the cause of the persecuted. By 1540 a considerable number of lords, earls, barons, lairds, etc., had accepted the new faith. From this time onward the increase of Protestants was greatly accelerated, so that by 1543 "eighteen score noblemen and gentlemen" are said to have been "well-minded to God's word."

Next to Hamilton the most influential of Knox's precursors was George Wishart, brother of the Laird of Pittarrow, who, having been banished from Scotland for teaching the Greek language and for Protestant proclivities, spent some years in the University of Cambridge,

and returned in 1544 to preach the gospel to his fellow-countrymen. He is described as a man of Johannine loveliness and apostolic zeal. When not allowed to preach in the churches, he preached in the market-places and fields. Large numbers heard him and were convinced. John Knox, soon to become the leader of the Scottish Reformation, became devotedly attached to him and sometimes accompanied him on his preaching tours, sword in hand, to protect him from violence. Wishart was tried, condemned, and burned in March, 1546.

Cardinal Beaton, before whom Wishart was tried, was murdered soon afterward, probably through the influence of Wishart's friends. He was a most shameless and unscrupulous prelate. The martyrdom of Wishart gave a fresh impetus to the Protestant cause.

(5) *The Scottish Reformation under John Knox.* John Knox, born in 1505, educated at the University of St. Andrews, where he studied and taught scholastic philosophy, converted to Protestantism about 1542, labored quietly for the promotion of Protestantism for some time, but preached and taught boldly and effectively after the death of Wishart. Besieged and captured with other Protestants in the castle of St. Andrews by the French (1547), Knox became, and remained for nineteen months, a galley-slave. He endured his captivity heroically, his faith and his zeal suffering no abatement. Released from the galleys (1549) Knox repaired to England, where he labored in various ways for the Protestant cause until 1554. Driven from England by the persecuting zeal of Queen Mary (1554), he went to Dieppe, and thence to Geneva. He remained in Geneva for some months, going to Dieppe meanwhile to get intelligence of his persecuted brethren. In Geneva he became intimately acquainted with Calvin, carried forward his studies, and wrote his "Admonition to England," an exceedingly vehement and bitter denunciation of Mary and her husband and of the Emperor Charles V.

In September, 1554, at the earnest entreaty of the English exiles there and with Calvin's approval, Knox became pastor of an English congregation in Frankfort on the Main. Here difficulties arose as to the liturgy, and Knox was accused of treason in writing against the

emperor in the work mentioned above. He soon returned to Geneva, where he remained till July, 1555, when he set out for Scotland. Sustained by a number of noblemen, he labored zealously for nearly a year and prepared the way for his great reformatory work that was soon to follow.

In 1556 he received and accepted a call from the English congregation at Geneva. After his departure for Geneva he was condemned to death and burned in effigy by the prelates. He labored in Geneva for two years, never losing sight, however, of his native Scotland.

In March, 1557, he received an invitation to return to Scotland, signed by the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Loren, Lord Erskine, and Lord James Stewart, who assured him of protection and co-operation. He accepted the invitation, but the noblemen wavered and he found it impracticable to return.

In this and the following year he aided in making a new translation of the Bible (the Genevan version), and published a number of strong polemical tracts: "Letter to the Queen Regent"; "Appellation and Exhortation"; "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," etc.

In December, 1557, a large number of lords and chief gentry made the following covenant:

> We do promise before the majesty of God and his congregation that we, by his grace, shall, with all diligence, continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation; and shall labor at our possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers, and wairing of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power that does intend tyranny and trouble against the aforesaid congregation. Unto the which holy congregation we do join us; and also do renounce and forsake the congregation of Satan with all the superstitious abominations and idolatry thereof, etc.

The war with England, beginning 1556, gave considerable freedom to the Scottish Protestants. Knox's letters and his published writings, together with the martyrdom of an aged priest, Walter Milne (1558), led the Protestants to throw off all restraint.

Knox returned to Scotland in 1559, and preached with irresistible zeal throughout the realm. The people were wrought up by his preaching to the highest pitch of iconoclasm. Shrines, images, pictures, and religious houses were ruthlessly destroyed. Civil war ensued. The Protestants triumphed (July, 1560). Parliament, which soon afterward assembled, commissioned Knox and others to draw up a summary of doctrine. This they promptly did and the Confession was as promptly ratified. The articles are strictly Calvinistic, and served as a confessional standard until the Westminster Assembly set forth the same doctrines more elaborately (1647).

During this same year the Privy Council commissioned Knox and others to set down the heads of discipline. The result was "The First Book of Discipline."

This provided for the division of Scotland into ten dioceses, for the appointment of permanent officers of the church (pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons), and temporal officers (superintendents or evangelists, who were to travel from place to place and aid in organizing Protestant churches, visitors, and readers); for national, provincial, and congregational synods; for the application of church revenues to the endowment of institutions of learning; for the punishment of offenders, etc. The Book of Discipline was not fully ratified, partly because some objected to the excessive rigor of the discipline, and others to the disposition of church property.

The arrival of Queen Mary Stuart in Scotland (1561) encouraged the defeated papal party. Supported by Spain and France, but still more powerfully opposed by Elizabeth and the Protestant party in Scotland, she was obliged to abdicate (1567). In the same year Parliament declared the Reformed Church to be "the only true and holy kirk of Jesus Christ within this realm."

Protestantism was now triumphant in Scotland; but a struggle was soon to be inaugurated between Church and State. The church claimed judgment of true and false religion; election, examination, admission, suspension, and deprivation of church officers; all church discipline; judgment in ecclesiastical matters; excommunication, after admonition, of any that attempt to rob the kirk of the patrimony pertaining to the ministry, etc.; judgment in matters pertaining to marriage, divorce, etc.

The regency, on the other hand, was anxious to retain

control of church property with the prerogative of nominating to benefices. The regency appointed bishops. This proceeding the kirk resented and denounced as "high contempt of God." The bishops thus appointed were contemptuously called "Tulchan bishops."

Knox died in 1572, "the light and comfort of our kirk, and a pattern to ministers for holiness of life, soundness in doctrine, and courageous liberty in rebuking of persons of whatsoever rank." [1]

(6) *The Scottish Reformation under Melville until the Settlement of 1592.* Andrew Melville returned to Scotland in 1574, after an absence of ten years in Poitiers and Geneva, and soon took Knox's place in the struggle with the regency.

In 1578 a new Book of Polity was prepared (it was officially registered in 1581), in which the relations between Church and State are clearly defined; the claims of the State remained as above. The holding of civil offices by ministers is condemned.

In 1580 the General Assembly declared the office of bishop "unlawful in itself, as having neither foundament, ground, nor warrant in the word of God," and commanded all so-called bishops to desist from the exercise of their functions, on pain of excommunication.

In January, 1581, the king and his court were induced to subscribe a Confession of Faith involving the full recognition of the rights of the church, and to enforce subscription to the Confession on the part of subjects of all ranks. This document is known as "John Craig's Confession of Faith" and "The First National Covenant."

The king, as he came to feel more secure in his authority, grew more and more impatient of ecclesiastical restraint. His licentious courtiers, influenced in part by Jesuits (of whom a number were now secretly laboring in Scotland), in part by the rigor of the discipline of the kirk, and in part by the slenderness of the patronage that the king retained, persuaded him to resist the ecclesiastical tyranny.

In 1584 the famous "Black Acts" were passed by

[1] Calderwood.

Parliament, in which it was declared treasonable to decline the judgment of the king or his privy council, to impugn or seek to diminish the power and authority of parliament, or to censure the king or his council in private or public, in sermons or familiar conferences; all subjects were prohibited from convening any assembly except the ordinary courts, and from consulting or determining on any matter of State, civil or ecclesiastical, without special royal license; and provision was made for the royal appointment of bishops.

More than twenty ministers, and several lords, fled for their lives to England. Pestilence and tempests caused the people to cry out for the return of the banished lords. Elizabeth, moreover, gave them aid and encouragement, and they returned, armed for resistance (1585). James thought it best to yield to the demands of the lords and the people, and now made some concessions to the kirk. In 1592 occurred the settlement in which nearly all of its claims were confirmed to the kirk.

13. *Calvinism in the Netherlands.*

LITERATURE: See Brandt, "The History of the Reformation in and about the Low Countries," 4 vols., 1720; Prescott, "History of Philip II."; Motley, "Rise of the Dutch Republic," "History of the United Netherlands," "Life and Death of John of Barneveld"; Moll, "*Kirchengesch. d. Niederlanden*," 1895; Hansen, "The Reformed Church in the Netherlands," 1884; de Hoop-Scheffer, "*Gesch. d. Ref. in d. Niederlanden*," 1886; Blok, "History of the People of the Netherlands" (Eng. tr.), 1898.

As a part of the hereditary possessions of Charles V., the Netherlands were carefully guarded against the encroachments of Protestantism. The first martyrs to the evangelical faith during the Reformation time were two Augustinian friars, Henrik Voes and Jan Esch, burned at Brussels July 1, 1523. Luther wrote a hymn in their honor. Few parts of Europe had been more profoundly affected by mediæval heresy of various types. Along with Waldensianism and evangelical mysticism, the teachings of the Brethren of the Common Life, the teachings of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and other less wholesome forms of dissent, had been widely diffused. Humanism, under the influence of Erasmus,

had gained a firm foothold. Lutheranism and Zwinglianism early found a considerable number of adherents, but were so bitterly antagonistic as largely to neutralize each other. Both yielded (1529 onward) to the great popular Anabaptist propaganda, led first by Hofmann, then by Matthys, and later by Menno. Up to 1553 the Mennonites were by far the most numerous and influential of the evangelical parties. From this time onward the mighty evangelizing influence of Calvinism began to make itself felt. From 1553 to 1558 large numbers of English Protestants, who were Calvinistic in faith, took refuge in the Netherlands from the persecution of Mary and greatly furthered the Calvinistic cause.

During the later years of Charles V., under the regency of his sister Maria, a considerable measure of toleration prevailed. Philip II. (1555 onward) had been trained by the Jesuits to abominate Protestantism and to subordinate all other interests to its extermination. He began by creating fourteen new dioceses for the more complete ecclesiastical administration of the provinces. In 1559 he committed the regency to his sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, with Anton Granvella as her chief counsellor. Granvella's administration so exasperated the nobles that he had to be recalled (1564). The political opposition and the Calvinistic propaganda were by this time united against Spanish oppression. Philip required the unconditional exclusion of heresy and acceptance of Catholicism as defined by the Council of Trent. Placards against heretics were posted throughout the country and the Inquisition was about to be established.

In 1556 a league was formed by the Calvinistic nobles for the purpose of resisting Philip's exterminating measures, and the Calvinistic consistories united in an ecclesiastical league. The league of nobles and the league of consistories formally united forces on December 1, 1556. Their rebellious demonstration was suppressed by Margaret's troops.

Early in 1567 the Duke of Alva, with a Spanish army, entered upon his work of destroying all opposition to Spanish and Catholic authority. By 1573, when he left the country, he had spread desolation everywhere, and with an atrocity rarely equaled, had massacred eighteen

thousand of the evangelicals, including many women and children. Belgium was in a few years almost cleared of its Protestant population, but the evangelical cause rapidly gained strength in the Northern Provinces, which formed the Union of Utrecht (June, 1579), and with William of Orange as its military chieftain, entered in an organized way upon the conflict with Spain that was to result in a glorious independence.

In 1561 the Calvinistic churches had adopted a Confession of Faith (the Belgic Confession), which was presented as an apology to Philip II. (1562), with the hope of gaining toleration. It claimed to represent more than a hundred thousand subjects who were resolved to obey the government in all things lawful, but would "offer their backs to stripes, their tongues to knives, their mouths to gags, and their whole bodies to the fire," rather than deny Christ.

It was drafted by Guy de Bray, then a youth of less than twenty, who, till his death, in 1567, was one of the great factors in the spread of Calvinism in the Netherlands.

The Netherlands greatly prospered during the war, building up the best navy in the world, gaining a commercial and manufacturing ascendency, and attaining to a leading position in the intellectual world. The heroism with which Leyden sustained the siege of 1573–1574 was rewarded by William of Orange with a great university. The university at Franeker was founded in 1585, that of Groningen in 1612, that of Utrecht in 1636, and that at Harderwyk in 1648. These all became strongholds of Calvinism, although the University of Leyden gave birth to Arminianism (c. 1606), which divided the body and involved much bitter controversy.

The Arminian controversy and the great National Synod of Dort will be considered in a later section.

14. *Calvinism in Other Lands.*

(1) *The Zwinglian Cantons of Switzerland.* The more vigorous and aggressive type of Reformed teaching represented by Calvin and Geneva gradually gained the ascendency over the earlier Zwinglian type. After many

attempts to harmonize the Genevan with the other Swiss churches, the second Helvetic Confession (1566), prepared by Bullinger, was signed by representatives of Geneva, Bern, Schaffhausen, Biel, the Grisons, St. Gall, and Mühlhausen, and was ultimately accepted by Basel. It occupies a leading position among the Reformed Confessions.

(2) *Germany.* Calvinism was rigorously excluded from toleration by Lutheran and Catholic princes in the Augsburg Treaty of 1555. By 1563 this faith had become so far dominant in the Palatinate that the Heidelberg Catechism, one of the great symbols of the Calvinistic churches, was adopted by a synod with the approval of the Elector Frederick III. It was drafted by Zacharias Ursinus, who was well versed in Lutheran as well as Calvinistic Theology, and Caspar Olevianus, whose training had been chiefly French and Swiss.

It is unsurpassed for depth, comfort, and beauty, and, once committed to memory, can never be forgotten. It represents Christianity in its evangelical, practical, cheering aspect, not as a commanding law, not as an intellectual scheme, not as a system of outward observances, but as the best gift of God to man as a source of peace and comfort in life and in death.[1]

At the diet of Augsburg (1556) Frederick declared himself ready to lose his crown rather than violate his conscience by professing another faith.

Calvinism made rapid headway during the Netherlandish war in the Lower Rhenish Provinces, largely through the presence of Dutch refugees.

After Luther's death Melanchthon became more and more sympathetic with Calvinism, and Crypto-Calvinism was dominant for a time in the Universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig (1560–1574). It was rigorously suppressed by the Lutheran princes, but not wholly destroyed.

The Thirty Years' War, in which Calvinists were the chief defenders of the Protestant cause, gave a great advantage to Calvinism, which has, since the peace of Westphalia (1648), had a recognized standing throughout Germany side by side with Lutheranism.

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[1] Schaff, "Creeds of Christendom," Vol. I., p. 541.

(3) *In England.* Under Edward VI., Calvinism exerted considerable influence on theological thought. The Catholic reaction under Mary drove from the country most of the ablest and most zealous Protestant ministers. Many of these took refuge in Geneva and other Calvinistic lands, and became thoroughly indoctrinated with Calvinistic theology and inspired with Calvinistic ideals. The great Puritan party that developed under Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. was thoroughly Calvinistic. English Nonconformists also (1584 onward) represent an important phase of Calvinistic teaching. Calvinism was transplanted (1620 onward) to the English colonies in North America, and has constituted one of the great factors in the religious and political development of the New World.

VII. THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

LITERATURE: Publications of the Parker Society, embracing the works of the English Reformers of the times of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth; Burnet's "Hist. of the Reformation," Strype's Memorials, Annals, Lives of Cranmer, Grindal, Parker, and Whitgift; English State Papers from the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, published by the Master of the Rolls. Perry, "Hist. of the Ch. of Eng."; Gelkie, "Hist. of the Eng. Reformation"; Dixon, "Hist. of the Ch. of Eng."; Clark, "The Anglican Reformation"; pertinent sections in manuals of ch. hist. and in works on the Reformation; the histories of England, by Green, Froude, Hume, Lingard, Hallam, Gardiner, etc.; encyclopædia articles on the Eng. Ref. and on the leading characters.

1. *Condition of England at the Beginning of the Reformation.*

The partial exhaustion of the people and the overthrow of many noble families in the wars of the fifteenth century; the growth of the mercantile spirit, with its love of peace and its preference for a strong central authority; the introduction of gunpowder for military purposes making private warlike enterprises difficult of inauguration and assuring their failure; the growth of the wool trade and the resulting disorganization of the labor system; the thrift of the kings of England (especially Edward IV. and Henry VII.), which co-operated with their peaceable policy and their practice of extorting loans or "benevolences" from their subjects, to make

them, in great measure, independent of Parliament; the establishment of the Court of the Star Chamber; the creation of a large number of new peers pledged to subserviency to the royal will; the limiting of suffrage to freeholders; these and other causes combined to form in England a strong centralized civil government.

By the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. (1500), Parliament, formerly powerful, had well-nigh lost its independent authority and was rarely convened. It was a part of Henry's policy to crush out what remained of popular liberty, and to establish a despotism as absolute as that of the sultan.

The ecclesiastical estate, as was commonly the case in the Middle Ages, had profited by civil strife and general misery, and had by this time acquired titles to a very large part of the landed property of England. The princes had been so occupied in warring against each other that they had not found time of late to resist ecclesiastical oppression; rather, they had felt it necessary to yield to the papal usurpations and to invoke ecclesiastical aid each against his rival. The statutes of *Mortmain*, *Provisors*, and *Præmunire* were no longer enforced. Ignorance, superstition, luxury, vice, and imposture prevailed to a most shocking extent among clergy and monks.

A perfect understanding existed between Henry VIII. and the popes, the king espousing the papal cause in the papal wars with the emperor, the king of France, and with Luther, and enjoying the right of nominating to all ecclesiastical offices in England; the pope bestowing upon Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith," favoring his claims on French territory, and confirming his ecclesiastical appointments.

Henry VIII., by bestowing and causing to be bestowed on his favorite, Thomas Wolsey, all subroyal civil and all ecclesiastical authority in England (Wolsey was at the same time lord chancellor, prime minister, and cardinal legate, enjoyed the revenues of a large number of rich benefices, had at his disposal all ecclesiastical benefices in England, and was plenipotentiary of the pope in England), and by keeping Wolsey in absolute subserviency to himself, well-nigh realized his ideal of

absolute civil and ecclesiastical authority within his own realm.

The New Learning, which made such progress under Colet, Erasmus, and More, and which seemed at first so friendly to reformation, was favored by Henry VIII. and Wolsey; but by reason of the violence of Luther's polemics, the strife among continental Protestant leaders, the disorganizing tendency of Protestantism as seen in the Peasants' War, the rigor of Luther's theological system, etc., it had become, by 1525, actively hostile to the Lutheran and kindred reformatory movements. Thomas More answered Luther's fierce and contemptuous reply to King Henry's "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments" with Luther's own vehemence and coarseness.

The Lollard party, followers of Wycliffe, had never become entirely extinct. Every few years during the fifteenth century an individual or a small band was discovered, tried, and forced to abjure, or be burned. They were probably encouraged during the early years of the sixteenth century by the progress of the New Learning. In the year 1509–1512 large numbers of men and women were arraigned before the ecclesiastical authorities on charges of Lollard heresy.

The teachings of Luther, notwithstanding the hostility of the civil and ecclesiastical rulers and the scholars of England, early made way in England, and powerfully stimulated the Lollard and other dissatisfaction with ecclesiastical corruption. The Bible, translated and printed abroad by William Tyndale, together with some of Wycliffe's tracts, translations of some of Luther's writings, and Protestant tracts by Tyndale himself, were introduced into England, 1526 onward, and were eagerly read, notwithstanding the strict prohibition of the authorities.

2. *Summary of Hindrances and Helps to Reformation in England.*

(1) *Hindrances.* *a.* The practical centralization of all civil and ecclesiastical authority in a king utterly opposed, on principle and from policy, to the spirit of Protestantism. *b.* The hostility to Protestantism of the fore-

most promoters of the New Learning in England. *c.* The purely selfish motives of the king in breaking with Rome, and the arbitrary way in which he carried on the reforming movement. *d.* The peasants, whose outward condition was made worse through the dissolution of the monasteries and the redistribution of the property, and for whose instruction in Christian truth no suitable provision was made, remained for the most part hostile to the Reformation until the time of Elizabeth. *e.* The lack of a great religious leader, like Luther, Calvin, or Knox, to arouse the nation to the need for reform. It is doubtful, however, whether either of these men could have maintained himself in England under Henry VIII. *f.* The comparatively small number of educated men in England at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.

(2) *Helps.* *a.* The persistence of Lollard influence, with its study of Wycliffe's Bible and Wycliffe's tracts. *b.* The New Learning, with its exposure of ecclesiastical imposture and corruption, and its fostering of the study of the Scriptures. *c.* German Protestantism, through the writings of Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, etc., and otherwise. *d.* The banishment of Protestants (especially under Queen Mary), who became thoroughly indoctrinated in Protestantism, and who were ready to return, when opportunity should offer, to labor for a complete reformation of the English Church. *e.* Henry's contest with the papacy, though entirely unevangelical in spirit, gave some opportunity for the progress of evangelical doctrine and thus indirectly favored the religious movement.

3. *Characteristics of the English Reformation.*

(1) It is evident, from what has been said, that two distinct anti-papal movements were progressing simultaneously in England: a religious movement embodying Lollard, humanistic, and Lutheran influences; and a political movement, the aim whereof was to transfer all papal authority to the king. The king attempted to make use of the religious movement, as far as it should be necessary for the accomplishment of his designs; while the Protestants, on the other hand, attempted to turn the anti-papal policy of the king to the advantage of pure religion.

(2) Especially after the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, when the Protestant party had become strong in numbers and in influence, was there a constant struggle between the Romanizing and the Protestant parties, the Romanizing party enjoying the ascendency until the time of Charles I., the Protestant (Puritan) party manifesting its power in the execution of the king, the overthrow of the episcopal system, and the forming of an alliance with the Scottish Presbyterians.

(3) The most characteristic feature of English Protestantism, from the beginning until now (except during the Puritan period), is its half-hearted, compromising disposition. Neither Henry nor Elizabeth would tolerate, in those whom they put at the head of the politico-ecclesiastical administration, any contradiction. Men of convictions and of conscience were, accordingly, excluded from leadership. Men of feebleness of conviction and pliability of conscience shaped the policy of the English Church and fixed its character.

(4) This compromising spirit is manifest in the Prayer Book and the Thirty-nine Articles. The great mass of the population (in the time of Edward VI. and Elizabeth), was still Roman Catholic at heart. The new order of things must, therefore, be made to conform outwardly as closely as possible to the old. The Prayer Book, which was to constitute a chief part of the religious instruction of the masses, was based upon Roman Catholic liturgies and is decidedly Romanizing in its tendency. The theologians, on the other hand, had been educated under the influence of German Protestantism. Something decidedly Protestant was demanded by them, and could safely be accorded to them, in the matter of a creed. The Thirty-nine Articles were therefore conceived in a Protestant spirit and based upon Protestant models. Thus it was attempted to make the Anglican ecclesiastical system acceptable to Protestants and Romanizers alike. And so the foundation was laid for two great parties, more antagonistic the one to the other than the Lutheran and the Calvinist, than the Congregationalist and the Presbyterian, which have from that time till now each maintained its right on the ground of its favorite document: the high churchman

interpreting the Articles by the Prayer Book, the low churchman interpreting the Prayer Book by the Articles.

(5) As a result of this compromising spirit in the reformation of doctrine and practice, Anglican theology has always been deficient in independence and vigor. The English Church has developed no great system of theology such as those that were developed in Geneva and in Germany. Casuistry early took, and has continued to hold, the place of independent thinking. To show that the Prayer Book can be interpreted Calvinistically, or that the Articles can be harmonized with Romanist teaching, has been a chief occupation of Anglican theologians.

(6) The policy of the English rulers being to secure and maintain the recognition of the royal supremacy in civil and ecclesiastical matters, they not only enforced upon all civil and ecclesiastical officers subscription to the Act of Supremacy, but also insisted upon absolute uniformity in ecclesiastical practice. The result has been that a large proportion of the ablest and most conscientious Christian men have always felt it necessary to withdraw from the establishment. No other national church has been so fruitful of dissent as the Church of England.

(7) The English Church retained a large part of the mediæval endowments, and these have greatly hindered independence of thought and action by offering temptation to dishonest conformity. Such insincere conformity could not but exert a degrading influence on the Anglican clergy.

(8) From the beginning little effort was made to secure purity in ecclesiastical officers. Ecclesiastical patronage was managed just as corruptly under Edward VI. and Elizabeth as it had been managed during the Middle Ages. Benefices were and are shamelessly bought and sold. Benefices at the disposal of the crown were heaped recklessly upon favorites. The average clergyman was not adequately educated or decently moral, and was far more assiduous in collecting his tithes and rents than in ministering to the spiritual needs of his parish.

(9) Altogether there was little in the politico-ecclesi-

astical movement in England to inspire the confidence or enthusiasm of earnest religious men. The hopes of such were, in general, soon crushed, and they were forced to look elsewhere than to the establishment for the carrying out of their reforming ideas.

4. *Course of Events.*

(1) *The English Reformation under Henry VIII.* Few more absolute despots ever reigned in Europe than Henry VIII. Few rulers have had less regard for human life and for the rights of property. No crime was too black to be perpetrated by him if it seemed conducive to his interest or his pleasure, "He never spared a woman in his lust, or a man in his anger." He appears to have had some superstitious regard for the Roman Catholic religion; but, as was the case with most Roman Catholics and with many Protestants in that age, religion in Henry was absolutely divorced from practical morality. Great as was his regard for Roman Catholicism, his regard for his own pleasure was greater, and he did not scruple to break with the papacy when it could not be made to minister to his wishes.

a. Protestantism under Henry VIII. before the Beginning of the Divorce Negotiations. Henry and his chief advisers were friends of the New Learning. Wolsey early in his career confiscated, with papal sanction, some minor monasteries and devoted the proceeds to the promotion of learning. Tyndale studied the Bible earnestly and long and resolved to translate it for the enlightenment of the people, but he found "that there was no place to do it in all England." He went to the Continent, where he came more decidedly under Luther's influence, and where he translated, and had printed for circulation in England, a large edition of the New Testament, and afterward parts of the Old Testament. The edition of the New Testament reached England in 1526. Luther's influence on the version was recognized, and on this ground chiefly it was condemned by the authorities.

A considerable and zealous Lutheran party had by this time been formed in England. This party was greatly strengthened by the circulation of the Scriptures and of Protestant tracts. Especially did the Lutheran influence

manifest itself in the universities, several of the leading theologians, Barnes, Bilney, Latimer, Clark, etc., becoming open and zealous adherents of the new doctrine. Persecution followed. Many books were burned, and several Protestants were imprisoned. But Wolsey was too much engaged in political schemes, and had too little interest in religious matters, to devote much attention to the extirpation of heresy.

b. Henry's Efforts for a Divorce from Catharine of Aragon. The policy of Henry VII., who came to the throne during a civil war, was to strengthen himself by an alliance with Spain. Accordingly, he betrothed his eldest son, Arthur, to Catharine of Aragon. Arthur died soon after his marriage, and probably before it had been consummated. In his anxiety to maintain the Spanish alliance the king proposed that Catharine be married to his younger son, Henry, who was still under age. Such a marriage being contrary to ecclesiastical law, a special dispensation from the pope had to be secured. This was accomplished through the importunity of Isabella of Spain, much against the will of the pope. The king caused his son to make a secret protest against the marriage, to be used in case it should ever seem desirable to secure a divorce. But the marriage was duly consummated upon Henry's coming to the throne (1509), and they lived together as man and wife until 1524. The death, one after another, of sons, born of this union, Henry's despair of a legitimate male successor, his consciousness of the irregularity of the marriage, perhaps a superstitious feeling that the death of his sons was evidence of divine disapproval of the marriage, his personal antipathy to Catharine who had lost her charms through age and ill health, his passion for the fascinating and seemingly chaste maiden, Anne Boleyn, led him, from 1526 onward, to seek a divorce.

Difficulties of the gravest character presented themselves. The emperor, Charles V., was a nephew of Catharine, and would probably avenge such an indignity to the uttermost. The pope, whose predecessor had granted the dispensation for the marriage, could not declare this dispensation invalid without degrading his office, and he was, moreover, at the mercy of the em-

peror who, in 1527, sacked Rome and took the pope captive. On the other hand, the pope was sorely in need of the friendship of Henry, through whom he hoped for deliverance from imperial thraldom. Wolsey and other agents were empowered to expend large sums of money and to make to the pope the most lavish promises of protection and support in consideration of the granting of the divorce. The pope promised again and again to gratify Henry, but he dared not exasperate the emperor. Month after month Henry was kept in suspense. As Wolsey was papal legate and vicar-general in England, Henry suggested that Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio, whom he had heavily bribed, be commissioned to try the cause in England. The pope reluctantly assented, and prepared a bull annulling the marriage, which he put into the hands of Campeggio. Campeggio was instructed, however, on no account to publish it. The court for the hearing of the cause was opened, but it was adjourned from time to time without accomplishing anything substantial, until the pope recalled the cause to Rome (October, 1529).

Henry was now exasperated beyond measure. Wolsey was degraded from all his offices and emoluments, and there was almost universal rejoicing. It was evident to all that a breach with Rome was inevitable. Just when the king was at his wit's end from the failure to secure a papal bull annulling his marriage, Thomas Cranmer, at that time a modest scholar and theologian, expressed privately the opinion that the king ought not to trouble himself about the judgment of the pope, but ought rather to secure the opinions of the learned men and the universities of Europe. Cranmer's conversation was reported to the king, and it seemed to him to be just what he had been waiting for. "Marry! I trow he has got the right sow by the ear," he exultantly exclaimed. He sent for Cranmer and consulted with him as to the method of carrying out the plan suggested. Cranmer himself wrote a book to prove that the Levitical law, forbidding marriage with a deceased brother's widow, is perpetually binding, and cannot be annulled even by a pope. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, under considerable constraint, and with many

silent or expressed protestations, confirmed Cranmer's opinion. Many Italian ecclesiastics were induced to write in favor of the divorce. The Universities of Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angers, and Padua were of the same opinion. The Swiss theologians, Zwingli, OEcolampadius, and the Lutheran theologian, Osiander, decided in the king's favor. Not only were the opinions of living men of eminence sought, but scholars were commissioned by the king to visit the great libraries of Europe and to copy everything that could be found bearing on this matter.

c. The Divorce and the Breach with Rome. Thomas Cromwell, one of the astutest, most persevering, and most unscrupulous politicians of the age, deeply imbued with the political creed of Machiavelli, had come into some prominence under Wolsey. He succeeded in winning the confidence of Henry and soon had almost boundless authority. His sole political aim seems to have been to complete the despotic power of the king. No religious interests or scruples hindered him. He advised Henry (1530) to take the matter of divorce into his own hands, and to declare himself head of the church within his realm. Cromwell's theory was that the Church is only a department of the State, and that the king has as much right to create a priest or bishop as a civil functionary.

In 1531 the clergy were declared guilty of the violation of the statute of *Præmunire* in recognizing Wolsey's authority as a legate of the pope. The Convocations of Canterbury and York were forced to purchase pardon, the former by the payment of about £100,000, the latter by the payment of £18,840. In the same year Catharine was banished from the royal palace.

In 1532 the right of independent legislation was withdrawn from Convocation, and this body, representing the ecclesiastical estate, humbly assented. Thus another step was taken in the direction of royal absolutism. About the same time all appeals to Rome were absolutely forbidden, and the payment of annates to Rome suspended.

In November, 1532, or January, 1533, after further fruitless efforts to secure the annulling of the marriage at Rome, Henry was privately married to Anne Boleyn,

and soon afterward Cranmer, having now become archbishop of Canterbury, declared the marriage of Henry and Catharine null from the beginning, and the marriage with Anne lawful.

d. The Act of Supremacy. In 1534 Parliament enacted that

> The king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, . . and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs, and successors, . . shall have full authority and power from time to time to visit, refer, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempt, enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any spiritual authority and jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, . . any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding.

This act is further so defined as to give to the king absolute ecclesiastical authority alike in matters external (church order, revenues, bestowing of benefices, etc.), and in matters internal (the repression of false doctrine and the promotion of true, etc.).

Cromwell, already keeper of the great seal, was now, though a layman, made vicar-general of the church. Bishops and clergy were speedily brought into a condition of utter subserviency. Not only were their ecclesiastical duties in general prescribed, but the time, subject, and subject-matter of their discourses as well. Spies were generally on hand to report the slightest deviation from instructions and the merest hints at dissatisfaction with the government. The "Court of the Star Chamber," representing the absolute civil and ecclesiastical power of the king, became, in Cromwell's hands, a terror to England. Hundreds of the greatest and noblest men and women of England, among them Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, Queen Anne Boleyn, the Duke of Buckingham, Lady Salisbury, and many abbots, were victims of Cromwell's policy.

e. The Dissolution of the Monasteries. As vicar-general, Cromwell instituted (1535) a visitation of the monaster-

ies, with the intention of dissolving them and confiscating the property. The investigations were not conducted with such a degree of fairness as to give us full confidence in the accuracy of the results, and the "Black Book," in which the results of the investigations were minutely recorded, was destroyed during the reign of Mary; but they were probably, like monasteries in other parts of Europe, shockingly corrupt, and their dissolution was no doubt in the interest of reformation. The motives by which Cromwell and Henry were actuated in the dissolution of the monasteries were probably, first, the desire to replenish the royal exchequer, which had become exhausted; and secondly, the desire to overthrow what were certain to remain hotbeds of treason and centers of papal influence. Obedience to the pope was one of the fundamentals of the monastic orders, and to extirpate them was a far more feasible undertaking than to turn them from popery.

f. The Protestant Party during Cromwell's Ascendency. Cromwell was in favor of Protestantism so far as it could be made subservient to his absolutist policy. Anne Boleyn was by interest, and probably at heart, a Protestant. She owed her queenship to the anti-papal policy. Her marriage was bitterly denounced by Roman Catholics and zealously defended by Protestants. Moreover, she was greatly influenced by Cranmer, to whom she was under obligation. She had for chaplains Shaxton and Latimer, earnest Protestants, whom she protected and promoted to bishoprics. She did what she could to encourage Protestantism.

Cranmer came more and more under the influence of German Protestantism, yet he had little sympathy with the fierceness of German polemics. His moderation was remarkable and his prudence unfailing. Sometimes he acted boldly and contradicted the king for a time; but he did it in such a way as not to exasperate him, and he knew just how far it was safe to press his views. We must say, therefore, that Cranmer was from the first a friend of the Reformation, and that his desire for reform increased year by year; but that his prudence amounted to lack of moral courage, and that on many occasions he weakly refrained from declaring the whole counsel of

God and acquiesced in unevangelical measures with the hope that a more favorable opportunity might occur afterward for emphasizing the truth.

With Henry the principal motives in all his actions were lust, greed of gain, greed of power, and pride. He had written in defense of the Roman Catholic system, and was unwilling to seem to have veered around to the position of his fierce assailant. He shrank from the criticism of the Roman Catholic rulers, many of whom approved of his rejection of papal authority, but would have regarded his interference with doctrine as spiteful and unwarrantable. He had, doubtless, some regard for the prejudices of the masses of the people whom the priests and monks might incite to rebellion in case radical religious changes should be made.

On the other hand, Cranmer strove to impress upon him the fact that papal doctrines and practices rested on the same foundation as papal supremacy, and that the only way to make sure of immunity from papal interference was to encourage Protestantism.

The suppression of the monasteries caused a widespread popular dissatisfaction and a great rebellion was the result. The monks and many clergy were brought into the sharpest antagonism to the government. The rebellion was suppressed, the leaders were put to death, and Henry was thoroughly exasperated. He now went so far as to destroy images and shrines, even the shrine and the relics of Thomas à Becket, the most venerated saint of England.

At Rome Henry was now assailed by a host of writers, who compared him with Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Nero, Domitian, Diocletian, and Julian the Apostate. The pope published a terrible bull, pronouncing the kingdom under interdict, forbidding the allegiance of his subjects, exhorting the Catholic princes to seize his realm, and anathematizing Henry and his favorers (1538).

In 1537 the king published "The Godly and Pious Institutions of a Christian Man," which constitutes a summary of doctrine. While most Roman Catholic doctrines are retained, the tone of the book is very moderate, and it gave considerable encouragement to the Protestant

party. Especially noticeable was the blow struck at sacerdotalism. During this year, also, Henry gave his warrant for the unrestrained reading of the English Bible by all his subjects. Cranmer rejoiced "that he saw this day of reformation, which he concluded was now risen in England, since the light of God's word did shine over it without any cloud." He assured Cromwell, through whom the favorable action of the king was secured, that in this he had shown him more pleasure than if he had given him a thousand pounds.

Provision was made by law for setting up copies of the Bible publicly in the churches, so that all could read. Every encouragement was given to the reading of the Scriptures. At about the same time various papal superstitions, the adoration of images, the invocation of saints, etc., were forbidden or discouraged.

There was all along an influential Romanizing party in the royal court, which availed itself of every opportunity to prejudice the king against Protestantism. The fall of Anne Boleyn (1536) was promoted by this party and greatly encouraged Romanists everywhere. The birth of a son by his next wife, Jane Seymour (October, 1537), had the reverse effect.

The leading Romanizers, especially Gardiner, now made a great pretense of satisfaction with Henry's ecclesiastical proceedings. They denounced the religious houses and commended Henry for suppressing them. They professed to be much concerned for the order and stability of the kingdom, and urged the king to exterminate sacramentarians and other heretics.

Moreover, the king was displeased because Cranmer and other prelates of Protestant proclivities would not consent to the appropriation of all the abbey lands to the royal use, but insisted upon the application of a large part of the same to educational and philanthropical purposes. Cranmer desired to have a theological seminary in every diocese, a grammar school in every shire, hospitals and workhouses wherever needed.

g. The "Six Articles" or "Bloody Articles." The influence of Cromwell and of Cranmer had greatly declined by 1539, and the king had grown more hostile to Protestantism. The "Six Articles" were enacted and

promulgated notwithstanding the most earnest opposition of Cranmer. Denial of *transubstantiation* is declared heresy, to be punished by burning at the stake without abjuration. Preaching or disputing against *communion in one kind*, *celibacy of the clergy*, *observance of vows of chastity*, *private masses*, and *auricular confession*, is declared felony, to be punished with death. This was the severest blow that Protestantism had yet received in England. The article on celibacy implicated Cranmer himself, who had married some years before the niece of the German theologian, Osiander.

The fall of Cromwell (1540), which resulted partly from the fact that he had been chiefly instrumental in making a disagreeable match between the king and Anne of Cleves, left the king without a consistent policy, and the Protestant party, with Cranmer at its head, without a great protector.

h. From the Fall of Cromwell till the Death of Henry VIII. Henry soon became involved in wars with France and Scotland, and his attention was withdrawn, in large measure, from domestic religious questions. Effort after effort was made to compass the ruin of Cranmer, but the king knew that Cranmer was loyal and, notwithstanding Cranmer's known Protestant proclivities, he protected him to the end.

Persistent effort was made by the Romanizers to suppress the English Bible. In 1543 an act was passed forbidding absolutely the use of Tyndale's version, and any reading of the Scriptures in assemblies without royal license. Noblemen and gentlemen might cause the Bible to be read to them. Householding merchants might read it. But no women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, or laborers might read it. In the place of the Scriptures they might read the "Institutes of a Christian Man," and other religious works promulgated by the king's authority.

Many Protestants were imprisoned and some put to death under the cruel Bonner, who succeeded to some of Cromwell's power in the administration of the government. Yet the reading of the Scriptures continued, and the Protestant party steadily gained ground until the death of King Henry (1547).

(2) *Protestantism under Edward VI.* (*1547–1553*). Protestantism cannot be said to have become the State religion in England until the accession of Edward VI., the son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, who at nine years of age succeeded to the crown. He had been brought up a Protestant, and was in every way a most amiable child. He is said to have been a prodigy of precocity. Cranmer was appointed a member of the regency and throughout the reign his influence, in religious matters, was predominant. By this time he had become substantially a Calvinist. He soon succeeded, by deposing Romanizing bishops, in placing Protestants in many of the most important bishoprics.

He brought over from the continent, to teach in the universities and to aid him in organizing the Protestant movement, a number of able theologians, especially Martin Bucer, next to Zwingli and OEcolampadius, the most influential of the early Reformed theologians; Peter Martyr and Bernardo Ochino, learned and zealous Italian Protestants; Paulus Fagius of Strasburg, Tremellius, Dryander, and others. John á Lasco, the noted Polish reformer, who had resided for some years at Emden in East Friesland, settled in London (1550) as pastor of a mixed congregation of foreigners (Germans, Dutch, French, Walloons, and Italians). Melanchthon was invited, but could not be spared from the University of Wittenberg and the Saxon work. Calvin was in close correspondence with Cranmer, Edward VI., and the Duke of Somerset, and exerted a powerful influence throughout England. John Knox, who had been liberated through English influence from a French galley (1549), was invited to participate in the English Reformation, and did noble service.

Various reforms were introduced; the laws against Lollardism were rescinded; the "Six Articles" were repealed; images were removed from the churches; the clergy were allowed to marry; communion under both kinds was instituted; tables were substituted for altars; an English Liturgy was introduced; Protestant Articles of Faith were made authoritative. Translations of writings by the leading Lutheran reformers were now freely

circulated in England, as were also those of Zwingli, Bullinger, and Calvin.

In the "Book of Common Prayer" Cranmer and Ridley retained much that had come down from the past and was without scriptural warrant. This they did with a view to conciliating the great mass of the clergy and people, who were still addicted to popish superstitions, and who were inclined to resist anything like Calvinistic simplicity in worship. They argued, that while traditions in matters of faith are to be rejected, in matters of rites and ceremonies custom is often a good argument for the continuance of what has been long used.

"The Forty-two (afterward Thirty-nine) Articles" were prepared chiefly by Cranmer and Ridley (1552). These are thoroughly Protestant, and are Calvinistic or Melanchthonian rather than Lutheran. The absolute and exclusive authority of Scripture, justification by faith alone, the Calvinistic (Melanchthonian) view of baptism and the Supper are distinctly set forth. These articles were regarded by their authors as far more fundamental in their nature than the Prayer Book.

During the same year the "Book of Common Prayer" was revised.

Here also the influence of Calvin, Melanchthon, and Bucer is manifest. Consecrated oil, exorcism, crossing, prayer for the dead, auricular confession, consecration of the baptismal water, and other Roman Catholic ceremonies are omitted, and it is carefully explained that kneeling in the eucharist implies no adoration of the elements, Christ's body and blood being not in earth, but in heaven. Common bread is substituted for the thick water that had previously taken the place of the thin ones used in the mass.

The policy of Cranmer was one of great moderation. He used his power as discreetly as could have been expected in that age. But the civil administration was exceedingly corrupt. The public money was recklessly lavished upon the newly created nobles. The people were wofully oppressed by the transference of the abbey lands to the crown and to the nobles. A formidable rebellion arose, the demands of the rebels being the restoration of the church property and of the Roman Catholic religion. After all that was done by Cranmer and his associates, the great majority of the English people were

Romanists at heart. Edward died in 1553, and was succeeded by Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon.

The "Act of Uniformity," which aimed to enforce upon all conformity to these standards, proved very oppressive to Catholics and Puritans alike.

The "Court of High Commission," founded by Elizabeth, was a powerful instrument of ecclesiastical tyranny in her hands.

Such Puritans as could not make up their minds to conform were obliged to flee from England. Many of these became Separatists, yet the Puritan party was steadily advancing, and was destined, before the middle of the seventeenth century, to become predominant.

(3) *The Catholic Reaction under Mary (1553-1558).* The reformatory movement under Edward had been almost wholly of a political character, and had been artificially stimulated by the importation of learned theologians from abroad. There had been little religious enthusiasm in the introduction of the new order. Cranmer, the foremost leader, was notoriously a man of policy rather than of principle, and the English Reformation had partaken largely of his opportunist character. A large proportion of the clergy and of the people were still Catholic at heart. Bad as England was at the beginning of the Reformation, it was no doubt considerably more shockingly immoral at the death of Edward VI. The pernicious example of Henry VIII. in his treatment of his wives, countenanced as it was by Parliament, Convocation, and such theologians as Cranmer, could not fail to debase the public conscience. A few men, like Latimer and Ridley, denounced the vices of the time and foretold the coming of divine vengeance. Theologians like Cranmer, who were ready for any compromise of principle, could yet participate in the burning of godly women and men for deviations from church dogma.

Mary, the daughter of Catharine of Aragon and Henry VIII., had steadfastly remained a Roman Catholic notwithstanding the zealous efforts of Edward and his counsellors to win her to Protestantism. All her interests lay in adherence to the old faith, which was that of her foreign relatives and supporters. The harsh treatment

she had received from Henry and Edward had deeply embittered her against Protestantism. Her priestly advisers (representing the pope himself), had instilled into her mind the conviction that it was her duty, if she ever attained to the sovereignty of England, to blot out heresy from her realm; and it had been arranged by her politico-ecclesiastical advisers, with her concurrence, that she should marry Philip, the heir of the Spanish throne, and should unite England with Spain in defense of the Catholic faith. The attempt of some of the Protestant nobles and prelates, aided by the dying Edward, to thrust upon the throne the Lady Jane Grey, Edward's cousin, failed, and Mary, supported by a large proportion of the nobles and clergy, soon overcame all opposition. It was entirely in accordance with the spirit of the time that she should proceed to punish severely those who had been prominent in denying her legitimacy and in seeking to prevent her succession.

Once established in power she promptly repealed all the anti-papal legislation of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., restored much of the sequestrated church property, and arraigned, condemned, and burned a large number of the Protestant leaders (including Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Philpot, Rogers, and Bradford). Thousands of foreign Protestants and thousands of English evangelicals took refuge in the Netherlands, Germany, Geneva, etc.

Her marriage with Philip occurred in 1554. Finding it impossible to attach England to Spain, he felt it necessary to leave England the next year in the interest of his Spanish succession. Mary's chief ecclesiastical advisers were Gardiner, Bonner, and Cardinal Pole. The latter, on behalf of the pope, received England back into the bosom of the church (1554), and became Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of Oxford and Cambridge. Gardiner died in 1555, when Bonner became the chief agent of the queen in the carrying out of her bloody measures. The number of victims (less than three hundred) was inconsiderable in comparison with those of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands, Austria, France, Poland, etc.; but this persecution aroused a mighty reaction that made England forever Protestant. It has well been said that "the excesses of this bloody reaction

accomplished more for the Protestantization of England than all the efforts put forth under Edward's reign." A large number of the brightest intellects of England spent the years of their exile in mastering and becoming thoroughly mastered by the principles of Calvinism, the most rigorous type of Protestantism, and were ready to return, on the death of Mary, to make of England, if possible, a Christian theocracy.

(4) *Elizabeth (1558-1603). a. Policy of the Queen.* Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, had been brought up a Protestant, with Cranmer as her spiritual guide; but partly as a measure of prudence (her life was for some time in danger under Mary) she had outwardly conformed to the Catholic religion. On prudential grounds she refused to declare herself on the religious question until her position was fully assured. On the one hand, she feared that by antagonizing the Catholic Church she might provoke Spain to join hands with France in supporting Mary Stuart in her pretensions to the English crown; on the other hand, the papacy had stigmatized her as a bastard, and a mighty reaction had set in against papal intolerance as it had been exemplified in Mary's administration, and while the evangelicals may still have been in a minority they had on their side by far the largest share of statesmanship, theological learning, religious zeal, and capacity to do and dare. England was more than ever determined to keep out of the clutches of Spain, and was already dreaming of maritime and commercial ascendency.

Elizabeth's first Parliament was opened with the celebration of the mass and the preaching of an evangelical sermon. Her personal preference was no doubt for Catholic worship. As late as 1560 the pope sent a nuncio to seek to persuade her to remain Catholic. But she was not long in making up her mind that her interests lay in the adoption of Protestantism, and that this course alone was practicable. Almost immediately after her accession eight evangelicals were added to her council. Bonner was at once discredited, and she forbade the elevation of the host in her chapel, where, however, she continued to hear mass. The indications of her favorable attitude toward the new faith were sufficient to induce the return of thousands of exiles. She entertained favorably, and afterward carried out, a written proposal by one of her councillors that the Church of England be "reduced to its former purity," that those who had been prominent in Mary's service be gradually "abased," that those

who had been enriched by Mary's favor be compelled to restore their wealth to the crown, that sheriffs and justices who had served under Mary be supplanted, that little attention be paid to extreme reformers (Calvinists), it being judged better that "they should suffer, than her highness or the commonwealth should shake or be in danger," and that a commission be appointed to revise the Prayer Book, all innovation meanwhile being strictly prohibited. An interim arrangement forbade giving audience to "any manner of teaching or preaching other than to the Gospels and Epistles, commonly called the Gospel and Epistle of the day, and to the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue without exposition of any manner, sense, or meaning to be applied and added." The common litany used in her own chapel and the Lord's Prayer and the creed in English should alone be used in public services until such matters should be fully determined by Parliament.

It was evidently the policy of Elizabeth and her advisers to avoid extremes in religion.

b. Revision of the Prayer Book.

The committee appointed to revise the Prayer Book was strongly evangelical in its sentiment, but Elizabeth was anxious to satisfy moderate Catholics, and would gladly have retained the use of the cross, of processions, and of copes in communion, of prayers for the dead, and of kneeling at the reception of the elements. These suggestions were promptly rejected. A disputation was held in Westminster Abbey between eight representatives of the Romanizing view and eight evangelicals regarding the propriety of using a language unknown to the people in the services, the right of every church to appoint, change, or set aside ceremonies, the scripturalness of regarding mass as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. The Romanizers were dissatisfied with the methods of discussion adopted by the government and two of their bishops were committed to the Tower for contumacy.

Elizabeth's Prayer Book was a revision of that of Edward (1552). Significant is the omission of the prayer, "from all sedition and privy conspiracy, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities . . . good Lord deliver us."

c. Restoration of the Royal Supremacy. In January, 1559 Parliament restored to the crown supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters (designating the sovereign "supreme governor," not "supreme head," of the church), with the right to nominate a court of High Commission as the organ for the exercise of her supremacy. The oath of supremacy was also restored. Only a hundred and eighty-three of the nine hundred Catholic clergy refused it. In June following, the Act of Uniformity, making the revised liturgy universally obligatory, was

adopted. Fifteen of the sixteen bishops who had served under Mary refused the oath of allegiance and were obliged to retire. Matthew Parker, who had been a friend of Anne Boleyn, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and was consecrated by three bishops who had been banished by Mary. Parker, in turn, consecrated the newly appointed bishops, and thus the succession was preserved.

d. Revision of the Articles of Faith. The forty-two articles were at first adopted, but were revised (1563).

The more significant modifications are the omission of a direct denial of the real presence. "The body of Christ is given, accepted, and eaten in the Supper only in a celestial and spiritual manner. But the medium through which Christ's body is accepted and eaten . . . is faith" (Art. 28). Transubstantiation is declared to be "adverse to the plain words of Scripture" and "the occasion of many superstitions." In the original draught it was expressly denied that the wicked and those destitute of living faith are partakers of Christ. This was omitted in the printed Latin edition of 1563, but was restored in the English edition of 1571. In Art. 20 the church is declared to have the right of establishing ceremonies and authority in controversies respecting the faith, although it is not lawful for the church to institute anything that is adverse to the written word of God.

e. Convocation and Universities still Catholic. While under Mary only five divines of the Lower House of Convocation had been bold enough to protest against the recatholicization of the Church of England, under Elizabeth the same body, although aware of her Protestant leanings, voted unanimously in favor of transubstantiation, the sacrificial view of the mass, the supremacy and divine authority of the pope, and the incompetence of the civil power to deal with spiritual things. In this they had the concurrence of the universities.

f. Elizabeth becomes more Pronounced in her Protestantism. Elizabeth's chief counselors were ardent Protestants. Walsingham, secretary of State, is said to have been "a great hater of the popes and the Church of Rome, and no less favorable to those of the Puritan faction." Leicester and Raleigh were almost equally pronounced in their antipathy to popery and its appurtenances. The attempt of Mary Stuart, supported by France, and to some extent by Spain, as well as by

part of the English nobility, to deprive Elizabeth of her throne (1569), the conspiracies against the queen's life, supposed to have been fostered by pope and Jesuits (1570–1571), and the pope's vigorously worded bull against her as an apostate, brought her into open warfare with the papacy. The attempted invasion of England by the Spanish Armada (1588) completed the triumph of Protestantism in England.

From 1569 onward English colleges for the education of missionaries to England were established at Douai, Rheims, and Rome, and by 1585 as many as three hundred priests are said to have come secretly to England to propagate their faith, and if possible, to overthrow and destroy England's great queen.

g. The Act of Uniformity and the Puritans. Elizabeth's difficulties were greatly increased by the fact that nearly all the learned and masterful men in the Church of England were clamoring, as was Parliament itself, for a more complete reformation of the church and the putting aside of everything that savored of popery.

Archbishop Parker was strongly averse to cap, surplice, and wafer-bread. Bishop Jewel called the ecclesiastical vestments the "habits of the stage," the "relics of the Amorites," and wished to see them "exterminated by the roots." Bishop Pilkington spoke of them as "popish apparel," which should have been left behind with popery, and as not "becoming those that profess godliness." Yet they thought it better to conform than to break the peace of the church. It occasioned much embarrassment to the evangelical prelates and clergy that the queen insisted on maintaining in her private chapel a Romanizing service, and that when called on to officiate there they were obliged to countenance so much of popery.

Nearly all the bishops consecrated by Parker were pronounced Calvinists and most of them scrupled at the Prayer Book. The universities, especially Oxford, were soon full of Calvinists, many of whom went to the length of nonconformity. Parker felt obliged to enforce with moderate rigor the laws against Nonconformists. Grindal, his friend and successor (1575), had spent several years in Switzerland and in Germany during Mary's reign and was in deep sympathy with the nonconforming Puritans, now becoming aggressive in their protest against Romanizing rites and ceremonies, and, refusing to use his authority for the suppression of Puritan

"prophesying," was sequestrated by the queen and would no doubt have been forced to resign, had not death intervened (July, 1583).

Whitgift succeeded Grindal in the primacy (1583) and though a hyper-Calvinist (supralapsarian) in theology was a stanch defender of the Episcopal establishment with its rites and ceremonies and was intolerant of opposition. He maintained the freedom of the church as regards rites and ceremonies, and its competence to adapt itself in these things to times and circumstances. Scripture precept or example he did not consider indispensable to the validity of rites and ceremonies. "The outward signs of the sacraments do not contain in them grace, neither yet that the grace of God is of necessity tied unto them."

Having become primate, Whitgift left the literary controversy with the Puritans regarding the applicability of the scriptural principle to rites and ceremonies and to church polity to Hooker who, in his monumental "Ecclesiastical Polity," while insisting on the scripturalness of episcopacy, is yet chiefly concerned to prove that the existing church polity (with its episcopacy, rites, and ceremonies, and its relation to the civil government) is promotive of good order (useful), is reasonable (in accord with the nature of things), and, reaching back in its main features to remote antiquity, involves no innovation. The abuse of rites by the papists is no sufficient ground for their rejection. He insisted on the freedom of the church as regards polity. He was essentially a rationalist in his antagonism to the Puritan insistence on scriptural authority for rites and ceremonies, as well as for doctrine, arguing that it is by reason we know the Scriptures to be the word of God.

Bancroft (to become primate in 1604), in opposition to the Puritans, argued the divine right and exclusive validity of episcopacy, no other form of church government having ever been dreamed of from the days of the apostles till the time of the Puritans, whose interpretation of Scripture, as contradicting that of the Christian interpreters of the ages, must needs be erroneous.

These views, promulgated in 1589, were by no means popular at the time, as English churchmen were, for the most part, desirous of keeping in fellowship with the evangelical churches of the Continent that had discarded episcopacy; but they laid the foundation of the High Church party that was soon to come forward with great strength and aggressiveness. Bancroft insisted that rebellion against rulers is inherent in the very nature of Presbyterianism

(Puritanism), the Puritans' idea of fidelity to God and his word requiring them to disregard royal commands to the contrary and to use force for the overthrow of ungodly sovereigns. It was as rebels against her government that Elizabeth persecuted the Puritans.

Before the middle of Elizabeth's reign Puritanism had gained the ascendency in Parliament and in Convocation and earnest efforts were repeatedly made in both bodies for the removal of Romanizing elements from the Prayer Book. The most zealous and influential of the Puritans of the time was Thomas Cartwright, of the University of Cambridge. He has been called, "The earliest complete incarnation of Puritanism on its controversial and theological side." He believed that the Genevan system of church government was clearly prescribed in the New Testament.

In a published admonition to Parliament (1570), he denounced the tyranny of the bishops, exhorted Parliament to abolish popish remnants and ceremonies, and insisted that only properly qualified ministers be placed over the churches. He said that ministers are now appointed by "letters commendatory of some one man, noble or other, tag and rag, learned and unlearned, of the basest sort of the people, to the scandal of the gospel." He further described them as "popish mass-mongers," "men for all seasons," "King Henry's priests," "Queen Mary's priests," etc. Deprived of his professorship (1570) and of his fellowship (1571) he spent the next year among the Calvinists of the Continent and engaged in sharp polemics against the English Establishment, Whitgift being his chief antagonist. Though favored by the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and employed by them in writing a confutation of the Rhemist (Roman Catholic) version of the Scriptures, he was unable to live continuously in England and in 1585 was cast into prison.

In 1574, Walter Travers published in Latin a book on church discipline, which Cartwright translated and published in English. It set forth Presbyterianism pure and simple. Among the most interesting of the Puritan polemical writings of this time are the "Martin Marprelate" tracts, an anonymous series of writings in which Whitgift, Aylmer, Cooper, Wickham, and other persecuting prelates are mercilessly satirized and the iniquity of the Establishment is most effectively exposed. The authorship of these tracts was never discovered, but it has been somewhat confidently ascribed to Henry Barrowe, then in prison for nonconformity and afterward executed.[1]

Puritanism, even when it went the length of non-

[1] See Dexter, "History of Congregationalism."

conformity, was radically opposed to Separatism. Separatist communities of Lollards had existed in considerable numbers up to the Reformation time and may have persisted till the age of Elizabeth. Small bodies of Anabaptists, chiefly foreigners of the Hofmannite and Mennonite types, were arraigned before the authorities from time to time (1534 onward) and were in some cases banished, in others burned. It might have been expected that here, as on the continent, there would be a blending of the old evangelical with the Anti-pedobaptist life, and it is possible that in some instances Lollard congregations, or members thereof, became Anabaptists; but we have no documentary evidences that such was the case. After the outbreak of the persecutions in the Netherlands (1567) thousands of Dutch evangelicals, many of them Mennonites, took refuge in England, where the rapidly developing textile industries offered to artisans a ready means of support.

h. Separatists under Elizabeth. About 1578 Robert Browne, a relative of Lord Burleigh and liberally educated, reached the conviction that Presbyterianism had as little scriptural support as Episcopacy and that apostolic precept and example required the formation of local churches absolutely independent one of another, and that each local body should be a pure democracy, each member being a truly regenerate believer and all having absolutely equal rights and privileges, the only headship belonging to the Lord Jesus Christ. Separation from a corrupt and apostate church is not only a right, but a duty of believers. "The kingdom of God . . . is not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so few." Learning of some like-minded brethren in Norwich, he journeyed thither, and in co-operation with Robert Harrison, a Cambridge graduate, gathered a small congregation of zealous Separatists.

It is highly probable that Browne was indebted in some measure for his advanced views on Congregationalism, the separation of Church and State, and the unreserved carrying out of Scripture precept and example, to the Mennonites who abounded in this region.[1]

[1] See Williston Walker, "A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States," p. 30, *seq.*

In 1581, he fled with his congregation to Middelburg, Zeeland, where he published several works in defense of his principles. One of the most important of these is "A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the Wickedness of those Preachers which will not Reform till the Magistrate command or compel them." Browne became discouraged (perhaps mentally deranged) in 1583 and ultimately returned to the Established Church.

In 1586 or 1587, we meet with a congregation in London led by John Greenwood, Henry Barrowe, and John Penry, all highly educated and deeply earnest Nonconformists. These leaders were thrown into prison and after several years were executed as criminals (1593).

During their imprisonment they were enabled by their writings to influence a large number in favor of radical reform. They were far less pronounced in their Congregationalism and in their opposition to State interference in religious matters than Browne had been, but they had reached the conviction that under existing circumstances the organization of separate churches to be presbyterially governed was a necessity.

About 1593, Francis Johnson, a Puritan minister who had been exiled to Zeeland, was converted by reading one of Barrowe's tracts, the publication of which at Middelburg he was seeking to prevent. He conferred with Barrowe in prison shortly before his death and soon after this event led a large body of English Separatists to Amsterdam, where with the learned Henry Ainsworth as his associate, a Presbyterian form of Separatism was for years vigorously maintained.

Shortly after their settlement in Amsterdam "divers of them fell into the errors of the Anabaptists . . . too common in these countries, and so persisting were excommunicated by the rest." So wrote Johnson in 1606. It was the opinion of leading churchmen of the time that Puritanism logically led to Separatism, and that Separatism had its legitimate issue in Anabaptism. Dr. R. Some wrote: "If every particular congregation in England might set up and put down at their pleasure, popish and Anabaptistical fancies would overflow this land; the consequence would be dangerous, viz, the dishonor of God, the contempt of her majesty, the overthrow of the church and universities, and the utter confusion of this noble kingdom."

A number of individuals had before the end of the reign of Elizabeth been led to feel the inconsistency between the Congregationalists' insistence on a pure church-mem-

bership and the practice of infant baptism, but we have no evidence of the organization of English Anti-pedobaptist congregations, as distinguished from the older Mennonite churches, during this reign.

Among the results of Elizabeth's long reign was the almost complete extirpation of Roman Catholicism, which she had found the dominant form of religion. But her Protestant subjects had become hopelessly divided. Her political strength was sufficient to enable her to have her way and to enforce a rigorous uniformity in opposition to the wishes of a large majority of the people and against the judgment of some of her ablest statesmen. The foundations had been laid by a few overzealous churchmen (like Bancroft) for what would long afterward be known as the High Church party and would gather to itself all the Romanizing elements that were not willing to defy the laws by the actual practice of Roman rites. In the large, intelligent, and earnest Puritan party that thought it wise for the time to conform and yet hoped for a Reformation of the church on a Calvinistic basis, we have what would long afterward be known as the Low Church, or evangelical party. While in the nonconforming Puritans and in the Separatists we have the beginnings of the great dissenting bodies that have constituted so marked a feature of the religious life of England and her colonies, and especially of North America.

(5) *James I. (1603–1625). a. The Accession of James and the Millenary Petition.* James Stuart, son of Mary, Queen of Scotland, and Henry Stuart (Lord Darnley), had succeeded his mother (1587) as James VI. of Scotland. Being a lineal descendant of Henry VII. and after the death of Elizabeth the next heir to the crown, he succeeded without opposition. He had a good theological education and had submitted with a reasonably good grace to the domineering of the Scotch Presbyterian Establishment, and it was confidently expected by the Puritans of England that his administration would be strongly in the interest of their cause.

Soon after his arrival in England a petition signed by seven hundred and fifty Puritan clergy, including a number of bishops, deans, and other officials (called the "Mil-

lenary Petition" as purporting to represent a thousand clergy), was presented to the king for the removal of all popish elements from the worship of the church and the adoption of hyper-Calvinistic articles of faith (the Lambeth Articles). While he condescended to argue with the representatives of the petitioners, he treated them with scant courtesy and soon convinced them that their party could suffer only tribulation at his hand.

James was thoroughly convinced that the theocratic views of the Presbyterians were inconsistent with royal absolutism and that the divine right of kings could best be safeguarded by a recognition of the divine right of bishops as well.

b. The Hampton Court Conference. · With a view to a better understanding of the religious situation in England and the peaceable settlement of the differences that had arisen between the contending churchmen and the Puritans, a conference was arranged at Hampton Court (January, 1604), to which six Puritan ministers and nineteen of their opponents (nearly all bishops and deans) were invited to appear before the king and to discuss in his presence and with him the points at issue. He had already committed himself to the maintenance of the existing order with such reforms as might be proved needful. The Puritans afterward complained that they were not sufficiently represented and that their arguments were treated frivolously and contemptuously by the king. The churchmen were highly gratified with his display of wisdom, wit, learning, dexterity, perspicuity, and sufficiency, declaring that they had never heard the like before.

In answer to the Puritans' demand for better church government, the king answered in a rage: "If you aim at a Scotch Presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, will meet and censure me and my council." Their request for certain additions to the catechism and the revision of the English Bible were granted. It should be said that the king discussed with the utmost freedom and confidence with the prelates many alleged abuses and received from them such explanations and palliations as they were able to make.

c. The One Hundred and Forty-one Canons. As a final answer to the Puritans one hundred and forty-one

canons, which had been drafted by Bishop Bancroft, were adopted by the Convocation of Canterbury with the king's authority (April, 1604).

These pronounced the sentence of excommunication upon any who should impugn the true and apostolical character of the Church of England, or any part of its authorized worship or ceremonies. Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer under protest or with mental reservation was prohibited, only those being allowed to subscribe who could do so willingly and *ex animo*. Full provision was made for the enforcement of uniformity.

Bancroft became primate the following December and proceeded with great vigor to carry into effect the regulations he had been chiefly instrumental in foisting upon the church. A large number of Puritan ministers were silenced by the *ex animo* test. With Bancroft as his chief ecclesiastical adviser and the Court of High Commission as his instrument, James would doubtless have carried out his inquisitorial proceedings against the Puritans to still greater lengths had not these proceedings aroused the antagonism of the judges.

In 1605 Bancroft complained to the privy council that five hundred and seventy prohibitions had been granted by the judges to the proceedings of the ecclesiastical Court of Arches. On a number of occasions the judges delivered by writs of *habeas corpus* those who had been imprisoned by the High Commission Court. The judges refused to allow that the king, with the High Commission Court, could, without a special act of Parliament, deprive Englishmen of their rights established by law. One of the judges was arrested by the High Commission Court and heavily fined. Bancroft persuaded the king that he had a right to coerce the judges. Sir Edward Coke withstood king and archbishop, insisting that the ecclesiastical courts must take the law from the judges as interpreted by them. The ecclesiastical courts had no right to fine or imprison except for heresy. The Parliament of 1610 severely censured the Court of High Commission, and the king's speech in its defense was heard in silence.

A Cambridge jurist published about this time "The Interpreter," in which he asserted: "It is uncontrollable that the king of England is an absolute king." Convocation asserted in an unqualified way the divine right of kings. Parliament, alarmed at such encroachments on British liberty, imprisoned the author of "The Interpreter" and suppressed the book.

Parliament demanded (July, 1610) that the deprived Puritan ministers be restored, and complained of the existence of gross abuses, such as plurality of benefices, non-residence, and unwarranted excommunication. It was evident that Parliament was enthusiastically

sympathetic with the Puritan cause, and that the old spirit of British liberty had become thoroughly reawakened.

The king directed the archbishop to remedy such abuses as were recognized as existing, and some ineffective efforts at reform were made. In its autumn session, Parliament reiterated its demands, expressed its disgust at the methods employed by the archbishop, and dissolved in a spirit that augured ill to ecclesiastical authority.

d. Hopes of the Romanists. Romanists had hoped for an alleviation of their sufferings at the hands of the son of Mary Stuart who had shown himself so averse to extreme Protestantism. The discovery of a Jesuit plot early in his reign led to the adoption of drastic measures. Within a short time five thousand five hundred and sixty were convicted of recusancy, *i. e.*, refusal as Roman Catholics to take the oath of supremacy and to make other required declarations. Another great plot discovered in 1605 (the Gunpowder Plot) led to still more rigorous measures. Suspected Catholics must not only attend the parish churches, but must also partake of the Lord's Supper therein.

e. Abbot's Moderate Administration. Under Archbishop Abbot (1611–1633) the Puritans enjoyed considerable ease. A thorough-going Calvinist himself, he had little inclination to enforce the Act of Uniformity.

> He considered the Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued those men who did that the most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the church or conformity to the articles or canons established he made little inquiry and took less care; he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin and for his sake did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done. If men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what they would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him and at least equally preferred by him.[1]

Abbot seems to have encouraged the king in burning heretics (Bartholomew Legate and Edward Wightman, 1612), as was consistent with his rigorous Calvinistic principles.

Many Puritans who had been in exile returned under Abbot's encouragement. The king's daughter, Elizabeth, was married to

[1] Clarendon, "History of the Great Rebellion," Vol. I., p. 68, *seq.*

Frederick of the Palatinate, a Calvinist. James sent his Calvinistic theologians to the synod of Dort (1618), with instructions to "favor no innovations in doctrine, and to conform to the confessions of neighboring reformed churches." He had been trained in Calvinistic theology and was still sympathetic with the doctrinal side of Calvinism.

His attitude toward Calvinism, on the one hand, and Catholicism, on the other, underwent a remarkable change at about this time. His desire for the marriage of his son Charles to the Spanish Infanta caused him to refuse support to his son-in-law, Frederick, in his war with Ferdinand for the Bohemian crown, and also to treat Roman Catholicism in England with some consideration.

He now promised the king of Spain "that no Roman priest or other Catholic should henceforth be condemned upon any capital law; and although he could not at present rescind the laws inflicting only pecuniary mulcts, yet he would so mitigate them as to oblige his Catholic subjects to him."

f. The Rise of Laud. Archbishop Abbot was no longer in favor. A new ecclesiastical adviser now appeared (1521) in the person of John Williams, who made terms with the corrupt Buckingham and became Lord Keeper in succession to Francis Bacon, who had been convicted of the most shameful venality and degraded along with others to satisfy the demands of Parliament for reform, without the sacrifice of Buckingham, the king's favorite. Williams, though not distinctively a High Churchman himself, soon brought to the front William Laud, the typical High Churchman, who was to be almost omnipotent under Charles I., and the author of his many woes. Parliament, already bitterly antagonistic to the king because of his lawless methods of raising money (sale of offices and monopolies, forced benevolences, etc.) and the shamelessness of the lives of his courtiers, now became alarmed at the favor shown to Romanists and clamored for war with Spain.

High Churchmen, like Montague and Laud, along with their advocacy of extreme ritualism and of the divine right of bishops and kings, now began to promulgate a type of theological teaching which because of its coincidence with that of the Remonstrants of the Netherlands was denominated Arminianism, but which

was in reality the semi-Pelagianism of the Roman Catholic Church. The visit of Charles to Spain in 1623 aroused Puritan England to anti-papal fury, which was somewhat allayed when the abandonment of the Spanish match was announced. As an offset to the bitter opposition of Parliament to the royal policy, Convocation, which was now strongly anti-Puritan, voted the king a subsidy of four shillings in the pound for four years (1624).

g. Nonconformity under James. During the early years of James' reign large numbers of Nonconformists and Separatists followed those who had already taken refuge in the Netherlands and had formed congregations there. About 1602, John Smyth, a Cambridge graduate, after a long struggle felt compelled to separate from the establishment and gathered a little congregation of Separatists at Gainsborough. To this congregation and its out-of-town adjunct at Scrooby Manor belonged a number of men who were to become famous in the New World as well as the Old, such as William Brewster, William Bradford, Richard Clyfton, John Robinson, Thomas Helwys, and John Murton. About 1604, John Robinson became pastor of the Scrooby congregation. Persecution caused the emigration of Smyth and his people to Amsterdam (about 1606). Robinson and his flock followed a year or two later and settled at Leyden. Smyth and his associates soon found themselves at variance with Johnson and Ainsworth, pastors of the older Congregational church at Amsterdam.

h. An English Anti-pedobaptist Movement. By 1608 Smyth, Helwys, Murton, and a number of their associates, had reached the conviction that their baptism, church order, and the ordination of their minister, having been received in an apostate church, were invalid, and that infant baptism was without scriptural authorization and was inconsistent with regenerate church-membership. Accordingly they repudiated their church organization, baptism, and ordination, and introduced believer's baptism anew, Smyth, it is said, baptizing first himself and then others and the newly baptized congregation organizing itself anew with Smyth as its pastor.

Smyth and a majority of his company soon became convinced that they had made a mistake in introducing

baptism and church order anew when a body of baptized believers that claimed apostolic succession (the Mennonites) could have given them a legitimate introduction to apostolic ordinances and order. They were disfellowshiped by Helwys, Murton, and a few others who insisted upon the legitimacy of their proceedings and regarded with great disfavor Smyth's craving for apostolic succession. Smyth and his followers sought admission into a Mennonite church. Exceedingly cautious and fearful of disturbing their own fellowship, the church postponed their final admission until 1614, three years after Smyth's death.

In 1611 Helwys, Murton, and their associates, encouraged no doubt, by the comparatively tolerant administration of Archbishop Abbott and convinced that duty required them to propagate their principles at home, returned to England, where within the next fifteen years they published several noble pleas for liberty of conscience.

In 1526 they had five congregations in different parts of England. Controversy had arisen among them regarding the deity of Christ and other matters and both parties earnestly sought the countenance and support of the Mennonites in Holland. Socinianism, which had by this time greatly influenced the Mennonite body and in which Smyth had become deeply involved, was evidently dominant in the teachings of the English Anti-pedobaptists of this time.

i. The Pilgrim Fathers. Robinson's congregation settled at Leyden, where the pastor established intimate relations with the university and became recognized as a stanch defender of Calvinism against Arminianism, which was disturbing the life of the institution and city. By 1618 they found the conditions of life at Leyden so severe as to make their gradual diminution and ultimate extinction imminent, and they began to cast about for some means of extricating themselves. It was finally arranged through friends in England that they should emigrate to New England. Their poverty was such as to make it impracticable for them all to go at once. It required the greatest sacrifices on the part of all to arrange for the transportation of the Pilgrim Fathers to their new home. It was arranged that the pastor would go or stay with the major part, and as the major part remained

behind he finished his life at Leyden. After suffering untold hardships the party landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, and nearly half of these succumbed to the severity of the winter and lack of proper food and housing. Thus was laid the foundation for the Congregational life of the New World.

j. A Mother of Congregational and Baptist Churches. In 1616 Henry Jacob, a highly educated Puritan minister who had been pastor of an exiled congregation at Middelburg, felt it his duty to adventure his life in an effort to establish a pure church in the neighborhood of London. This congregation suffered much persecution, but became the mother of most of the Congregational and Baptist churches in England.

The arbitrariness, corruption, and untrustworthiness of James in his political and ecclesiastical administration had provoked a mighty reaction in favor of civil liberty and ecclesiastical reformation. Puritanism and civic reform had joined hands for the overthrow of despotism. James had cast in his lot with the High Church advocates of the divine right of kings and the divine right of bishops, a policy that was to lead to a revolution in the next reign. Separatism which had begun under Elizabeth was greatly fostered by James' tyranny. The settlement of Virginia for purposes of exploitation had been effected (1609 onward) and Anglican worship had been established in this part of America. With the Pilgrim Fathers the principles of civil and religious liberty, suppressed in England for the time, were transplanted to the New World, where they were to have a marvelous development.

(6) *Charles I. (1625–1649). a. Character and Policy of the King.* Charles simply perpetuated the civil and ecclesiastical policy of his father. With far less education and devoid of the thorough grounding in Calvinism that James had enjoyed, more deeply assured than his father had been of the absoluteness of his authority as a matter of divine right, and persuaded by his civil and ecclesiastical advisers that policy lay in the line of unswerving assertion of irresponsible authority, the disregard of Parliament and of the constitutional rights of the people, and the use of force for the overcoming of

all opposition, he goaded the Puritans and the advocates of civil liberty into revolt that resulted in his overthrow and execution and in the disestablishment of the church with the abolition of the hierarchy.

Charles' mother was a Roman Catholic at heart, and he had married a Roman Catholic French princess. If he had been free, there can be no doubt but that he would have avowed himself a Romanist. From the beginning William Laud was his chief counselor in civil and ecclesiastical matters.

b. The Laudian Régime.

Born in 1573, while still at Oxford Laud became deeply imbued with High Church principles, and defended baptismal regeneration in a thesis. He became Bishop of St. Davids (1621), Bishop of Bath and Wells (1626), Bishop of London (1628), and Archbishop of Canterbury (1633). In 1627 he was made a privy councilor, and was promoted from stage to stage in the civil administration until he became Lord Chancellor in 1628. Till the outbreak of the Civil War in 1641, he was the power behind the throne. He was completely dominated by the idea of the divine right of kings and bishops. The type of his theological teaching was throughout Roman Catholic. He attached the utmost importance to the minutiæ of ecclesiastical furniture and its arrangement, ecclesiastical vestments and the manner of putting them on and wearing them, ecclesiastical festivals, the radical distinction between clergy and laity, the magical efficacy of priestly functions and especially of the sacraments, and could not tolerate the slightest deviation from the established forms. The Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission became in his hands a veritable Inquisition. Spies were sent out into all parts of the country to detect any violation of the Act of Uniformity, and those who were proved guilty of disobedience to the ecclesiastical laws or censured through the press the corrupt and tyrannical ecclesiasticism that prevailed were seized, tried, tortured (sometimes shamefully mutilated), and thrust into prison. The reign of Laud has been characterized as a reign of "Thorough." It might well be called also a reign of terror.

The forces of opposition that had been developed under Elizabeth and James grew stronger and stronger in proportion as the civil and ecclesiastical administration became more and more despotic.

While Laud did not see his way clear to restore England to the papacy, he did not hesitate to declare his essential agreement with the Church of Rome. "The religion of the Church of Rome and ours is all one." He laid much stress on "the beauty of holiness," meaning thereby elaborate church decoration and elaborate and solemn ritual. He promoted the restoration of religious pictures,

crosses, and altars. He regarded the altar, which must be set against the east end of the church within the chancel, as "the greatest place of God's residence upon earth, greater than the pulpit, for there 'tis 'This is my body'; but in the other it is at most, but 'This is my word.'" His idea of the Supper was the Romanist, namely, that of a sacrifice. Hence the altar.

c. The Scotch in Rebellion. James had, in 1610, attempted to enforce Episcopacy upon the Scotch, and had provided a fully equipped hierarchy. Late in his reign he had been accompanied by Laud to Scotland, and the two had discussed plans for the uprooting of Presbyterianism and the assimilation of the Scottish to the English church. Once in full authority as the trusted counselor of Charles, he proceeded to enforce the Anglican ceremonies upon the Scotch by drastic measures. In 1635 canons were imposed upon the Scotch which involved recognition of the royal supremacy and the use of an edition of the English liturgy specially prepared by Laud, which included consecration formulæ, the ceremonial blessing of the baptismal water, and intercession for the dead. His thought seems to have been, that as force would have to be employed in any case, a little additional Romanizing would make little difference. The result was the signing of a new covenant by the Scottish Presbyterians (1638), and a general uprising against civil and ecclesiastical tyranny.

d. Calvinistic Preaching Prohibited. With a view to crippling the Puritans, who were found preaching the doctrines of Calvinism, Charles (Laud) appended to the Prayer Book a prohibition of "all further curious search" about the great questions that divided Calvinists from Arminians. As the rank and file of the clergy were ignorant and vicious and incapable of preaching to edification, many Puritan communities had employed able ministers to preach or lecture at hours different from those required for the prescribed services. Laud strictly prohibited all services that were not conducted in the prescribed manner and with the use of prescribed portions of Scripture, and required of all regular attendance on the church services. Certain church endowments had been so far under the control of individuals that Puritan preaching could be fostered despite kings

and bishops. Laud put an end to such irregularities, and completed the centralization of control in the crown. James had sought, in 1618, by issuing a "Book of Sports" for Sundays and compelling all the clergy to announce the sports from the pulpits, to destroy the Puritan Sabbath. Charles and Laud were equally bent on the promotion of the Roman Catholic view and use of the Lord's Day.

e. The Short Parliament and the Longer Convocation. In 1640 Charles thought it wise to convoke Parliament, after ruling for years without consulting the people, in order to secure aid in suppressing the religious uprising in Scotland. Parliament was so clamorous for reform and so outspoken in its protest against the further trampling on constitutional liberty, that it was dissolved after sitting for three weeks (Short Parliament). Convocation, against all precedent, was allowed to continue its sessions after the dissolution of Parliament, and under Laud's guidance adopted seventeen canons, which asserted the unlimited power of the king as a matter of divine right and as in accord with the very nature of things, and the right of the crown to the possessions of subjects without their consent, and imposed on the clergy an oath never by counsel or act "to alter the government of this church by archbishops, deans, and archdeacons, etc." This "*etcetera* oath," which bound the clergy to they knew not what, aroused such a furor that Charles felt compelled to suspend its operation.

It was inevitable that Scottish Covenanters should now join hands with English Puritans against their common enemies.

f. The Long Parliament and the Civil War. Parliament was again convoked in November (the famous Long Parliament). From the beginning the relations between king and Commons were exceedingly strained, and the result was the outbreak of the Civil War, the conviction of Strafford, Charles' chief civil adviser, and Laud, of high treason (the former was executed May, 1641, the latter January, 1645), and in the overthrow and execution (1649) of the king. In 1641 the prelates were excluded from the House of Lords, and the Episcopal Establishment was virtually abolished.

g. The Grand Remonstrance. As early as December 1, 1641, Parliament had passed a "Grand Remonstrance," in which it had expressed a desire for the calling of a "general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island, assisted by some from foreign parts professing the same religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the church." The co-operation of the Scotch Presbyterians and of the Calvinists of the continent was evidently in mind. The Scotch would co-operate only on condition that Parliament on behalf of England should accept the Solemn League and Covenant, which involved the preservation of Presbyterianism in Scotland, its adoption in England and Ireland, and uncompromising "endeavor" for "the extirpation of popery, prelacy, . . superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness . . . and that the Lord may be one and his name one in the three kingdoms." This document was accepted by the English Parliament (1643).

h. The Westminster Assembly. On June 1, 1643, the Commons voted "for the calling an assembly of learned and godly divines" to meet "at Westminster . . . on the first day of July." They were instructed to confer regarding "the liturgy, discipline, and government of the Church of England, or the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, . . and to deliver their opinion and advices . . . to both or either of" the houses of Parliament.

Many moderate Episcopalians were invited, but only a few attended. A large number of conforming Puritans, including some of the greatest scholars of the land (Lightfoot, Coleman, Selden, etc.), participated. A number of Independents (most of whom had been in exile, but had returned under the encouragement of the Long Parliament: Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Burroughs, Simpson) and two Independent laymen, Sir Henry Vane and the Viscount Saye and Seal, also participated. A considerable number of able Scotch theologians (including Gillespie, Henderson, Baillie, Rutherford, and Edwards) were active participants. Several New England theologians (Cotton, Davenport, and Hooker) were invited, but did not attend. It was the avowed aim of the assembly to enforce absolute uniformity throughout England, Scotland, and

Ireland, no regard being had to the consciences of Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, Independents, or Baptists. Toleration was denounced by leading members of the assembly as the "last and strongest hold of Satan." By 1648 it had produced a Longer and Shorter Catechism and a Confession of Faith, which rank among the ablest symbolical works of the Reformed churches, a Directory of Church Government and Discipline, and a Directory for Worship. It was the aim of the Presbyterian Parliament to enforce the system of doctrine and church order elaborated by the assembly upon the entire population, and to this end it was decided that house to house visitation should be made and that every responsible individual should be compelled to sign the Solemn League and Covenant.

i. New England Puritanism. During the early years of Charles' reign, thousands of Puritans emigrated to New England, having secured charters more liberal than such a ruler might have been expected to grant. In 1628 a colony of nonconforming Puritans settled at Salem, Mass. It was largely reinforced in 1629. A far larger and more important colony was planted in 1629 on Massachusetts Bay, which in a few years had several thousand members, including such leaders as Winthrop, Saltonstall, Dudley, Noel, Johnson, and Pynchon, and was soon equipped with such highly educated ministers as John Cotton, Hugh Peter, Thomas Hooker, John Wilson, and Richard Mather.

The Massachusetts Bay colonists claimed to be loyal churchmen and esteemed it an honor to call the Church of England their dear mother. Even the Salem men declined to be regarded as Separatists; but they were soon brought by the influence of the Plymouth colonists and the force of circumstances to such pronounced Separatism that they would not administer the ordinances to members of the Massachusetts Bay Colony because they belonged to no reformed church. The Massachusetts Bay colonists soon became as pronounced as any in their opposition to the forms and ceremonies of the English church and proceeded to establish a theocracy like that of Geneva, in which citizenship was made dependent on fellowship in a church, fellowship in a church on a personal profession of saving faith, and the validity of a church organization on the sanction of the churches already organized.

Similar colonies, strongly Presbyterian in sentiment, were formed in Connecticut, chiefly by Puritans from Massachusetts Bay (1633 onward), and in New Haven, chiefly by a company of London Puritans, under the leadership of John Davenport (1637).

j. The Founding of Providence and Liberty of Conscience. Providence was founded in 1636 by Roger Williams, a zealous Separatist, who had so irritated the Massachusetts authorities by his objections to the charter, his denunciation of the government for requiring the citizens' oath of allegiance, his extreme Separatism, and his opposition to the theocratic government, with its inherent intolerance and disregard of the consciences of its subjects, that his banishment had come to be regarded as a matter of necessity. The colony was formed on the basis of absolute liberty of conscience, the land having been purchased from the aborigines, who alone, in Williams' opinion, had a right to dispose of it. He became convinced soon after his settlement at Providence (if not before) that infant baptism was without scriptural warrant, and with a company of others introduced baptism anew and organized the first Baptist church in America (1639).

In 1638 a number of men and women, who had been forced to leave Massachusetts because of their disagreement with the Standing Order (Antinomians, etc.), settled on Rhode Island, and under the guidance of William Coddington and John Clarke drew up a constitution of a somewhat theocratic character, God's word being made law. In 1641 they declared their government a democracy and proclaimed anew the principle of liberty of conscience which had been earlier adopted. Williams and Clarke succeeded in securing from the Long Parliament a most liberal charter for the union of Providence and the Rhode Island towns as Providence Plantations. Again we have democracy and liberty of conscience embodied in explicit terms in the new constitution. This community was to furnish to the world an object-lesson, demonstrating the practicability of the great principles of civil and religious liberty and of absolute voluntaryism in religion. By 1644 (probably earlier) John Clarke was pastor of a Baptist church at Newport.

k. Calvinistic Baptist Churches in England. In 1633 a portion of the congregation that had been ministered to by Henry Jacob, and of which John Lathrop, soon to be driven to America by persecution, was at the time pastor, adopted Anti-pedobaptist views, and partly

on this account and partly because of the inconvenience of meeting in large companies during the Laudian *régime*, withdrew peaceably and formed a new congregation. There had been native Anti-pedobaptists of the Arminian type in England since 1611 at least; but the lines were very closely drawn at that time between Calvinists and Arminians and agreement on the baptismal question was not likely to form a basis of fellowship. Several other groups of Anti-pedobaptists withdrew from the mother church before 1640. At this time the question of immersion came to be much discussed.

It appears that Henry Jessey, who was at this time pastor of the Jacob church, was already convinced of the importance of immersion. Those Anti-pedobaptists who believed immersion to be the only valid form of baptism and who considered it important in restoring correct baptism to have a properly baptized administrator, sent one of their number, Richard Blacklock, who knew Dutch, to Holland, where they had been informed immersion obtained by succession was available. He probably secured immersion from the Rhynsburg Collegiants, a small party that combined Socinian and Mennonite elements and may have derived its immersion from the Polish Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptists (Socinians). On Blacklock's return large numbers were immersed (1641). For some years John Spilsbury, a well-educated minister, had been pastor of one of the Calvinistic Anti-pedobaptist congregations. He repudiated with great earnestness the theory that baptizedness is essential to the administrator of baptism, maintaining that it was popish in its tendency. It is very possible that Spilsbury had introduced immersion independently some time before its importation from Holland. The idea of the necessity of apostolic succession in the matter of baptism was soon generally abandoned; but the belief that immersion is the apostolic form of baptism from which those who would be obedient to Christ and follow his example have no right to depart, when it had once laid hold upon the English and American Anti-pedobaptist conscience rapidly gained general acceptance and in a few years was a marked feature of the teaching and practice of the Particular (Calvinistic) and General (Arminian) Baptists.

After the breach between king and Parliament (1641) both parties multiplied. By 1643 there were in and around London at least seven congregations of the former, who united in drawing up and subscribing a Confession of Faith, which is in accord with the views of the great mass of modern Baptists. In 1645 Henry Jessey himself became a Baptist and continued for some time as pastor of the original Jacob church, part of whose members were still Pedobaptist.

l. Congregationalists and Baptists control the Army. Congregationalists and Baptists had by 1648 become predominant in the parliamentary army. After the battles of Marston Moor (1644) and Naseby (1645), the importance of the Scotch Presbyterians as a military factor was greatly diminished and dissatisfaction with the high-handed measures of the Presbyterian Parliament and the Westminster Assembly in seeking to foist Presbyterianism upon England became more and more outspoken. Cromwell, Fairfax, Fleetwood, Ireton, Overton, Desborough, Lilburne, Harrison, Fiennes, Hutchinson, and most of the other officers in the parliamentary army, were Independents (several of them Baptists).

m. Execution of the King and the Inauguration of the Commonwealth. In December, 1648, the army, encouraged by the Independent minority in Parliament, occupied London, expelled the Presbyterian members of Parliament, and compelled the remnant of Parliament to execute the king (January 30, 1649), who had been held for some years prisoner. Cromwell, as head of the army, now assumed authority, which was of necessity strongly military; but he sought to give religious equality to the chief evangelical parties so far as they were not suspected of disloyalty to the government, and Congregationalists, Presbyterians and evangelical Churchmen were eligible for the pastorates of the parish churches, if they were loyal and intellectually and morally qualified and were wanted by the parishioners.

In 1644 Roger Williams, then in England on the business of his colony, published his "Bloody Tenet of Persecution," the most telling exposure of the enormity of efforts to force conscience that had ever been made. It was bitterly attacked by New England Congregationalists (Cotton, *et al.*) and by Scotch and English Presbyterians. Not all of the English Independents were willing to go as far as Williams in his assertion and vindication of absolute liberty of conscience. But he went no further than Hubmaier had gone in the early Reformation time or than the English Arminian Anti-pedobaptists had gone (1614–1624).

Thus the period closes in England with the overthrow of monarchy and episcopacy, which had overreached

themselves by asserting their divine right and trampling on the civil and religious liberties of the people, the overthrow of Presbyterian government, which was seeking to establish a Presbyterian theocracy by an equal disregard of the rights of conscience, and the temporary triumph of Independency.

VIII. THE REFORMATION IN OTHER LANDS.

The spread of evangelical life and thought beyond the great centers where it became dominant must be briefly treated here.

1. *Italy.*[1] (1) *Religious Condition of Italy at the Beginning of the Protestant Revolution.* Italy was unspeakably corrupt during the later mediæval time. The papal court had set the example of shameless licentiousness, venality, and devotion to secular interests. The Renaissance had undermined faith in the dogmas of the church and created a strong aversion to scholasticism with its barbarous Latin and its fruitless methods; but in only a few minds had it produced sane theological thinking with a return to the primitive and inspired sources of Christianity and to a genuine faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Savonarola's fervid denunciations of the social and civic vices of the time and of the fearful corruptions of the ecclesiastical administration did not have in them the note of genuine evangelical reform, but were simply the utterances of enthusiastic asceticism.

(2) *Attempted Catholic Reforms.* Luther's early reformatory utterances and proceedings awakened considerable interest in Italy, and in 1523 fifty or sixty clergymen, earnestly desirous of a religious revival, united to this end in "The Oratory of the Divine Love." Among the members of the Oratory were Caraffa, afterward Pope Paul IV., Thiene, who with Caraffa was to found the order of the Theatines (1524), Sadoleto, who

[1] See Gerdesius, "*Specimen Ital. Reformationis*," 1765; Erdmann, "*Die Reformation u. ihre Martyrer in Italien*," 1855; Sixt, "*Petrus Paulus Vergerius*," 1855; McCrie, "Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy," 1833; Cantu, "*Gli Eretici d' Italia*," 1865–1867; Comba, "*Storia della Riforma in Italia*," 1881, and "*I nostri Protestanti*," Vol. II., 1897; Benrath, "Bernardino Ochino of Siena," 1876; Young, "The Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," 1860; Duruy, "Carlo Caraffa," 1882; Symonds, "The Catholic Reaction" (in "The Renaissance in Italy"), 1887; articles on the various persons concerned, by Hauck-Herzog.

as cardinal was to contend unsuccessfully with Calvin for the possession of Geneva, and Carnasecchi, who after serving as papal secretary became a disseminator of evangelical opinions and a victim of the Inquisition (1567). This movement also was devoid of the true evangelical spirit. Whether or not Contarini belonged to the Oratory he was likeminded with its members, and earnestly strove to promote ascetical piety among clergy and monks.

(3) *Circulation of Lutheran and Reformed Literature.* The invasion of Italy and the sacking of Rome by a Lutheran army in the service of Charles V. (1527), left multitudes of German Lutherans in Italy who found means of diffusing Lutheran influence. Several of Luther's writings, as well as those of Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Bucer, were reprinted in Italy (for the most part anonymously or pseudonymously), and were widely circulated. The writings of Augustine now received increased attention. A new translation of the Bible into Italian (1530–1532) greatly stimulated Bible study. This translation seems to have been made at Venice by Bruccioli.

(4) *Some Friends of the Reformation.* In Ferrara, the Duchess Renata, who was a French princess, was a friend of the Reformation, and gave protection and encouragement to evangelical teachers. In Naples, Juan de Valdes, secretary to the Spanish viceroy, was strongly evangelical in sentiment, and brought a large number to a knowledge of the truth (1526–1533). Valdes and his followers were not avowed Protestants, but were sympathetic with Protestant teaching.

(5) *Caraffa, the Theatines, and the Jesuits.* Up to 1541 the promoters of evangelical life and thought in Italy had enjoyed considerable freedom. The failure of Contarini to reconcile Protestants and Catholics at the Regensburg Conference, led to a change of policy on the part of the papacy. Caraffa, who had spent some years in Spain and become thoroughly imbued with the fierce and uncompromising spirit of Spanish Catholicism, now succeeded (1542) in securing the reorganization of the Inquisition. Ignatius Loyola, who had just gained papal recognition for his new order (Jesuits), was also influ-

ential in bringing about this change of policy. The Theatines, before the Jesuits had fully entered upon their reactionary work, were the chief agents under Caraffa, in the searching out and the extermination of heresy.

Italian Protestantism had neither the numerical strength nor the heroic devotion to the truth that would have enabled it to withstand the fierce and determined onslaught to which it was now subjected. Most of the leaders escaped to Protestant lands, where they usually developed liberalistic types of teaching that sometimes involved denial of the deity of Christ. Some suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Inquisition. Mention has already been made of the circle of Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptists that had its chief center in the province of Venice, and delegates from whose churches met at Vicenza in 1550, and of Biandrata and the Sozzini, whose names are intimately associated with the Anti-trinitarian movement in Poland. Among the more eminent of the other anti-Catholic leaders the following are worthy of special notice:

(6) *Italian Evangelical Leaders.*

a. Bernardino Ochino, vicar-general of the Capuchins, and one of the most eloquent preachers of his time, had been won to the gospel by Valdes, and had labored with apostolic zeal for more than ten years, when he was charged with heresy by the promoters of the Inquisition. Warned by Contarini, he escaped to Switzerland. After laboring for some years in Geneva, Strasburg, and Augsburg, as a pastor of fugitive Italian evangelicals, he removed to England under Cranmer's patronage (1547), and for seven years made his influence powerfully felt as a preacher and writer in London, where he ministered to an Italian congregation. On the accession of Mary he returned to Zürich. Like most of the Italian evangelicals of his time he became more liberal in his thinking than the current orthodoxy approved, and was suspected of Anti-trinitarian and even Anti-pedobaptist views. An expression in a dialogue that seemed to imply an approval of polygamy led to his banishment from Zürich (1563). Discredited, aged, and homeless, he died about December, 1564.

b. Somewhat similar was the career of *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, a Florentine noble, who, as prior of a monastery, came under the influence of Valdes and his associates. He had been for some time earnestly engaged in evangelical work (1541 as prior in Lucca), when he was obliged to flee for his life from the Inquisition (1542). He also took refuge in Zürich, and passed thence to Geneva and to Strasburg, where he was made professor of Hebrew. He also

was invited by Cranmer to England, where he was professor in the University at Oxford till Mary came to the throne. He spent the remainder of his days in Zürich, dying in 1562.

c. To the same circle belonged *Galeazzo Caraccioli*, Marquis of Vico and nephew of Caraffa. Born in 1517, he was early brought to a knowledge of the truth under the influence of the evangelism of Valdes and Peter Martyr. In 1551 he fled to Geneva, where, till his death in 1586, he ministered to the Italian population and was one of the stanchest of Protestants. Few in that age gave up more for the gospel than did Caraccioli.

d. Of still more significance was the conversion of *Vergerio*, a learned jurist, who, when thirty-two years of age, had entered the church (1530). He soon gained great distinction as papal secretary and diplomatist, and was rewarded with the bishopric of Capodistria (1536). In 1544, while engaged in writing a work, "Against the Apostates in Germany," he was converted to evangelical views. In 1549, after he had long been under suspicion, he was deposed by the pope as a heretic. Escaping the Inquisition by flight, he went to Switzerland and then to Germany, where he became counselor to the Duke of Württemberg.

e. Aonio Paleario, the evangelical humanist, is also worthy of mention. Born in 1500, educated in Rome (1520–1527), he was for many years professor at Siena and at Lucca. In 1542, he was arraigned for heresy because of the publication of a work on "The Fullness, Sufficiency, and Satisfaction of the Suffering of Christ"; but his defense was so brilliant as to lead to his acquittal. After many years he was again charged with heresy and died at the stake (July 3, 1570).

As has already been said, the later anti-Catholic religious life of Italy during the second half of the sixteenth century was tinged with Anti-trinitarianism, combined in many cases with Anti-pedobaptism. The Inquisition succeeded in a few years in freeing Italy from all kinds of heresy and giving to the Roman Catholic Church an exclusiveness of authority that it had never enjoyed even in the mediæval time.

2. *Spain.*[1] (1) *Catholic Reformation Before the Protestant Revolution.* The political and religious condition of Spain at the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution has already been briefly sketched (p. 13). A little additional emphasis should, perhaps, be given to the great Catholic awakening in Spain that preceded the Lutheran Reformation. The zeal that had been fostered by centuries of

[1] See Wilkens, "*Gesch. d. Span. Protestantismus*," 1896 (also English tr., 1807); Lea, "Chapters from the Religious History of Spain"; Ticknor, "History of Spanish Literature"; Robertson, "Charles V.," ed. Prescott; Prescott, "History of the Reign of Philip II."; McCrie, "History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain," 1829; Boehmer, "*Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*"—"Spanish Reformers from 1520," 1874–1883; Betts, "Translation of Works of Spanish Reformers," 1869–1883; Stoughton, "The Spanish Reformers," 1883; Meyrick, "The Church in Spain," 1891; "*Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*," 20 vols., 1848–1863; Llorente, "*Hist. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*," 1817, 1818.

contact and conflict with Mohammedanism and had been brought to a white heat by the final struggle that resulted in the expulsion of all the Moors who would not accept the Catholic faith, had produced in the civil and ecclesiastical rulers an earnest desire to eliminate from the national church all elements of weakness and to make of Spain the greatest and most aggressive of the political forces of Europe, the model Catholic State. The national spirit was at this time peculiarly strong. Neither sovereigns nor prelates had much sympathy with the Renaissance or with the popes of the latter part of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, who subordinated religion to luxury and private interests and were far more concerned about the fine arts than they were about orthodoxy. There was no intention, however, to overthrow the papacy. It was desired only to reawaken it to the necessity of devoting itself undividedly to the promotion of unity and harmony throughout Christendom and the extension of the Catholic faith throughout the world. It is not to be supposed that this fanatical zeal for the universal dominion of the Catholic faith was accompanied by any great amount or wide diffusion of learning or by any particularly exalted ideas of morality. The masses of the people and even of the priests were densely ignorant. There was little regard for truth-telling or honesty. Licentiousness abounded, and a disregard for human suffering and life unsurpassed by that of the most savage peoples was general.

The chief ecclesiastical promoter and the finest example of the Catholic reformatory movement in Spain at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries was Ximenes de Cineros, who, born in poverty, attained to the greatest eminence in the Spanish church. As confessor to Queen Isabella, he inspired her and King Ferdinand with his ideals. Having been appointed provincial of the Franciscan order and having been armed with a papal bull procured by his royal patrons, he introduced such rigor into the administration of monastic life as to drive more than a thousand monks from the country. As Archbishop of Toledo he was unmerciful in his discipline of the clergy. The Complu-

tensian Polyglot Bible is a monument to his interest in the promotion of biblical learning. He devoted himself zealously to improving the instruction in the universities, seeking to avail himself of the good elements of humanism without introducing its skepticism and indifferentism. The revival of the study of the writings of Thomas Aquinas was one of the most marked features of his reform in the realm of theological education. To complete the extirpation of heretical modes of thought that survived the expulsion of Mohammedans and Jews the Inquisition, that had been established by Ferdinand and Isabella with papal consent (about 1478), was vigorously maintained, Ximenes himself serving for many years as Grand Inquisitor of Castile. The Spanish Inquisition was quite as much a political as a religious agency, and it became a means of building up a civil and ecclesiastical despotism almost unexampled in Europe.

Thus it appears that at the beginning of the Protestant Revolution Spain was far better fortified against attempted innovations than any other of the European States, and it was Spanish Catholicism that gave tone and policy to the Counter-Reformation.

(2) *Dissemination of Lutheran Teaching.* The anti-Catholic spirit was first disseminated by humanism, which had obtained some currency in Spain during the thirty years preceding the Reformation. A considerable number of persons came under the influence of Lutheranism while attending the Emperor Charles V. during his various sojourns in Germany. In the Netherlands also, where old evangelical thought and life, humanism, Lutheranism, and Zwinglianism had greatly weakened the hold of the Roman hierarchy, many Spaniards were led to adopt evangelical views. Among the imperial court officials who became more or less Protestant in their sympathies were the twin brothers Alphonso and Juan de Valdes. Of the highly influential evangelical activity of the latter during his residence at Naples we have already had some account. Alfonso served as Secretary of State from Charles' coronation to the Peace of Nuremberg (1532) and participated in several of the most important Diets in which negotiations with Protestants found place. The independence of Charles in

relation to the papacy and his conciliatory attitude toward the Protestants was no doubt due in some measure to Valdes' influence.

(3) *Spanish Evangelical Leaders.* The two chief centers of evangelical influence in Spain were Seville and Valladolid.

a. The first to awaken interest in Protestant teaching in Seville was *Roderigo de Valero*, who, as a street preacher, denounced the corruptions of the church with such violence and preached the gospel with such enthusiasm that he was imprisoned as a madman. Yet he had won to the evangelical cause Juan Gil, the chief cathedral preacher of the city, who became a mighty proclaimer of evangelical truth, and Ponce de la Fuente, an imperial chaplain.

b. Gil promulgated evangelical views in Valladolid (1555) and brought his influence to bear powerfully upon Domingo Derojas and Agostino Cazalla, who had been eminent among the priests of the city.

c. The Spanish version of the New Testament that had been made by *Francisco Enzinas* (1543) was a chief agency in the diffusion of evangelical light. Enzinas (Dryander) early left Spain for the Netherlands and afterward visited Wittenberg, where, in Melanchthon's house and with his aid and encouragement, he prepared his translation of the New Testament, the publication of which in Antwerp led to his imprisonment. Having escaped in 1545 he was thenceforth homeless, spending some time in Wittenberg, Strasburg, Switzerland, and England, and dying in Strasburg (1552).

d. Mention was made in an earlier section of *Juan Diaz*, an earnest and able Spanish Protestant, who was assassinated in 1546 through the procurement of his fanatical brother Alfonso, an official in the Roman Curia.

e. Juan Perez, who embraced evangelical views at Seville, fled to Geneva, where he published (1556) a new Spanish version of the New Testament and afterward a catechism and a translation of the Psalms.

f. Bartholomew Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, who had assisted in the persecution of Protestants in England under Mary, became imbued to some extent with evangelical principles. The publication (1558) of a new catechism brought upon him the charge of heresy. The Council of Trent pronounced the catechism orthodox, but Philip insisted on subjecting him to the Inquisition. He was sent to Rome for trial and required to abjure sixteen heretical statements. He died almost immediately after sentence had been pronounced. A number of monasteries in Seville and Valladolid were considerably influenced by evangelical teaching. From the south of France Protestantism spread into Aragon.

It is probable that about 1556 there were as many as two thousand Protestants in Spain widely scattered and meeting secretly in small groups.

(4) *Exterminating Measures of Philip II.* Charles V. was too much occupied with imperial interests outside of Spain to give the attention that was needful for the extirpation of heresy. Philip II., 1556 onward, had been educated under Jesuit influence and was full of fanatical zeal against heresy. From this time onward the Inquisition proceeded with all vigor to crush out the new teaching, and in 1570, as a result of numerous *autos da fe* at Valladolid and Seville, those who were not burned at the stake had been compelled to abandon their faith or had been driven from the country.

Most of the Spanish evangelicals seem to have been Lutheran in their sympathies, but those of Aragon were Calvinistic.

The Protestant movement in Spain is of interest as showing how much could be accomplished by a few zealous and determined men in the face of the fiercest and most unrelenting opposition, and the impossibility of continuing the work after its extirpation had been seriously taken in hand by the Inqnisition urged onward in its work by the fanatical king.

3. *Scandinavian Lands.*[1] (1) *Union and Disunion—Swedish Independence.* Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had been united in 1397, but Sweden had withdrawn from the union in 1448. Christian I. had forcibly restored the kingdom in 1457 and had added Schleswig-Holstein in 1457. Sweden again rebelled under the powerful leadership of Sten Sture. Supported by the archbishop, Gustav Troll, Christian II., an energetic and ferocious ruler, made a determined effort to subjugate Sweden (1518–1520). In the latter year the Swedes were forced to yield, but secured a promise of universal amnesty. In violation of his promise, Christian proceeded to slaughter the Swedish leaders ("Stockholm bath of blood," November, 1520).

(2) *Gustavus Vasa and the Swedish Reformation.* This act of treachery aroused the patriotism of the Swedes and under the leadership of Gustavus Vasa (April, 1521–1523), they were able to gain a glorious independence.

[1] See Weidling, "*Schwed. Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref.*," 1882; Butler, "The Ref. in Sweden," 1883; Fryxell, "*Leben u. Thaten Gustavus Vasa*," 1831; Münter, "*Kirchen Gesch. von Dänemark u. Norwegen*," 1823–1834; Lives of Tausen, by Rou (1757), and Suvh (1836); and Boyesen, "Hist. of Norway," 1890.

Gustavus had formed Luther's acquaintance some time before, while a fugitive, and had been deeply impressed by his personality (1517–1519). When fully established in authority he demanded of the Roman Curia a recognition of his right as king freely to deal with all ecclesiastical and religious matters in his lands, and refusing longer to permit his people to serve under a foreign yoke. He entered at once into close relations with the Saxon Protestant movement, secured the services of Andreæ, a leading Lutheran divine, had a translation of the Bible into Swedish made (N. T. by Andreæ, 1526), and in every way sought to promote the dissemination of the Lutheran teaching and to discourage Catholic effort.

The rupture between emperor and pope (1527) furnished a suitable occasion for the formal disowning of papal authority. A public disputation was held by royal authority, in which Olaf Petersen, who had studied at Wittenberg, triumphantly defended the Lutheran cause and the king threatened to abdicate (which would have been disastrous to Swedish independence) unless the national Diet would place at his disposal all ecclesiastical property and the revenues to be derived from it, grant freedom in preaching "God's pure word and gospel," and allow the nobles to take back all property they had alienated to the church since 1454. He proceeded to divide up the larger bishoprics and to bestow them upon Lutheran ministers. Lars Petersen was made Archbishop of Upsala (1531) without judicial authority over the other bishops. A Lutheran liturgy and a Lutheran hymn book were prepared by Olaf Petersen. An insurrection with which Catholic sympathy had much to do (1537–1543), was effectually suppressed. Under John III. (1568–1592), who had come under Jesuit influence, an unsuccessful effort was made to re-establish Roman Catholicism.

(3) *Christian II. and the Danish Reformation.* In Denmark as well as in Sweden the power and wealth of the nobles, and especially of the bishops, greatly interfered with the establishment of strong royal authority. Christian II., who was a nephew of Frederick the Wise, of Saxony, had been led to consider favorably the adoption of

Lutheranism as a means of overcoming the power of the bishops and strengthening and enriching the crown. On his conquest of Sweden (1520), he requested his uncle to send a Lutheran preacher for Copenhagen. Martin Reinhard was sent, but proving inefficient was soon allowed to return. Christian now made a strong effort to secure Luther himself. Carlstadt came and labored for a while, but was discredited by Luther and had to retire. Without waiting for any considerable instruction of his people in evangelical truth the king made a public breach with Rome by forbidding all appeals to Rome, permitting the clergy to marry, limiting the temporal power of the bishops, and reforming the monasteries. These innovations aroused much opposition and Christian was driven from his kingdom in 1523. His uncle, Frederick I., succeeding him, was obliged to swear allegiance to the old faith and to burn the statute book of his predecessor. Yet Lutheranism once introduced made rapid headway. Hans Tausen, the "Danish Luther," returned from Wittenberg in 1524 and proclaimed the new faith with great zeal. Persecuted for a time, he at last gained the royal favor (1529) and was made royal chaplain and pastor of one of the principal churches in the capital. The king had become a Lutheran, and in 1530 authorized the preparation of a Confession of Faith. Frederick died in 1533. Christian II., supported by the chief commercial cities, sought to regain the crown, and Frederick's sons, Christian and John, the one as a Protestant supported by the nobles, the other as a Catholic supported by the bishops, contended for the succession. The former triumphed and as Christian III. devoted his energies (1533–1559) to the completion of the work of reformation. Joh. Bugenhagen, one of Luther's trusted colleagues, was sent from Wittenberg to crown him (August, 1537) and to assist in the organization of the Danish church. Bugenhagen ordained seven Protestant bishops in place of those who had been deposed and the episcopal form of government has continued in Denmark to the present time.

(4) *Norway and Iceland.* Norway, which had for a time supported Christian II. and resisted the introduction

of Lutheranism, soon fell into line with the Danish movement and the highly influential archbishop of Trondhjem was compelled to yield. Iceland resisted with still more determination, but Lutheranism was introduced in 1539 by Gisser Einarsen, who had studied at Wittenberg and who was made bishop of Skalholt. A violent Catholic uprising under Bishop Arasen (1548) was finally suppressed in 1554.

In all these Scandinavian lands the nobles were conciliated by being allowed to participate largely in the spoliation of the church.

4. *Poland.*[1] (1) *Variety of Faiths and Toleration.* The religious and political situation of Poland at the beginning of the Reformation was peculiar. A large part of the population of Lithuania professed the Greek Catholic faith. Multitudes of Jews banished from Germany had taken refuge there. Considerable numbers of Hussites and Bohemian Brethren were present as a result of immigration and evangelizing effort from the neighboring Hussite States. Long before the Reformation a spirit of toleration had resulted from the presence of a variety of faiths, each represented by nobles or other influential personages. The royal authority was relatively weak.

(2) *Introduction of Lutheranism and Opposition of Sigismund I.* Lutheranism found early entrance and for a time made rapid headway. In 1523, King Sigismund sternly prohibited the sale and possession of Lutheran writings; but the rapid progress of Protestantism in the neighboring Prussia, close intercourse with the cities of Germany, attendance of a number of young noblemen at the University of Wittenberg, and a general popular desire for reform made this prohibition ineffective.

The municipal authorities of Dantzig promoted the introduction of the new faith. Other cities followed this example and the peasantry began to agitate violently for social and religious reform. The efforts of Sigismund I. to suppress heresy by violent means (1526) were only temporarily successful. The prohibition of attendance

[1] See Krasinski, "Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland," 1838; Lucaszewicz, "*Gesch. d. 'Reformation in K. in Lithauaen,*" 1841; Theiner, "*Vetera Documenta Poloniæ et Litbuaniæ,*" 1861-1863; Dalton, "*Joh. á Lasco,*" 1881 (Eng. tr., 1886); and Henschel, "*Joh. Laski,*" 1890

at heretical universities was disregarded by the nobles, and Polish students were to be found at Wittenberg, Strasburg, and (somewhat later) at Zürich and Geneva. From 1540 onward, Calvinism made rapid headway at the expense of Lutheranism.

(3) *Sigismund II. a Friend of the Reformation.* Sigismund II. (1545–1572) gave free course to the Reformation and corresponded with Calvin and Melanchthon.

(4) *Measures for Evangelical Union.* In 1555 the various evangelical parties held a conference at Kozminek and the leaders of the Bohemian Brethren made a strong effort to induce the rest to unite with them as the older party and to accept their church order. A number of evangelical nobles met at Petrikau and proposed that the king should call a national council to which Calvin, Beza, Melanchthon, and John á Lasco (a learned Polish nobleman who had for years labored in the evangelical cause in the Netherlands and in England) should be invited and which should determine the religious future of the kingdom.

(5) *Rise and Spread of Anti-trinitarianism.* Reference has been made in an earlier section to the rapidity with which from this time onward Anti-trinitarianism and Anti-pedobaptism, chiefly through the influence of Italian refugees, spread in Poland. Racov became the center of the Unitarian (Socinian) propaganda. A university with four hundred students, many of them sons of noblemen, and a liberally supported printing press, diffused the Socinian influence not only throughout Poland, Siebenbürgen, and Hungary, but less intensely, throughout the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland. In 1570 the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutherans, and the Reformed joined forces against the rapidly growing Anti-trinitarianism, but with little effect. In 1573 Catholic and Protestant nobles were placed upon a basis of equality by the Diet at Warsaw, each having the right to determine the religion of his subjects. The Jesuits availed themselves of the opportunity offered by this arrangement and were soon able to inspire the Catholic nobles with persecuting zeal and gradually to win other nobles to their faith. Socinianism proved no match for Jesuitism, the former tending to produce religious indifferentism,

the latter promoting a fiery enthusiasm that made its subjects willing to sacrifice everything to secure the triumph of its principles.

5. *Bohemia and Moravia.*[1] Bohemia and Moravia had remained Hussite in sentiment until the Reformation time. Bohemian Brethren abounded in both countries and had many supporters among the nobles. Luther's views were acceptable to a large proportion of the Hussites (Utraquists). The Bohemian Brethren found his doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist difficult of acceptance. We have already noticed the rapidity with which the Anabaptist movement spread in Moravia under the fostering care of some of the nobles (1526 onward). This growth was largely from immigration; but it is probable that several thousands of the older evangelicals embraced the faith of Hubmaier and Luther. Up to 1535 the Bohemian Brethren had themselves rebaptized such as came to them from the Roman Catholic Church. When to escape the application to themselves of the sanguinary Edict of Speier they repudiated Anabaptism, it is probable that many who were dissatisfied with the decision of the majority united with the more consistent Anabaptists.

From 1555 onward Moravian and Bohemian nobles claimed the right to protect their subjects in their profession of Protestantism by virtue of the provisions of the Augsburg treaty. As the Augsburg Confession was the only standard for tolerated Protestantism, most of the evangelicals soon became nominally Lutherans; though many no doubt still scrupled at Luther's doctrine of the Supper. Maximilian II. was devoid of persecuting zeal, if not sympathetic with Protestantism, and evangelical teaching had free course during his reign (1564–1576). There was so much in common between Utraquist Hussitism and Lutheranism that Hussites had little difficulty with the Augsburg Confession. German-Bohemian and German-Moravian Hussites became and remained for the most part ardent Lutherans. But during the latter part of the century Calvinism, everywhere

[1] See Pescheck, "The Ref. and the Anti-Ref. in Bohemia," 1845 (from the Germ., 1844); Gindely, "*Gesch. d. Gegenreformation in Böhmen,*" 1894, "*Gesch. d. Böhm. Brüder,*" 1857–1858; De Schweinitz, "The Hist. of the Church known as the *Unitas Fratrum,*" 1885; and Vickers, "Hist. of Bohemia," 1895.

aggressive, made rapid strides, especially among the Slavic and Magyar populations and among the Bohemian Brethren, with whose view of the Supper Calvinism was in substantial accord. To protect themselves against the machinations of the Jesuits, the Protestants of Bohemia formed a union in 1575 on the basis of a Confession of Faith in which it was sought to harmonize the Lutheran and Reformed systems. So powerful were the Protestant interests that Rudolph II., though a bitter enemy of the evangelical faith, felt obliged in 1609 to grant full toleration to the adherents of the Bohemian Protestant Confession and to grant the Protestants a charter with the right to have in connection with the royal court a Board of Defensors to look after the enforcement of its provisions. The violation of the provisions of this charter was the immediate cause of the Thirty Years' War.

6. *Austria.*[1] In the upper and inner Austrian Provinces (Tyrol, Saltzburg, Styria, Görz, Carinthia, Carniola, etc.), Lutheranism had early entrance. For some years (1526 onward) the Anabaptist form of evangelical life and thought was by far the most energetic and widely accepted. After the promulgation of the Edict of Speier (1529), and especially after the Anabaptist name had become doubly odious on account of the Münster Kingdom, Lutheranism increased in relative importance, a large proportion of the nobility becoming supporters of the new faith and refusing to obey the mandates of the Hapsburg rulers for its suppression. After the treaty of Augsburg they claimed the right to protect on their estates the adherents of the Augsburg Confession, and the Hapsburgers, who required their assistance against Turkish invasion, were obliged to recognize the validity of their claim.

The way in which the flourishing Protestantism of this region was, toward the close of the sixteenth century, overcome by Jesuits and Hapsburgers, must be narrated in the chapter on the Counter-Reformation.

7. *Hungary and Siebenbürgen.*[1] (1) *Introduction of Evan-*

[1] Loserth "*D. Gegenreformation in Inner-oesterreich,*" 1898.
[2] See Krasinski, "Religious History of the Slavonic Nations," 1851; Fabo Andras, "*Monumenta Evangelicorum . . . in Hungaria,*" 1861–1873; Lampe, "*Hist. Eccl. Ref.*

gelical Teaching. Evangelical teaching was early introduced into Hungary and Siebenbürgen by native students returning from Wittenberg, by merchants who visited the great trade fairs, etc. The efforts of Ludwig II. to suppress its early diffusion proved ineffective. The battle of Mohacz, in which the king fell, turned the tide in favor of Protestant teaching. Zapolya opposed the Reformation, but he was soon driven to Poland and the evangelicals had a free hand.

(2) *Joh. Honter and his Reformatory Work in Siebenbürgen.* The cause of reform here was under the leadership of Joh. Honter, a graduate of the University of Vienna and a man richly gifted in literature, art, pedagogic skill, and the capacity for enthusiastic and successful leadership. After spending some time in Germany and Switzerland he returned to his native Kronstadt (1533), and by 1542 had brought the city and the surrounding regions to the evangelical faith. He introduced the first printing press into this region and gave much attention to the establishment of schools and to the training (1523) of ministers. In 1523 and 1525 rigorous imperial laws were promulgated against the spread of the new doctrine. "All Lutherans are to be extirpated from the kingdom, and wherever they may be found are to be freely seized and burned, not only by ecclesiastical but also by secular persons" (Diet of Pesth, 1525). Five free cities of Upper Hungary, Kaschau, Leutschau, Seben, Bartfeld, and Eperies, at a synod held at the latter place, now declared in favor of Lutheranism. Honter's work in establishing and organizing evangelical work in Siebenbürgen was professedly Lutheran, but with a strong leaning toward the Reformed doctrine.

(3) *Devay and the Hungarian Reformation.* A life of similar magnitude was accomplished in Hungary by Matthias Biro Devay, a man of noble birth, who had studied at Krakau and had as a member of a monastic order labored earnestly for some years before he was led

in Hungaria et Transylvania," 1728; St. Linberger, "*Gesch. d. Evg. in Ungarn sammt Siebenbürgen,*" 1880; Brod, "*Historia Hungarorum Ecclesiastica,*" 1888-1890 (written about 1756); Haner, "*Hist. Ecclesiarum Transylvanicarum,*" 1694; Teutsch, "*Urkundenbuch d. evang. Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen,*" 1862-1883, "*Gesch. d. Siebenbürg. Sachsen,*" 1874, and "*Ref. in Siebenb. Sachsenland,*" 1886; Wolf, "*Joh. Honterus,*" 1894; Höchsmann, "*J. Honter, der Reformator Siebenbürgens,*" 1896; articles on Honter, Devay, etc., in Hauck-Herzog.

to embrace the new faith. In 1529 he entered the University of Wittenberg in order to fit himself for the theological combats in which he was to engage. For a year and a half he was hospitably entertained by Luther and in 1531 he returned to Hungary full of enthusiasm and thoroughly equipped. After preaching for some time at Ofen and at Kaschau, he was cast into prison and subjected to prolonged inquisitorial proceedings in Vienna. Having escaped, he returned to a part of the country that supported the cause of Zapolya; but he was again apprehended and this time was held for nearly three years (1532–1534). Once more at liberty he carried on an extensive evangelizing activity under the protection of the educated, wealthy, and liberal Count Nadasdy. With the co-operation of Joh. Sylvester, who afterward became professor in the University of Vienna, and with the financial and moral support of Nadasdy, he published a Hungarian version of the New Testament, a large body of evangelical literature, and a number of secular textbooks. In 1541, as a result of a Turkish invasion, the enemies of the Reformation gained the upper hand in this region, Devay's school and printing establishment were destroyed, and he was compelled to fly. He visited Wittenberg and was befriended by Melanchthon. But a visit to Switzerland led to his rejection of Luther's view of the Supper and from this time onward he aligned himself with the Reformed theologians. Luther became his bitter enemy and sought to guard the evangelicals of Hungary against the turncoat. Devay was able after a year or two to return to his work and from this time onward the evangelical cause went forward with irresistible energy. Several Roman Catholic dignitaries, the Provost Joseph Hervat, of Zipser, and the bishops of Neitra and Weszprim, cast in their lot with the evangelicals. Ferdinand felt obliged to tolerate them after requiring of them a Confession of Faith. They presented on this occasion (1549) an extract from the Augsburg Confession; but they were already much divided respecting doctrine. Controversy arose between Lutherans and Reformed, the latter (chiefly Magyars) putting forth a Reformed Confession at Zenger (1557), the former (representing the mountain cities and being chiefly Saxons) publishing

a counter Confession (1558). In 1567, at a synod at Debreczin, the Magyar Protestants adopted the Second Helvetic Confession. Bullinger's influence had by this time come to be predominant among the Reformed of this region. In 1563 the synod of Tarczal adopted Beza's Confession of Faith, which represented extreme Calvinism.

A colony of Saxons had been invited into the Siebenbürgen region in the twelfth century with large privileges. The Saxons still held together in civil and religious matters, and their adoption and maintenance of the Lutheran faith can be readily understood.

(4) *Faction and Destruction.* From 1567 onward the country was in a state of turmoil caused by religious faction. Not only were Reformed arrayed against Lutheran, but Reformed and Lutheran factions were arrayed against each other. Anti-trinitarianism and Anti-pedobaptism, combined and separate, soon became important factors in the religious life of the country, which became assimilated to Poland as a seat of religious strife. Like Poland, Hungary, and Siebenbürgen, it fell an easy prey to the Jesuits, who from 1560 onward were carefully laying their plans for the crushing of all forms of evangelical teaching and the restoration of papal authority.

IX. THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES.

LITERATURE: Dorner, "History of Protestant Theology"; Heppe, "*Gesch. d. deutschen Protestantismus in den Jahren 1555–1581*," 1852–1858; Galinich, "*Kampf u. Untergang d. Melanchthonismus in Kursachsen in d. Jahre 1570–1574*," 1866; Seehauer, "*Zur Lehre von Brauch d. Gesetzes u. zur Gesch. d. späteren Antinomismus*; pertinent sections in the works on Ch. Hist. and Hist. of Doctrine, and articles on controversies and leaders in Hauck-Herzog, Lichtenberger, and McClintock and Strong.

1. *General Characteristics of the Protestant Theology.*

(1) *The formal element* of the Protestant theology of the Reformation period was adherence to the Scriptures as the only and sufficient guide of faith and practice. This was held to at first unconditionally, in opposition to the papal theory, which gives to tradition a place side by side with Scripture, while making Scripture and tradition alike dependent for their authority on the church. Most

of the Reformers came to make a distinction between tradition in doctrine and tradition in practice. In arguing with the Papists they rejected papal practices, not so much because they were without scriptural authorization (though they usually insisted upon this), as because they rested upon and, in turn, promoted false (anti-scriptural) doctrine. In arguing with the radical reformers, however, they defended such practices as they had chosen to perpetuate, although without scriptural precept or example, on the ground that they were not contradictory of the teachings of Scripture; that they were good in themselves; and that they were matters of immemorial usage. In his tract on "Vows," written while he was at the Wartburg (1521–1522), Luther condemns, unconditionally, whatever falls short of, is apart from, or goes beyond Christ (*vel citra, vel præter, vel ultra Christum incedit*), and gives the lie to the papal proposition, "that all things have not been declared and instituted by Christ and the apostles, but that very many things were left to the church to be declared and instituted." He declared moreover, "that whatever is without the word of God is, by that very fact, against God" (*eo ipso contra Deum, quod sine verbo Dei*). He frequently cited, in support of his position, the passage in Deut. 4 : 2 : "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it." Such citations might be multiplied. But when he saw what radical changes in ecclesiastical practice were likely to result from so thorough-going an adherence to Scripture authority, he promptly modified his view in this wise: "Nothing [that is, no ecclesiastical practice] ought to be set up without scriptural authority, or if it is set up, it ought to be esteemed free and not necessary" (*extra Scripturas nihil esse statuendum, aut, si statuitur, liberum et non necessarium habendum*). Still later, when hard pressed by the consistent advocates of the scriptural principle on the positive and the negative sides, Luther allowed himself to write: "What is not against Scripture is for Scripture, and Scripture for it." However inconsistently held to by the Reformers, the doctrine of the supreme authority of Scripture must still be regarded as the formal principle of the Protestant theology.

(2) *The material element* of the Protestant theology was the doctrine of justification by faith alone, maintained in opposition to the doctrine of justification by faith and works—the works meaning, with the Papists, ceremonial observances, almsgiving, the purchasing of indulgences, masses, etc., and the giving of money for the building and endowment of churches, monasteries, etc. Thus doctrine of justification by faith alone exerted a molding influence upon Protestant theology. Held to this polemically, in opposition to the mediæval system of works for merit (*opera operata*), it could hardly escape a distorted development, and was sure to lead, in some instances, to Antinomianism. The absolute rejection of the efficacy of works in securing salvation assumed in some minds the form of denial of any freedom of will whatsoever in man ; and some advanced to the Manichean position, declaring that original sin is the very essence of human nature. The maintenance of justification by faith alone was sure to lead to controversy as to the manner in which Christ's redemptive work is applied to man. Some held that justification is a mere judicial act, conditioned on man's belief in the Redeemer ; others, that through belief man is transformed in character, and that his justification occurs only in connection with, and in consequence of, his sanctification. But what is the nature of faith, the medium through which the redemptive work of Christ is applied to man ? Some held that it is chiefly an assurance of justification through the merit of Christ ; others, that it involves a complete surrender of the subject to Christ, a radical turning away from sin and the love of it, and an inward appropriation of Christ as the controlling principle.

Again, if justification is by faith alone, what place is to be assigned to the sacraments ? The seven Roman Catholic sacraments rest upon the doctrine of justification by works, which, in turn, rests upon sacerdotalism. The number of the sacraments was reduced by the Protestants to two, baptism and the Lord's Supper. How were these to be looked upon ? As mere symbols of spiritual facts or as possessing in themselves mystical efficacy from their connection with the spiritual facts ? Does the believer in submitting to baptism receive re-

mission of sins in the outward act, or is baptism a mere symbol of the cleansing and the consecration which are mediated by faith? In the Lord's Supper does the believer actually partake of the material body and blood of Christ, or does he partake spiritually of Christ's body and blood, or is the eating and the drinking of the bread and the wine merely symbolical of the believer's spiritual appropriation of Christ's merits, the bread and the wine commemorating the incarnation and the death of Christ? Controversy on these questions could not easily have been avoided. So, also, the relation of the children of Christian parents to the church and to these ordinances had to be determined. How could the baptism of infants be reconciled with the doctrine of justification by faith alone, on the one hand, and the doctrine of mystical and immediate efficacy in the rite, on the other? This question led to much confusion and controversy.

Again, if it be maintained that the body and blood of Christ are materially present in the Lord's Supper, and the power of the priest to transform the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ be denied, how is this real presence to be accounted for? Those who advocated the real presence defended it by the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's human nature, which they based upon the doctrine of the communication of idioms, in accordance with which the divine nature in Christ communicates all of its attributes to the human, and the human its attributes to the divine. Is the divine nature ubiquitous? So must the human be. Hence the body and blood of Christ, everywhere potentially present, are actually and efficaciously present in the Supper. Those who denied the real presence denied also the ubiquity of Christ's human nature.

The Reformers were in general highly conservative. They rejected, without hesitancy, manifest corruptions in doctrine and in practice; but they were slow to call in question the doctrinal statements of the Councils and Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. The leading Reformers regarded with sufficient (possibly with excessive) reverence the theological results of the Nicene and post-Nicene age. To speak more definitely, if they erred in this matter at all it was not in the fact that they

zealously maintained the Nicene and Athanasian formularies, but in the spirit in which these creeds were adhered to. If they be maintained because they most perfectly harmonize the various elements of Scripture teaching, it is well; if they be regarded as possessing independent authority, the case is entirely different. The latter was probably too much the case with many of the Protestant theologians.

On the matters of anthropology the writings of Augustine were looked upon as containing an almost perfect exposition of the teachings of Scripture. As with the schoolmen Aristotle was ranked next to the inspired writers in matters of philosophy and of formal reasoning, and became virtually the authoritative interpreter of the Scripture teachings, so with the Protestant theologians was Augustine. Such was the reverence of the Protestant leaders for post-apostolic antiquity; but such submission to human standards was opposed to the spirit of Protestantism. There were not wanting those who recognized this fact, and controversies arose on what have long been regarded as fundamental doctrines of Christianity —the trinity, the divinity of Christ, the hereditary guilt of man, etc.

Apart from Confessions of Faith and catechisms which abounded, most of the theological discussions of this period took the form of polemical tracts on particular doctrines. Printing was already common and cheap, and theological tracts were circulated to an extent not greatly surpassed since. Pamphleteering subserved, in part, the ends of the modern newspaper. During several years of his life Luther must have written, on an average, more than a pamphlet a week, and many other writers were scarcely less prolific. The mediæval system of discussion by theses was likewise still employed. Luther abhorred Aristotle and the schoolmen, and had little esteem for philosophy or systematic theology in general. His mind was creative rather than organizing, and while he furnished materials for systems (the plural is used advisedly) of doctrine, he himself wrote no "*Summa Theologiæ.*" The great systematizers of the age were Melanchthon and Calvin. These writers (the former in his "*Loci Communes,*" the latter in his "*Institutiones*"),

while they treat systematically the doctrines emphasized by the Protestants, and systematically refute the opposing views of the Papists, impress us with the fact that the system is for the sake of the doctrine and not for its own sake. No greater degree of completeness is aimed at than is demanded by the practical end in view. The theology of this period was intensely practical in its aim, and the form adapted itself to the practical needs. Yet before the close of the sixteenth century the freshness and the elasticity of the new theology had disappeared, and in its place had come a scholasticism almost as formal and lifeless as that of the Middle Ages.

2. *Controversies between Lutherans and Reformed.*

(1) *On the Lord's Supper.* This may be regarded as the great subject of controversy between Lutherans on the one hand, and Zwinglians and Calvinists on the other. Nothing has been so influential in preventing Lutherans and Reformed from heartily co-operating against their papal enemies as persistent divergence of views with respect to the meaning of Christ's words: "This is my body." "This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins."

It has been well remarked (by Dorner and, after him, by Schaff and others) that Luther and Zwingli assailed the Roman Catholic system on entirely different sides. Luther had had bitter experience of the *Judaistic legalism* of the mediæval system, and it was against this that he first of all directed his blows. The immoralities fostered by the system called forth in him far less of resentment than the enslavement of conscience through sacerdotalism, etc. His realism, combined with other influences, led him to take a very conservative position with regard to ecclesiastical practices. Zwingli, on the other hand, had experienced most keenly the evils of the *heathen element* in the mediæval system. In his anxiety to get rid of idolatry he not only cast down the idols, but he also made haste to purge the ordinance of the Lord's Supper of any idolatrous element. Luther and the Lutherans kept closer to the mediæval theology in their views of the person of Christ. The exaltation of the human in Christ to infinity, and the practical denial of

the persistence of the properly human element, was characteristic of Lutheranism. In other terms, Lutherans approximated Eutychianism. Zwinglians, on the other hand, among whom humanism was more influential, dwelt more upon the human element in Christ, and so approximated Nestorianism. Luther, as a realist, could see no meaning in an ordinance in which only the sign was present. The things signified must also be present. Hence, while rejecting transubstantiation, as realists usually did, on philosophical grounds, he still held firmly to the real presence of the body and blood along with the bread and wine. This view was closely connected with Luther's view on the mystical union of the believer with Christ, and was made easily credible by his view of the exaltation of Christ's human nature to ubiquity. If Christ be present in the sacrament at all, his body and blood must be present, for Christ is never separated from his body and blood. The body and blood of Christ, according to the theory, are received not only by the pious, but even by the impious, if such partake of the consecrated elements. Zwingli, in accordance with his humanistic view of the person of Christ, his aversion to mysticism, and his detestation of idolatry, maintained that the Lord's Supper is a simple memorial or sign of the spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Christ.

Bucer, and afterward Calvin, partly because, from their geographical relation to the two parties and their subjection to the influence of both, they sympathized with both parties and had elements common to the two, and partly because they were irenically disposed and felt the necessity of harmonizing Lutherans and Zwinglians, assumed an intermediate position—namely, that the body and blood of Christ are partaken of really, but spiritually, by the believer.

Such was the breach, such was the chief attempt to heal it. From 1528 onward various public attempts were made to bring Lutherans and Zwinglians, if not into complete harmony, at least into the attitude of mutual toleration. The Marburg Conference (October, 1529) was the first occasion on which the leaders of the German Reformation and the leaders of the Swiss Reformation met

each other face to face. Encouraged by the divisions among the Protestants, and being in the majority in the Diet, the Catholic electors had voted at Speier (March, 1529) to prohibit all further aggressive work on the part of the Protestants. Later in the same year the emperor had concluded a peace with the pope and with the king of France. The position of the Protestants was now critical, for, to all appearances, it had been due to the foreign engagements that the execution of the Edict of Worms had been kept in abeyance, and that the Protestant cause had been saved from utter overthrow. The crisis has come. How is it to be met? With solid or divided ranks on the Protestant side? The Protestant ranks are in sad disorder, how are they to be united and strengthened? The landgrave, Philip of Hesse, on the one hand, and Martin Bucer, on the other, earnestly sought to form a Protestant league for mutual defense against the impending attacks of the Roman Catholic powers, under the leadership of the emperor, Charles V. To this end the Marburg Conference was called. Luther, Melanchthon, Brentz, Jonas, etc., were confronted by Zwingli, OEcolampadius, etc. Bucer acted as mediator. The two parties agreed upon fourteen and a half of fifteen articles embracing the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism. On the remaining half article they could not agree—namely, as to whether the body and blood of Christ are corporeally in the bread and the wine. Luther and OEcolampadius conferred together for three hours, the chief result being to convince the Basel Reformer that in him of Wittenberg he had fallen upon another Eck. Zwingli and Melanchthon discussed the point at issue for six consecutive hours, in which Zwingli became more than ever convinced of the lubricity of Philip, who, Proteus-like, transformed himself into all things. Luther stood firmly upon the Scripture, "This is my body," and refused to recognize as brethren those who interpreted these words otherwise than literally. It was Luther's private opinion that God blinded Zwingli and OEcolampadius so that they were not able to bring forward any arguments worthy of notice, and thus gave him an easy victory. He thought that these foolish men, so little skilled in disputing, must have been convinced

by the weight of his arguments, but refused to yield, rather from fear and shame than from malice. So little capable was Luther of putting himself in the place of an antagonist and estimating the weight of arguments from any other point of view than his own. He was so fully convinced of the invincibleness of his own position, that the failure of another to be convinced by the full presentation of his arguments was to him inconceivable. It was finally agreed that, although Luther would not recognize the Swiss as brethren, the two parties should manifest Christian love one toward the other, as far as the conscience of each would allow.

The Lutherans soon afterward came to feel that they had compromised themselves in even so far agreeing to differ on the eucharistic question, and they made haste to set forth their own views clearly and unequivocally in the "Swabach Articles."

Bucer, by no means discouraged, continued to labor for conciliation. About 1531 he won Melanchthon, heretofore uncompromisingly Lutheran in his view of the Supper, to his own mediating position. Bucer now professed belief in the real presence, but insisted that the body and blood of Christ are partaken of only by believers. Luther persistently maintained that they are partaken of by believers and unbelievers alike. The position of Bucer was an exceedingly embarrassing one. Luther was uncompromising. Most of the Swiss were just as firmly attached to the original Zwinglian view. Yet Bucer felt it to be his duty to make the two parties believe that they were in substantial agreement. In conference with the Swiss, therefore, he represented the views which he was seeking to make the basis of union as excluding the corporeal presence of the body and blood, which he and they believed to be locally in heaven. When he would gain the good graces of Luther, as we shall see, his representation was very different.

From this time onward Melanchthon co-operated earnestly with Bucer in these mediating efforts, and with a view to inducing the Swiss to subscribe the Augsburg Confession he made various changes in the document. These modifications culminated in the "Augsburg Variata" (1540).

The "Wittenberg Concordia" (1536) marks the next stage in the efforts to harmonize Lutherans and Reformed. Luther never had much faith in the success of these compromising measures. In his view the two positions were so distinct and so antagonistic that harmony could be secured only by utterly abolishing one of them. Up to 1535 he persistently discouraged the mediating efforts of Bucer, Capito, and Melanchthon. He now expressed a faint hope, and in 1536, after preliminary negotiations, held a conference with Bucer and Capito. For the time he was in a conciliatory mood, a thing altogether unusual with Luther. Bucer and Capito professed belief in the real presence, yet refused to allow that the body and blood of Christ are partaken of by the impious. Luther relented so far as to admit that the impious were not worth quarreling about, and saluted Bucer and Capito as "dear brethren in the Lord." A moment of supreme joy this to Bucer. What, for years, he had been devoting all his energies of heart and brain to bring to pass he saw accomplished before his eyes! The unyielding Luther had yielded. The greeting that he had haughtily refused seven years earlier to Zwingli he had at last brought himself to accord to these disciples of peace. We do not wonder that Bucer shed tears of joy.

Bucer had gained his point with Luther; but he had made concessions far beyond what the Swiss had authorized him to make. The Swiss must now be induced to ratify the transaction. This was by no means an easy task. But Bucer believed it could be done, and he did it in a measure. Yet those of the Swiss who accepted the Wittenberg Concord did so in a sense very different from Luther's. Many refused to accept it at all. Controversy was suspended for a few years, only to be renewed with more than pristine bitterness in 1544, when Luther, now in his dotage, published his "Short Confession on the Supper," in which he dishonored the memory of Zwingli, and set forth his own views in the sharpest antagonism to those of the Swiss. From this time onward, for many generations, the antagonism of Lutherans and Reformed was scarcely less bitter than that between Protestants and Catholics. The annals of succeeding controversies give but a sorry view of the

spirit of Protestantism, and Romanists may well have taken courage. The growing degeneracy of Protestantism accounts in large measure for the rapidity with which the Romanists retrieved their losses from 1555 to 1618.

(2) *On the Ubiquity of Christ's Human Nature.* The points involved in this controversy have been already stated at sufficient length. Perhaps we may say that here, more than elsewhere, lies the root of the antagonism between Lutherans and Reformed. Upon the positive or the negative answer to the question as to the ubiquity of Christ's human nature depends, in large measure, the answer to the question whether Christ is corporeally present in the Supper. If all could have agreed as to the ubiquity, all could probably have agreed as to the real corporeal presence. They have never agreed on either the one or the other.

3. *Controversies Among the Lutherans.*

It is remarkable that almost all of the great doctrinal controversies arose among the Lutherans. The vehemence of Luther and the illogical constitution of his mind led him frequently to express himself extravagantly and inconsistently. His writings abound in contradictions, and it was exceedingly easy for his disciples, by laying hold upon extreme statements in this or that direction, and by attempting to formulate such statements into systems, to create an indefinite number of divergent systems. Calvin, on the other hand, was above all things else, logical and clear. There was no mistaking his meaning. Whatever appeared in a given treatise might be unreservedly taken as his mature opinion,' which the next treatise turned to would not contradict. Controversy could occur here, therefore, only by way of sheer contradiction to the system as a whole, such as we see in Arminianism. We shall have space at present only for a brief account of the more important Lutheran controversies.

(1) *On the Law—the Antinomian and the Majoristic Controversies.* In his intense hostility to the Judaistic element in the mediæval Christianity, Luther had employed the strongest language in disparagement of the law: "Christ is not harsh, severe, biting as Moses. . .

Therefore, away with Moses forever, who shall not terrify deluded hearts." "The gospel is heavenly and divine, the law, earthly and human; the righteousness of the gospel is just as distinct from that of the law as heaven from earth, as light from darkness. The gospel is light and day, the law darkness and night." Pages of such expressions might be easily collected from Luther's earlier writings.

The evil effects of such disparagement of the law soon became manifest to Melanchthon who, in his "Visitation Articles" (1527), urged upon pastors the importance of teaching repentance and remission of sins, after the example of Christ. The common method, he asserts, is to vociferate about faith, which, without repentance, without the doctrine of the fear of God, without the doctrine of the law, accustoms the people to a certain carnal security worse than all papal errors. Melanchthon was promptly assailed by John Agricola, yet controversy was repressed for the time through Luther's influence. But ten years later Agricola put forth his Antinomian views in eighteen theses, which, in the course of their secret circulation, came into the hands of Luther. Luther published these theses, and in six disputations refuted them. Agricola held that "repentance must be taught, not from the Decalogue or any law of Moses, but through the gospel. Without anything whatsoever the Holy Spirit is given, and men are justified . . . without the law, solely through the gospel concerning Christ. The law of Moses need not be taught either for the beginning, the middle, or the end of justification. The law, without the Holy Spirit, convicts unto damnation; the gospel not only condemns but at the same time saves." He was accused, moreover, of using still more objectionable language, which could not but have a licentious tendency.

In opposing Agricola, Luther defined his attitude toward the law, guarding against the irreverent disparagement in which he had formerly indulged. He now maintained that the law is really from God, planted by God in our hearts, and imparted by God to Moses; that it is, therefore, essentially good and holy. He now insisted that only through the law is that contrite and penitent state of mind induced which eagerly lays hold upon Christ as

a Saviour. Agricola was silenced for a time through the influence of Luther and of the civil authorities; but many years afterward he reasserted his views.

Through this controversy with Agricola and the observed evil effects of Antinomianism, Melanchthon became more and more decided in his teaching with regard to the importance of the law and the necessity of practical morals in the Christian system. He made good works a condition, or *causa sine qua non*, of salvation, and insisted upon a certain degree of freedom of will in man.

Under Melanchthon's influence George Major declared, in opposition to Nicholas Amsdorf (1552), that "good works are necessary to salvation," that "no one will be saved through evil works or without good works"; that "while good works do not merit salvation, they are the necessary fruit of faith, their absence being a sure sign that faith is dead."

Amsdorf maintained, in opposition to Major and Melanchthon, that "good works are hurtful to salvation." Musculus, a disciple of Agricola, asserted that "those that teach that we must do good works belong to the devil, with all that follow them." This controversy was an exceedingly bitter one, yet Melanchthon and his party maintained a large measure of moderation.

(2) *On Justification—the Osiandrian and Stancarist Controversies.* The nature of justification by faith and the relation of justification to sanctification furnished the subject-matter of these controversies. Does justification mean to make righteous or simply to declare righteous? This was the chief question at issue.

In the writings of Luther two classes of expressions with regard to justification may be distinguished—those in which he represents justification as a forensic act on the part of God in consideration of faith, and without any regard to the character of the subject, and those in which he represents the Christian as transformed in character through the Holy Spirit. Luther himself thus formally distinguished "two parts of justification." The forensic element, however, was most emphasized and naturally made most impression upon Luther's followers.

Osiander, learned, profound, mystical, regarded this

theory of forensic imputation of Christ's righteousness as "more frigid than ice." True righteousness must be something positive. It is not merely immunity from punishment, but essential goodness. This essential goodness can be communicated to man only through the incarnation of God. Through the mediation of humanity divinity comes into us. By faith we take Christ into our hearts and become members of Christ. Christ must be our righteousness, not by being in heaven, but by being in us. The gospel, he maintained, has two parts: the first, that Christ has satisfied the justice of God; the second, that he cleanses and justifies us by dwelling in us. According to Osiander we are saved solely by the divine nature in Christ, although without the human nature we should not have been able to discover, seek for, and apprehend the divine.

Most of these views Osiander expressed as early as 1524, yet Luther was able to suppress controversy thereon. In 1549, three years after Luther's death, having been appointed professor at Königsburg, he set forth his views polemically and inaugurated one of the fiercest controversies of the age. The Königsburg disputants became so madly pugnacious as to carry firearms into their lecture rooms. Osiander's enemies caused it to be believed that the devil wrote his books for him while he was enjoying his meals.

Among the most noted opponents of Osiander's views, were Melanchthon, Brentz, Moerlin, Bugenhagen, and Staphylus, who sought to make clear the distinction between justification and sanctification, which Osiander, in their opinion, practically obliterated, and to maintain the efficacy of the divine and the human in the salvation of men.

In extreme opposition to the Osiandrian view, that the divine nature in Christ is the chief element in man's salvation, Francis Stancarus (1551) advanced the view that not the divine but the human in Christ is our righteousness; arguing that, as no one can be a mediator of himself, Christ, being one God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, cannot be a mediator between God and man according to his divine nature. He fortified his view by those passages of Scripture in which "the blood of the

cross" and "the death" of Christ are represented as securing our peace and reconciliation with God. Especially did he lay stress on 1 Tim. 2 : 5: "There is one God and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." He strangely appealed to the mediæval theologian, Peter Lombard, who, in his estimation, was worth more than one hundred Luthers, two hundred Melanchthons, three hundred Bullingers, and four hundred Calvins, all of whom, beaten up together in a mortar, would not yield an ounce of true theology. Osiander, though a mystic, was not exceptionally meek, and took a very lively interest in current affairs. It is no cause for wonder that the hot-blooded Italian soon found Königsburg an undesirable place of residence. He asked to be relieved of his professorship, on the ground that he could not safely walk the streets on account of the bloodhounds Osiander and Aurifaber.

And were these fighting Lutherans disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus? Surely they manifested the minimum of his Spirit. And yet no one of these men transcended Luther himself in violent denunciation. But Luther was a violent polemicist, and much more; some of these disciples of Luther were fierce controversialists, and little besides.

(3) *Controversy on the Communication of Idioms.* In close connection with the Osiandrian and Stancarist controversies other controversies arose, especially on Christology (1561 onward). The doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* was warmly discussed between the Melanchthonian Martin Chemnitz, on the one hand, who denied the capacity of human nature for divinity, and the strictly Lutheran Brentz and Andreæ, who taught that Christ's humanity possessed, from the very moment of its origin, absolute majesty and exaltation to the right hand of the Father. In his mother's womb the body of Christ was already omnipresent. Not only was there a communication of all divine attributes to the human nature, but also a communication of all human attributes to the divine. God makes the passion his own, undergoes it as a person, is not otherwise affected thereby than if it befell himself. As already stated, Luther himself maintained as a fundamental doctrine this commu-

nication of attributes, and made it the basis of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

(4) *Controversies on Free Will and Original Sin—the Synergistic and Flacian Controversies.* In his controversy with Erasmus, Luther had, at an early period, committed himself to an absolute denial of the freedom and assertion of the slavery of the human will. From this position he never withdrew, but continued to the close of his life to regard his "*De Servo Arbitrio*" as his masterpiece, and the very truth of God.

Melanchthon adopted Luther's views on the will, and emphasized them in his early writings, especially in his notes on the "Epistle to the Romans" and his "Hypotyposes." Influenced partly by Erasmus' arguments, and partly by the observed licentious tendency of Luther's views, Melanchthon gradually and quietly withdrew from this extreme position. In the "Augsburg Confession," drawn up by Melanchthon (1530), while it is taught "that men cannot be justified before God by their own powers, merits, or works, but are justified gratuitously, for Christ's sake, through faith," it is not asserted that faith is involuntary, or even that prevenient grace is necessary to faith. Moreover, free will, in civil matters, is distinctly recognized.

In 1532 Melanchthon disowned his early annotations on Romans, and published a completely transformed edition. In this he asserts that "not all obtain the benefits [of redemption through Christ], because many resist the Word. And it is manifest that to resist belongs to the human will, because God is not the cause of sin." In his "*Loci Communes*" (1535) he ascribes conversion to three causes: the Word, the Holy Spirit, and the human will. In 1545 he writes: "There is in us some cause of discrimination, why Saul is rejected and David accepted."

Thus Melanchthon came gradually to the position known as Synergism. He was reluctant to antagonize Luther, and refrained, during Luther's lifetime, from stating his views polemically; but he was forced by the power of argument and by his sense of the practical needs of men to reject the almost fatalistic views of his master.

Controversy on Synergism first became vehement

and general when Pfeffinger, of Leipzig, maintained polemically in a disputation (1550), and in a published treatise (1555), the views that Melanchthon had quietly and cautiously advanced.

Matthias Flacius Illyricus and Nicholas Amsdorf entered the lists against Pfeffinger. At Jena the controversy reached its greatest intensity. Flacius, who was regarded as the great representative and champion of the old Lutheranism, was called to Jena (1557) to oppose doctrinal innovations. He promptly announced, upon his arrival, that he was not afraid to maintain his views against any and all that might be disposed to call them in question. This challenge called forth a manifesto from the Wittenberg theologians.

In the University of Jena itself Flacius found determined opposition in the persons of Strigel and Schnepf. In 1559 Flacius prepared and Duke John Frederick promulgated a confutation and condemnation of the various forms of error that had been introduced into the Lutheran body, including Synergism and Calvinism. Jena now became the scene of the most violent and indecent polemics. The house of Flacius was stormed by students. Strigel's house was broken open by a mob, and he himself taken prisoner, etc. With a view to securing peace, Duke John Frederick arranged a colloquy between Flacius and Strigel (1560). Flacius was now led by the pressure of his antagonist to declare that "man has been transformed into the image of Satan, marked with his stamp, and thoroughly infected with poison, so that he is necessarily or inevitably always and vehemently in antagonism to God and to true piety"; nay, that "original sin is the very substance of human nature." This view of Flacius is essentially Manichæan, as was pointed out by his opponents.

The Flacians were victorious at Weimar; but they employed their victory in so tyrannical a way at Jena that the right of excommunication was, by civil authority, withdrawn from the preachers. The Flacian party denounced this action as an unwarranted subjection of the church, a suppression of pure doctrine, etc. The duke in turn, thoroughly exasperated, deposed the turbulent Flacian professors, and filled their places with

Wittenbergers (1561). So little fidelity to principle did the civil rulers in that day manifest, and so prone were they to favor the party that showed itself most subservient! These Wittenbergers, in turn, were supplanted by ultra-Lutherans in 1568. The proceeding of 1561 was repeated in 1573, and that of 1568 in 1574. (See below.)

The followers of Flacius went far beyond Flacius himself in his most objectionable features. For example, Saliger, of Rostock, taught that "original sin is the very substance of the body and soul of man," and that Christ assumed "flesh of another species" (ἑτερουσία), thus following the extreme type of Eutychianism, with which ultra-Lutheranism had much in common. So, also, he held to a view of the Lord's Supper differing little from transubstantiation (1568).

Several other important colloquies occurred, the aim of which was to settle the questions involved in this controversy: another at Weimar (July, 1571), one at Strasburg (August, 1571), others at Jena and Mansfeld (1572). The Flacians were usually worsted, most of the strict Lutherans having revolted against the sheer Manichæism of the Flacians.

(5) *The Eucharistic or Crypto-Calvinist Controversy.* We have seen that at an early period Melanchthon came to regret the divisions of Protestants on the nature of the Lord's Supper. In the "Augsburg Variata" (a recension of the Augsburg Confession, published by Melanchthon in 1540) he expressed himself on this subject harmoniously with the view of Bucer and Calvin. The "Augsburg Variata" was assailed by the strict Lutherans, Luther himself expressing his dissatisfaction. From this time onward two great parties may be said to have existed in the Lutheran body—the strict Lutherans and the Philippists. These party lines became more definite after the death of Luther (1546), and Melanchthon's leadership became more pronounced. Wittenberg became the stronghold of Philippism, while Jena became the rallying point of ultra-Lutheranism.

The controversy between Westphal of Hamburg and Calvin (1552) enhanced the bitterness of ultra-Lutherans against the Calvinistic view of the Supper and all who

sympathized with Calvinists. From this time onward the followers of Melanchthon were stigmatized as Crypto-Calvinists.

The antagonism of Philippists and Lutherans was still further intensified by the Synergistic and Flacian controversies (see above).

In 1561, after Melanchthon's death, a collection of his confessional writings ("*Corpus Doctrinæ Philippicum*") was published by Melanchthon's son-in-law, Caspar Peucer, sustained by the authority of the elector. This collection embraced the "Augsburg Variata," the "Apology" for the Augsburg Confession, the "Saxon Confession," the "*Loci Communes*" of 1543, a treatise on "The Examination of Candidates for Ordination," the "Refutation of Servetus," and the "Response Concerning the Controversy of Stancarus." All of these documents, prepared by Melanchthon, represented Philippism as opposed to Lutheranism.

The elector, though an uncompromising Lutheran, as he supposed, was led by Peucer, his court physician, to believe that this collection represented true Lutheranism as opposed to the ultra-Lutheranism of the Jena theologians. The turbulence of the Flacian theologians at Jena and their resistance to the civil authority (see above), and the comparative gentleness and peaceableness of the Wittenbergers, predisposed him in favor of the latter. Accordingly he gave symbolical authority to the "*Corpus Doctrinæ Philippicum.*" Thus the fury of the ultra-Lutherans was still further heightened, and they determined, by all means, to bring the Philippists to grief. The Philippists, be it remembered, were not avowed Calvinists. While they agreed with Calvin in his rejection of the ubiquity of Christ's human nature and his denial of the real presence in the Lutheran sense, they were, as yet, far from avowing such divergence from the views of Luther.

In 1571 the elector was led to suspect that his theologians secretly disbelieved in the real presence, but they appeased him by an ambiguous statement ("*Consensus Dresdensis*"). Two years later (1573), the elector, having become regent of the Thuringian principalities, banished the remaining ultra-Lutheran theologians (Wi-

gand and Hesshus) from Jena, together with clergy within his jurisdiction who refused to subscribe the "*Corpus Doctrinæ Philippicum*" Philippism was thus triumphant throughout Saxony. But the glory of the party was destined to be short-lived. Encouraged by their successes, the Wittenbergers thought it no longer necessary to mince matters. They avowed their substantial Calvinism (1574). Confidential correspondence between the Wittenbergers and the Calvinists in the Palatinate was discovered, very compromising to the former.

When the elector discovered that he had been beguiled into the support of Calvinism he became as furious as it is possible for a German to become. If a mine had been sprung beneath the theologians the shock and havoc could hardly have been greater. The leaders, Privy Councilor Cracan, Church Councilor Stössel, and Court Physician Peucer, were thrown into prison. The first two died in prison; the last, a man of remarkable talent and unsurpassed heroism, was destined, after lying in prison for twelve years, to write a history of the movement in which he was engaged and to spend an honored old age in comfort and quiet. The theologians and clergy were obliged to sign strictly Lutheran articles or go into exile. The four theological professors in the University of Wittenberg were banished.

From this time onward vigorous and persistent efforts were made to secure harmony in the Lutheran communion. Strict Lutherans, who yet rejected Antinomianism and Flacian Manichæism, came most into favor. The results of these strivings for harmony appeared in the "Formula of Concord" (1580), in which Antinomianism, Flacianism, Synergism, Calvinism (especially in its denial of the ubiquity of Christ's human nature and its rejection of the corporeal presence in the Supper), are condemned, and the old Lutheran doctrines on all of these points are emphasized. Yet the effect of the document sadly belied its name. Controversy with Philippists and Calvinists was unabated, if not intensified.

(6) *The Adiaphoristic or Interimistic Controversy.* A result of the Schmalkald War between the emperor, Charles V., and the Protestant princes of Germany was the com-

plete discomfiture of the latter (1547). Protestantism seemed now in imminent danger of extermination. Never since the Diet of Worms had the outlook of Protestantism been so gloomy. The emperor, however, assured the Protestants that their cause should be fairly adjudicated in a General Council, introducing a temporary ecclesiastical arrangement for the meantime (*interim*).

The Augsburg Interim (May, 1548) withdrew from the Protestants of Germany all privileges except marriage of the clergy and communion under both kinds. Four hundred Protestant clergy were expelled from Southern Germany. It was not thought practicable to enforce the Augsburg Interim in Saxony. In lieu thereof an arrangement was made between the Elector Maurice, on the one hand (through whose treachery the Protestants had suffered defeat), and Melanchthon, with a number of other theologians, on the other, which is known as the Leipzig Interim. On this occasion, more than elsewhere, Melanchthon manifested his weakness, and his reputation never entirely recovered from the shock it received.

The provisions of the Leipzig Interim were as follows: the retention of the doctrine of justification by faith along with that of the necessity of good works; the restoration of the mass, with most of its ceremonies, of the Roman Catholic baptismal and confirmation ceremonies, of episcopal ordination, of extreme unction, penance, fasts, etc. What Protestants had been struggling for during thirty years was now practically surrendered. So much of Protestantism was abandoned, that had this arrangement gone into effect it would have been almost impossible to prevent a complete relapse to popery.

Melanchthon was bitterly reproached by the strict Lutherans and by Calvin. He defended himself on the ground of necessity, and he made matters worse by maintaining that the points wherein he had yielded were *adiaphora* (matters of indifference). The Interim was never fully carried out in either of its forms, and was abolished as a result of a renewal of the war against the emperor by the Elector Maurice, whose treachery had not yielded him all the advantages he had expected.

The Peace of Augsburg (1555) removed the occasion of this controversy, in that it gave to the princes of Ger-

many the right of choice between Roman Catholicism and the Augsburg Confession, and provided that the religion of the subject should be the same as that of the prince. *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, was a motto long insisted upon by Catholics and Protestants alike.

The internal conflicts of Lutheranism disappear in the terrible Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), but other controversies soon afterward took the place of the old, and Lutheranism is almost as far from being harmonious today as it was three hundred years ago.

4. *Controversies among the Reformed.*

The teachings of Calvin were so self-consistent and were systematized with such logical rigor that there was little opportunity for his followers to be in doubt as to his meaning or to base upon his teachings diverse doctrinal conceptions. If controversy was to arise among his followers it must be either by way of a negation of his positions or by way of reaction against the dogmatizing of those who carried his teachings to extremes.

The controversy with Servetus is hardly in point, as Servetus was probably never in complete sympathy with the Reformed theology. But his type of thinking doubtless had more in common with the Reformed than with the Lutheran system. Reference has already been made to the irresistible tendency among Italian Protestants, who were for the most part more profoundly influenced by the Reformed than by the Lutheran theology, to reject the harsher features of the Calvinistic system and to go to the extremes of liberalism. The preponderance of humanism in their intellectual and spiritual outfit may account for the prevalence of rationalism among Italian reformers.

(1) *The Socinian Controversy.*[1] The Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptist movements in Italy and Poland have

[1] See "*Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*" (contains the works of Faustus Socinus, Crellius, Slichtingius, Woltzogenus, Przipcovius, Wissowatius, *et al.*); Toulmin, "Memoirs of the Life, Character, Sentiments, and Writings, of Faustus Socinus," 1777; "Racovian Catechism" ("*Catechesis Ecclesiarum quæ in Regno Poloniæ*"), Eng. tr. by Rees, with "Historical Introduction," 1818; Sandius, "*Bibliotheca Anti-trinitariorum*"; Bock, "*Hist. Antitrinitariorum*," 1774; Trechsel, "*D. Prot. Anti-trinitarier vor. F. Socinus*," 1839–1844; Fock, "*D. Socianismus*" 1847; Burnat, "*La lto Socin*," 1891; Wallace, "Antitrinitarian Biography," 1850; Gordon, "The Sozzini and their School" (in "Theol. Rev.," 1879); articles on the various leaders in Bayle, Hauck-Herzog, and Lichtenberger.

already been briefly described. The anti-Calvinistic aspect of this movement to which Faustus Socinus gave his name and which was derived no doubt in large measure from the unpublished lucubrations of his uncle Lælius Socinus must here be outlined.

a. Characteristics of Socinianism. (*a*) In common with mediæval evangelicals and Anti-pedobaptists of nearly all parties, the Socinians rejected the Augustinian (Lutheran and Calvinistic) anthropology, with its denial of freedom of will, its predestination, election, irresistible divine grace, necessary perseverance of believers, and unconditional damnation of the non-elect. In other terms, their anthropology was Pelagian.

(*b*) They went beyond most of the mediæval evangelicals and most of the Anti-pedobaptists of the Reformation time in the zeal with which they opposed the Nicene and Athanasian formulæ regarding the person of Christ and the doctrine of the co-existence in the Godhead of three co-equal, co-eternal, and consubstantial personalities. The Italian and Polish Anti-trinitarians differed much in their Christological conceptions. Many (probably most of the Italians as seen at the Vicenza conference of 1550) denied the deity of Christ, insisting that he was "man and not God," but maintaining that by virtue of his perfect life and divinely inspired teachings he was worthy of all reverence and obedience and was in an important sense the Saviour of mankind. The Racovian Catechism, prepared in part by Faustus Socinus, recognizes the supernatural birth of Christ, his absolute holiness and righteousness, his possession of all power in heaven and on earth as a gift of God, his worthiness to be worshiped, and his prophetical, kingly, and priestly offices; yet it emphatically denies his consubstantiality, co-eternity, and co-equality with the Father, and insists upon the absolute unity of the Godhead. Their Christology was thus essentially Arian.

(*c*) As respects the ordinances, the Racovian Catechism regards the Lord's Supper as simply a memorial of the incarnation and atoning death of Christ, to be partaken of by baptized believers. Baptism is declared to be the immersion of believers on a profession of their faith as an act of obedience and consecration. Its appli-

cability to infants is emphatically denied and any mode of applying water other than immersion repudiated; but it does not consider a mere external rite a sufficient ground for a breach of fellowship with true believers who have not been rightly instructed in this matter. Faustus Socinus denied that baptism was meant to be a perpetual ordinance and, refusing to submit to it, was during most of his life disfellowshiped by the Anti-trinitarian churches of Poland.

(*d*) As regards the future state, they maintained the resurrection of the spiritual body of believers and the annihilation of the ungodly together with the devil and his angels.

(*e*) They were advocates in general of toleration and exemplified it in their practice, but they were far from having grasped in its fullness the great principle of liberty of conscience, and instances of intolerance among them are not wanting.

(*f*) Their method of propagating their views was not so much by boldly dogmatizing as by insinuating doubts regarding the validity of the doctrines of their opponents. There was much in common between their methods of undermining faith in the Lutheran and Calvinistic systems and that of the Jesuits.

(*g*) Socinianism claimed to involve a complete restoration of primitive Christianity with the abolition of extraneous elements. The inscription on Socinus' tomb "Lofty Babylon lies in ruins; Luther destroyed its roofs, Calvin its walls, but Socinus its foundations" (*Alta jacet Babylon: destruxit tecta Lutherus, muros Calvinus, sed fundamenta Socinus*), illustrates their conception of their mission.

b. The Rise of Socinianism. Reference has already been made to the Anti-trinitarian tendencies of such early Anti-pedobaptist teachers as Denck, Hetzer, Kautz, Bünderlin, and Servetus, and to the Italian Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptist movement of the next generation (1546 onward).

(*a*) *Lælius Socinus* (b. 1536), son of an eminent lawyer and himself destined to the bar, gave up the law for the study of theology and soon acquired a considerable knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic languages,

and remarkable familiarity with the Scriptures and with the great theolcgical problems that were agitating men's mind about the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1546–1547 he was closely associated with the circle of freethinking religionists that centered at Vicenza. Leaving Italy in 1547 he spent the next four years in France, Holland, Germany, and Poland, earnestly engaged in seeking a solution of the multitudinous questions that thrust themselves upon his skeptical, but deeply earnest mind, and entering into intimate association with many of the foremost theologians of the day. His amiability, his remarkable intelligence, his eagerness for further enlightenment, his freedom from dogmatism, and his purity of life, commended him to all. Melanchthon was so deeply interested in him as to use his influence with the Emperor Maximilian and Sigismund of Poland to get him appointed ambassador to Venice, which enabled him safely to return to Italy and settle his affairs.

His habit of prodding his theological friends with theological questions early proved distasteful to Calvin. In January, 1552, Calvin wrote the young skeptic as follows:

> You must not expect that I should answer your shocking questions. If you choose to soar among such airy speculations, leave me, I beg you, like an humble disciple of Christ, to meditate on those things which will tend to the confirmation of my faith. . . It greatly grieves me that the fine parts God hath given you should not only be employed in things vain and useless, but in pernicious fictions. I again seriously warn you of what I have before declared, that, unless you correct in season this luxurious inquisitiveness, it is to be feared you will bring on yourself heavy calamities. I should be perfidious and cruel, if, under the mask of tenderness, I indulged what appears to me a most hurtful vice. I had rather, therefore, you should be a little displeased with my harshness, than not reclaimed from the curiosity which flatters and bewitches you.

The remaining ten years of his life were spent mostly at Zürich, though he seems to have visited Poland a second time in 1558. He was cautious enough to publish nothing and to avoid committing himself orally to anything that would furnish ground for a charge of heresy; but there can be no doubt that he exerted a powerful influence on many minds in favor of liberal theological thought.

(*b*) In 1556 *Peter Gonesius*, a native of Poland, returned after a period of study at Wittenberg and in Switzerland. In the latter country he had doubtless come under the influence of Lælius Socinus and of the teachings of Servetus. At a synod of the Reformed churches at Seceminum he declared his rejection of the current doctrines of the Trinity and of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, of Luther's doctrine of the communication of idioms, and of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, all of which he regarded as human fictions. Two years later, at a synod at Brestia, he reiterated and emphasized his former objections to the Calvinistic and Lutheran theology and presented a treatise against infant baptism. Jerome Pieskarski espoused his cause, which soon found many supporters among the nobles.

(*c*) Controversy on these topics became more and more widespread and violent until 1565, when *Gregorius Paulus* was able to arrange for the thorough discussion and settlement of the issues involved in a general assembly of the Reformed churches of Poland. Gregorius had promised to support the Anti-trinitarian position by the authority of the Fathers, but being somewhat dilatory the Calvinistic majority decided that further discussion would do more harm than good and denounced the Anti-trinitarian minority as Arian heretics. This led to an open schism and the Anti-trinitarian faction soon effected a presbyterial organization with synods and assemblies like those of the Reformed.

(*d*) Diversity of sentiment soon appeared among the Anti-trinitarians themselves, some maintaining the supernatural birth of Christ and his pre-existence as the divine Logos, and led for a time by *Stanislaus Farnovius;* and others, led by *Simon Budnæus*, maintaining that Jesus was a mere man and not to be worshiped or adored.

(*e*) One of the most important personages in connection with this controversy was *George Biandrata* (b. 1515), member of a noble Italian family that had been protectors of heretics in the mediæval time. He went to Poland about 1550 as body physician to the queen, and afterward served the widow of Zapolya in Siebenbürgen in the same capacity. He returned to Italy for a while, but fear of the Inquisition caused his departure for Geneva,

where a large community of Italian evangelicals resided. Here he entered into prolonged discussions with the Italian pastor and with Calvin himself regarding the Trinity, alleging that the New Testament does not teach that God is a single substance in three persons, and asking whether prayer is to be offered to God or to the Trinity, the meaning of the expressions "eternal Word," "incarnation," etc., and whether speculation regarding the relations of the three divine persons is not needless. Calvin argued these questions with him until he was satisfied Biandrata was a confirmed heretic. As a means of testing the Italian congregation he arranged that they should all be at liberty to declare their opinions without fear of punishment. All but Biandrata and Alciati proved orthodox. These thought it advisable to leave the city. After a short stay at Zürich, Biandrata returned to Poland and the next year Calvin published a "Response to George Biandrata's Questions." Biandrata reached Poland after the Anti-trinitarian controversy had made considerable progress and soon gained the confidence and support of Prince Radziwil. Calvin sought to destroy his influence, but his Confession of Faith: "I believe in one God, the Father, in one Lord, Jesus Christ, his Son, and in one Holy Spirit, each of whom is essentially God. A plurality of gods I reject, since we have only one, according to his essence inseparable God. I confess three distinct hypostases and the eternal deity and generation of Christ, and one Holy Spirit, true and eternal God, who proceeds from both," seems capable of a thoroughly orthodox interpretation. Yet Calvin continued to denounce him as a godless man and a shameful pest, and finding his influence thereby impaired he went to Siebenbürgen (1563) as body physician to Prince John Sigismund. Here he became an avowed Anti-trinitarian, won the prince to his views, and with Francis David as his co-laborer gained many adherents. In 1566 they defended their principles against the Reformed ministers in a public disputation at which the court was present. He had great influence over Stephen Bathori, a later ruler, and was accused by Faustus Socinus of abetting the latter in the admission of the Jesuits and the persecution of the Anti-trinitarians.

(*f*) *Faustus Socinus* (b. 1539), son of an eminent professor of law at the University of Padua, nephew of Lælius Socinus, and connected on his mother's side with some of the most noted families of Italy, had spent twelve years in the court of the Duke of Tuscany in honorable employ and enjoyed his favor. In 1574 he reached the conviction that duty required him to leave country, friends, hopes, and wealth, and to devote his life to securing his own salvation and that of others. He went to Basel and remained for three years devoutly studying the Scriptures and evangelical literature. The MSS. of his uncle had fallen into his hands and these no doubt greatly influenced his thinking. Having satisfied himself that his conclusions were in accord with divine truth and that he had acquired the power to defend them effectively, he began (1577) to advocate them orally and in writing, first at Basel and then at Zürich. At this time (1578) he completed his work, "*De Servatore*" ("Concerning the Saviour").

By this time Biandrata and Francis David, in Siebenbürgen, had come into controversy regarding the honor and power of Christ, the latter denying that all power in heaven and on earth are his and that he is a fit object of worship. Biandrata invited Socinus to come to his aid and with a view to winning David to sounder views arranged to have Socinus board with him. The failure of this scheme and the subsequent imprisonment of David at the instigation of Biandrata, and on the ground in part of information furnished by Socinus, was injurious to the reputation of the two and Socinus was at much pains, many years later, to vindicate himself from the charge of treachery and the abetting of persecution. Socinus on another occasion admitted that obstinate heretics might properly be restrained by the magistrate from spreading their errors.

Removing to Poland the next year (1579) on account of an epidemic, he met with harsh treatment; but was hospitably entertained by Christopher Morsinius, a nobleman, whose daughter he married. His career in Poland was stormy and distressful. Changes in Italy deprived him of his rents, his wife was separated from him, the Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptist churches would have no

fellowship with him because of his rejection of baptism as a perpetual ordinance, and the followers of Francis David and Budnæus denounced him as responsible in a measure for the imprisonment and death of the former and for his too conservative views on the Person of Christ. With the Calvinists too, he was in perpetual controversy. His life was full of literary labors and of sufferings on behalf of what he regarded as the truth. He died in 1604 at the house of a wealthy disciple, who for six years had entertained him. He was undoubtedly the ablest controversialist among the moderate Anti-trinitarians of his time, and although he was not permitted to participate actively in the synods and assemblies or in the educational work of his brethren, he gave his name to the type of teaching that was characteristic of the Polish Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptists. The views of this party are embodied in their most moderate and least objectionable form in the Racovian Catechism, of which Socinus was the principal author. It had been prepared some years before but was first published in 1605.

The writings of Socinus and other Anti-trinitarian leaders in Poland and Siebenbürgen were published for the most part in Latin and had a wide circulation throughout Germany and Switzerland, and especially in the Protestant Netherlands. They called forth many responses from the Reformed theologians during the latter part of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth, and directly and indirectly greatly influenced religious thought in these lands as well as in England and America.

(2) *The Arminian Controversy.*[1] By far the most im-

[1] See "*Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena Ministrorum Remonstrantium in Federato Belgio*," 1620 (contains a remarkably full account of all the transactions to the close of the Synod of Dort from the point of view of the Remonstrants, with many important documents); "*Acta Synodi Nationalis . . . Dortrechti Habitæ Anno 1618 and 1619*," 1620; writings of Arminius (Eng. tr. by Nichols, Buffalo, 1853), Episcopius, Grotius, Limborch, and other Remonstrants; "*Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ Ecclestasticæ et Theologicæ varii argumenti, inter quas eminent eæ, quæ Iac. Arminio, Conr. Vorstio, Sim. Episcopio, Hug. Grotio, Casp. Barlæo, conscriptæ sunt*," 1660 (exceedingly important as giving the inmost thoughts of the chief actors on the Remonstrant side in confidential correspondence); Brandt, "History of the Reformation in and about the Low Countries" (Eng. tr.), 1720–1723; Motley, "Life and Times of John of Olden Barneveld"; Hales, "*Hist. Conc. Dordraceni*"; Van der Tunk, "*Joh. Bogerman*," 1860; Calder, "Life of Simon Episcopius," 1837; Cunningham, "Hist. Theology," Vol. II., pp. 317–523; Heppe, "*Hist. Syn. Nat. Dord.*" (in "*Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol.*," 1853); articles in Hauck-Herzog, Lichtenberger, McClintock and Strong, and Schaff-Herzog on Arminians (Remonstrants), Dort (Dordrecht), and the leading personages on both sides.

portant revolt against Calvinism where it had become well established and had control of the State, during this period, was in the Netherlands early in the seventeenth century. The revolting party came to be designated "Arminians," from James Arminius, and "Remonstrants," from a document called a "Remonstrance" signed by the anti-Calvinist leaders.

a. Antecedents of the Arminian Controversy. (*a*) One of the results of the prolonged and heroic struggle with Spain, in which Calvinists were the defenders of civil and religious liberty against the tyranny and intolerance of Catholic Spain, was the development in many minds of a spirit of excessive liberalism in matters of religion. Intellectual activity went hand in hand with the growth of commercial prosperity, as is evident from the rapid founding and generous support of universities and the high quality of published works in every department of learning. At the beginning of this controversy the Dutch were the most enlightened and intellectually aggressive people in the world. Several of the most eminent men of the age were noted for their latitudinarianism. *John van Olden Barneveld*, the statesman who had been the guiding spirit of the United Netherlands in their struggle for freedom, had early taken as his motto: "To know nothing is the highest wisdom." His mind became more and more liberalized as time went on. He insisted on the utmost freedom, not only for Calvinistic thought over against Romanism, but even for types of thought regarded by the Calvinists as in the highest degree erroneous and dangerous. He would persecute neither Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, nor Socinians. He did not go so far, however, as to advocate absolute liberty of conscience.

Hugo Grotius, one of the greatest scholars of his age, who as the founder of international law was one of the greatest benefactors of modern times, and who was equally at home in statesmanship, jurisprudence, theology, and classical learning, was so liberal in his views as to elicit from some one the remark that "Socinus, Luther, Calvin, Arius, and the pope contended for his religion as did the eight Greek cities for the honor of being the birthplace of Homer."

(*b*) *Castellio's* anti-Calvinistic dialogues on predestination, election, free will, etc., were published posthumously in 1578 and exerted a considerable influence in the Netherlands in favor of liberal thought. The writings of *Socinus* and other Polish Anti-trinitarians had their circles of admiring readers among the Dutch at the close of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth.

(*c*) The *Mennonites*, who were now numerous, wealthy, and influential, like Anabaptists in general and like mediæval evangelicals, were strongly anti-Augustinian in their theology. Determined efforts on the part of the Calvinists to secure the enactment of rigorous laws against them were thwarted by the enlightened liberalism of the statesmen of the time sustained by public sentiment. Considerable controversy had found place with reference to the toleration of these inoffensive people. It may be remarked further, that Mennonites had come to a considerable extent under the influence of Socinianism and constituted one of the channels through which this type of thought had become so widely diffused throughout the United Netherlands.

(*d*) About 1602 the Reformed ministers at Delft set forth in writing a protest against Calvin's and Beza's doctrine of predestination, and *Kroonherts* assailed not only these great teachers but the Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession as well. *Conrad Vorstius*, though not then in the Netherlands, had influenced Netherlandish thought by the publication (1597) of his work on "Predestination, the Trinity, and the Person and Office of Christ," which brought upon him the charge of Socinianism. He was to succeed Arminius in the University of Leyden (1610) and to become a stanch defender of liberal theology.

(*e*) Side by side with the growth of liberal sentiment we find about this time a remarkable development of extreme types of Calvinistic teaching. *Beza*, Calvin's successor at Geneva, had gone far beyond Calvin in the harshness with which he set forth the doctrine of predestination and the collateral doctrine of divine reprobation. He wrote: "That eternal decree of God concerning the manifestation of his glory in saving some whom it

has seemed fit to him to save through his mercy and in destroying some by just judgment, precedes in the order of causes not only the determination of man's corruption, but also that of his integrity, and so that of his creation itself." *John Piscator*, professor at Herborn, who by a process of violent reaction afterward became an Arminian, was even more reckless in his assertion of the arbitrariness of God in his dealings with his creatures.

In a controversy with Vorstius (1613) he advanced the following series of propositions: "1. Sins take place, God procuring and he himself willing that they take place, nay, absolutely so willing. 2. God wills that iniquity be done, although he does not delight in it, just as a sick man wills to drink a bitter potion, though he does not delight in it. 3. God willed that Judas should betray Christ and that the Jews should slay him, which nevertheless he prohibited them from doing. 4. What is unjust—*i. e.*, contrary to his precept—is consentaneous to the will of God. *E. g.*, that homicide of the Jews and that treachery of Judas, etc. 5. All things take place from God's decree, even sins themselves, and, indeed, from his absolute and special decree. 6. Because God wills to make manifest his justice and mercy, therefore also he wills that sins take place. 7. Because God procures that manifestation of his justice and mercy, therefore also he procures the sins themselves. 8. God procured that Absalom should debauch the wives of his father and that Shimei should curse his king. 9. God destined all men to sins, and this in order that he might save some out of mercy and punish and destroy others out of justice. 10. Because God decreed to permit sins, therefore it is necessary that they take place, because otherwise he would have decreed in vain to permit. 11. The unbelief of the Jews (and likewise that of all unbelievers) depends upon God's predestination." Another series of propositions may be quoted from the same work: "1. God does not wish individual men as such, or all men absolutely, to become saved, but only men of every race, *i. e.*, some of all. 2. God does not wish the conversion of every sinner, but only of those who in reality are converted. 3. God is not under obligation to exercise benevolence toward all men; nay, toward any one, in any manner. 4. God sometimes forgets his mercy in the execution of his judgment. 5. It depends upon God whether or not men that are called believe in Christ and become saved. 6. The will to save men is in God particular, and that from an antecedent decree made absolutely and precisely concerning particular individuals. 7. God justly predestined *precisely very many men* (*plerosque*) to eternal destruction and indeed absolutely all to sins themselves. 8. God justly wills that sins be committed by us, and indeed absolutely wills that they be committed; nay, procures in time these sins themselves. 9. God justly punishes and eternally destroys men on account of sins of this kind, although they are absolutely necessary and inevitable. 10. That God moreover teaches, prohibits, promises, etc., certain things which yet in

reality he neither wishes to do in us nor to be done by us. 11. Furthermore, that he justly exacts repentance and faith from those to whom he is unwilling to furnish help sufficient and simply necessary to this end. 12. Finally, that the process of this whole predestinatory business is just."

Piscator taught "That whatever things God wishes to take place in time (in any manner), these things in reality take place in time, and whatever things take place in time these things God precisely defined from eternity"; "That whatever things take place in the world (as well evil as good), these things take place from the absolute decree and special predetermination of God."

Gomar, the colleague and chief opponent of Arminius, taught that "God moves the tongues of men to blaspheme"; that "man cannot do more of good than he does"; that "nobody maintains that God absolutely decreed to reprobate men without sin; but as he decreed the end, so he likewise did the means; that is, as God predestinated man to death, so he predestinated him to sin as the only means of death"; "that God considered man in the decree of reprobation, not as fallen, but as before the fall, and even that the decree of reprobation preceded that of creation"; that "those who held a reprobation under or below the fall, robbed God of his wisdom, it being as much as to say, that the means were considered by him before the end."

With such a caricaturing of Calvinism as the above widely prevalent and becoming more and more reckless in its almost blasphemous utterances in response to the rapid growth of liberal sentiments indicated above, all the conditions were present in the Netherlands for the outbreak of a bitter controversy at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

b. Outbreak of the Controversy. (*a*) *James Arminius* (b. 1560), having been left a destitute orphan at an early age and afterward deprived of nearly all his relatives in the destruction of his native town by the Spaniards, was cared for and educated by various benevolent people until his great ability as a student in the University of Leyden led the burgomasters of Amsterdam to bestow upon him means for foreign study. In 1582 he went to Geneva, where he attracted the attention of Beza and

his colleagues and formed a lifelong friendship with his fellow-countryman, Joh. Uytenbogaert. Having offended one of the professors in a disputation on the philosophy of Peter Ramus, he was suspended for a time. He removed to Basel, where he won the high esteem of Gynoræus, was permitted to give courses of lectures, and could have received the doctor's degree if he had been willing. After three years of further study in Geneva under Beza (1583–1586), he traveled in Italy, where he heard the lectures of and associated with some of the great Catholic professors. It was rumored in Amsterdam that he had become unduly familiar with Bellarmine and other Jesuits, but he was able to satisfy the authorities as to his theological soundness, and in 1588 entered upon his work in Amsterdam as pastor of one of the principal churches. By this time he was recognized as among the ablest and most learned men of his time. His expository sermons were so lucid, eloquent, and well delivered as to attract large audiences. He was called upon from time to time to write against the opponents of Calvinism, which he did in a moderate and satisfactory way. When pestilence was raging in 1602, he distinguished himself by heroic service. Before this time his intimate friends had become aware of the fact that he was no longer in full sympathy with the extreme predestinarianism of Beza, and he had written an exposition of Romans 9 in an anti-Calvinistic spirit. This, however, was not published till after his death. He was sharply attacked by his colleague, Plancius, but through the good offices of Uytenbogaert and Tassin the matter was peaceably settled. The learned Junius, of the University of Leyden, had fallen a victim to the plague (1602) and Arminius was invited to succeed him. Francis Gomar, the only survivor of the Faculty, earnestly protested against the choice ; but Arminius was able to satisfy the authorities of his orthodoxy and was duly installed (1603). At this time he condemned explicitly the Pelagian teachings regarding natural grace, the powers of free will, perfection of man in this life, predestination, etc., and approved of all that Augustine and other Fathers had written against the Pelagians, and he promised that he would teach nothing at variance with the received doctrines of

the Reformed churches. In his public lectures he studiously avoided anti-Calvinistic utterances.

Prompted by Gomar, the authorities required him (1604) to deliver a course of public lectures on predestination. He defended the doctrine in a way that would have been acceptable to moderate Calvinists; but Gomar thought it necessary to supplement these lectures with a course of his own, in which he set forth the supralapsarian theory with a harshness that has been partially indicated in the specimens given above.

The students of the university were soon arrayed in hostile camps and the partisanship rapidly spread among the pastors and churches of Holland. In expressing his disapprobation of the harsh views of Gomar and his partisans, it is probable that Arminius, when among his partisans, was soon led to insinuate doubts regarding some features of the Calvinistic system proper. Doctrinal tracts embodying his views were privately circulated among his disciples. He was charged with commending to his scholars the reading of Socinian and Jesuit books that embodied semi-Pelagian teachings and to have spoken contemptuously of the writings of Calvin, Beza, Martyr, etc. Soon he began to profess openly that he had objections to the Reformed symbols which he would formulate at the proper time.

(*b*) In 1605, deputies were sent by the synod of the South and North Holland churches to confer with Arminius regarding the reports that had gained currency. He denied that he had given just cause for disadvantageous rumors and declined to discuss with them as deputies the questions on which he was suspected of holding unsound views. He was next admonished by the Leyden church authorities (July, 1605) to declare and discuss his views before the Presbytery. This also he declined to do.

At the synod of the churches of North and South Holland (August, 1605), the class of Dort insisted that the synod should take measures for composing the controversy as commodiously and as expeditiously as possible. Arminius sought to prevent unfavorable action and secured from his colleagues testimony to the effect that while there was more disputing among the students on these doctrinal questions than was agreeable to the professors, among the professors themselves there was no dissension in fundamentals.

At the synod of the South Holland churches (August

30, 1605), the deputies of the synod were enjoined to make diligent inquiry into the state of theological affairs at Leyden and to urge the curators of the university to compel the professors to declare openly and sincerely their views on the questions that were being agitated, and to require all pastors to subscribe the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism. The deputies drew up nine questions which the curators of the university were requested to submit to the professors. This the curators declined to do, on the ground that this matter might await the assembling of the national synod, of which there was now some hope. Many pastors refused to subscribe the symbols.

(*c*) From this time onward the Calvinistic party bent all its energies toward the securing of a national synod, being confident that the party of Arminius would be found to constitute an insignificant minority and that drastic measures for its suppression might easily be adopted and executed by the civil authorities, under whose auspices it would be convened. It so happened that the desire of the Calvinists for a national synod was in thorough accord with the centralizing policy of Maurice of Nassau, the son of William the Silent and the great military leader of the United Netherlands, who had set his heart upon the transformation of the republic into a monarchy with himself as head. Theologically, Maurice was in sympathy with the Arminian party, having been much influenced by his court preacher, Uytenbogaert, Arminius' friend. Against Maurice was arrayed the great advocate of Holland and West Friesland, who deprecated the policy of centralization and defended with rare determination the rights of the individual States of the confederation. He was thoroughly sympathetic with the liberal theology of Arminius, and for this reason, as well as on political grounds, strove with all his might to prevent the calling by the States-General of a national synod with power to legislate in religious matters for the United Netherlands. The calling of the synod thus became a political question of prime importance. So long as Barneveld could hold in check the royal aspirations of Maurice, so long would the national synod be postponed and so long would the rigorous Calvinists be denied the

means of effectually crushing the Arminians. The Arminian sentiment was rapidly spreading and the party felt that it had everything to gain by the indefinite postponement of a synod the early assembling of which would inevitably prove its doom.

(*d*) An effort was next made to induce all pastors and professors to declare in writing their objections to the Reformed symbols, in order that these might be duly considered in the classes and properly formulated against the assembling of the national synod. The Arminians refused to be beguiled into a formal declaration of their views. Arminius promised to lay his views fully before the national synod when it should assemble. The States-General soon afterward called together prominent representatives of both parties to consult regarding the time, place, and manner of holding a national synod. It was decided that it should be held as soon as practicable, and that the place should be Utrecht. Grievances were to be first considered in the provincial synods and referred by these to the national. Each synod was to send to the national four pastors and two elders with power of final action. The Scriptures were to be the norm. Belgian Reformed churches outside of the confederation and all the Reformed governments of Europe were to be invited to send delegates. The States-General were to be represented. Arminius, Uytenbogaert, and the two Utrecht delegates objected to having the power of final decision vested in the deputies, and insisted on the right of deputies to withdraw for consultation with their constituents whenever they felt themselves aggrieved. They also urged the importance of a revision of the symbols and insisted on the insertion of a clause on revision in the letters of convocation. Another most artful but unsuccessful attempt was made to induce Arminius to declare his views.

Further steps were taken (1607) for compelling the pastors to declare their views on the controverted points. It was ascertained that the opinions of Arminius were rapidly gaining ground through the young ministers who were going forth from the University of Leyden, and that doctrinal discussions were becoming common among all classes.

(*e*) The Calvinists next attempted to induce the States-General to convoke a provincial synod of North and South Holland, with power to deal with the disturbers of ecclesiastical harmony. The preoccupation of the body with the work of arranging a truce with Spain prevented favorable action.

(*f*) With a view to frustrating the purposes of his opponents, Arminius now obtained (1608) from the States-General permission to have his cause adjudicated by the Supreme Court. As the accused person he compelled Gomar to take the initiative. Gomar must formulate his charges and prove them; it would be sufficient for him (Arminius) to defend himself against specific charges when made. Gomar regarded his attitude as insolent and objected strongly to the trial of an ecclesiastical cause before a civil tribunal. He was prepared before a legitimate synod to prove that Arminius had propounded doctrines at variance with the symbols. Gomar proposed that both Arminius and himself write out their views upon the points at issue. Arminius refused, and expressed surprise that after so much had been said about his heterodoxy no one could be found who dared to bring accusation. Gomar was thus provoked into an attempt to prove Arminius' unsoundness on the doctrine of justification. The court decided "that the controversies which had arisen between these two professors are not of great moment, being occupied chiefly with certain over-subtle disputations concerning predestination, which may be either omitted or dissimulated with mutual tolerance." Gomar replied that the points at issue were of so great moment that he "would not dare to appear before the judgment seat of God with the opinions of Arminius."

In August, 1609, the government made another effort to allay the strife. Arminius and Gomar, with four other ministers, were invited to discuss orally the questions at issue. The discussion lasted for several days and was continued in writing. In the course of it Arminius was prostrated with illness from which he died in October.

c. The Remonstrance and the Contra-Remonstrance. (*a*) The death of Arminius, instead of allaying the controversy made the liberals more aggressive than ever. A regard for his interests and his own conciliatory disposi-

tion had tended to restrain the zeal of his followers. In 1610 they set forth in a carefully prepared document, called the *Remonstrance*, their views on the five points that had come most prominently forward in the controversy. It was addressed to the government and constituted a plea for toleration. The first of these articles declares "that God, by an eternal and immutable decree in Jesus Christ his son, before the world was founded, determined out of the fallen, sinful human race, to save in Christ for Christ's sake and through Christ those who, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, believe on this his Son Jesus and shall persevere in this faith and obedience of faith, through this grace, even to the end; and, on the other hand, to leave the incorrigible and unbelieving in sin and under wrath, and to condemn them as alienates from Christ according to the word of the gospel in John 3 : 36." The second article declares that "Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, died for all men and for every man, so that he has obtained for them all, by his death on the cross, redemption and the forgiveness of sins; yet that no one actually enjoys this forgiveness of sin except the believer." The third article declares that apostate sinful man "can of and by himself neither think, will, nor do anything that is truly good (such as saving faith evidently is); but that it is needful that he be born again of God in Christ, through his Holy Spirit, and renewed in understanding, inclination, will, and all his powers, in order that he may rightly understand, think, will, and effect what is truly good." The fourth article asserts that "this grace of God is the beginning, continuance, and accomplishment of all good, even to the extent that the regenerate man himself, without prevenient or assisting, awakening, following, and co-operative grace, can neither think, will, nor do good, nor withstand any temptations to evil; . . but as respects the mode of the operation of this grace, it is not irresistible." In the fifth article, it is taught "that those who are incorporated into Christ by a true faith, and have thereby become partakers of his life-giving Spirit, have thereby full power to strive against Satan, sin, the world, and their own flesh, and to win the victory; it being well understood that it is ever through the assisting grace

of the Holy Spirit; and that Jesus Christ assists them through his Spirit in all temptation, extends to them his hand, and if only they are ready for the conflict, and desire his help, and are not inactive, keeps them from falling so that they, by no craft or power of Satan, can be misled or plucked out of Christ's hands."

(*b*) The Calvinists responded in a *Contra-Remonstrance*, in which there was far less of moderation and far more of polemical bitterness. This was followed by a large body of controversial literature, in which the Remonstrants mercilessly exposed and condemned the harsher features of the Reformed theology and the Calvinists made the most of the departures of their opponents from the standards of orthodoxy.

During eight years following the publication of the Remonstrance the two political forces referred to above were earnestly striving for the mastery. The centralizing policy of Maurice gained more and more the support of the patriotic portion of the nation, having the entire military interest at its back; while the party of Barneveld came to be looked upon as too friendly to Spain and too tolerant toward Roman Catholicism. Barneveld was finally unjustly accused of high-treason and was executed May 14, 1619. Grotius was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but managed to escape in 1621. The calling of the long-deferred national synod marked the triumph of Maurice and his Calvinistic supporters.

It is significant of the sense of isolation and the earnest desire for ecclesiastical sympathy felt by the Remonstrants, that in 1613, when the controversy was raging and their persecution seemed imminent, Uytenbogaert, on behalf of his brethren, entered into correspondence with the Patriarch of Alexandria, with the evident desire, if at all practicable, to symbolize with this ancient ecclesiastical organization.[1]

d. The Synod of Dort (November 13, 1618 to May 9, 1619). The aim of the States-General, now completely subservient to Prince Maurice, the Stadtholder, was to unify the religious administration of the United Netherlands and to make it a more perfect instrument of the

[1] See letter from the Patriarch Cyril, in "*Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ*," pp. 369, *seq.*, and 399, *seq*

centralized State. In many respects it was the most important meeting ever held by the Reformed churches. There were present eighty-four theologians and eighteen secular commissioners. The civil governments in which the Reformed type of Protestantism was supposed to prevail were requested to send at least three or four delegates, each of whom should have the right to vote. James I., of England, sent four eminent divines, Bishops Carleton and Davenant, Professor Ward, Joseph Hall (afterward bishop), and Balcanquall, the king's Scotch chaplain. The Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland, and Bremen, were well represented by their ablest theologians. Delegates were appointed by the Elector of Brandenburg, and by the National Synod of France, but failed to appear. The expenses were borne on a liberal scale by the States-General. Joh. Bogerman, who had translated Beza's tract in defense of the execution of heretics, was made president. Only three Arminians were elected delegates and these, having been previously disqualified by charges of heresy, were compelled to surrender their seats to delegates appointed by the orthodox minority of the Synod of Utrecht from which they were appointed. Gomar was the chief upholder of Supralapsarianism. The majority represented a high form of Infralapsarianism.

Simon Episcopius, who since the death of Arminius had been the theological leader of the party, was summoned, along with thirteen others, to state and defend the views of the Remonstrants. The decision of the Synod was a foregone conclusion. The five articles of the Remonstrance were unanimously disapproved, while the five articles of the Contra-Remonstrance were as unanimously upheld. The Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism were confirmed in their position as standards of orthodoxy. Provision was made for a thorough revision of the Dutch Bible.

Episcopius made an elaborate and bold defense of the Remonstrants and an earnest plea for toleration; but the members of the Synod were in no compromising mood and were resolved to crush the Arminian heresy while it was still controllable.

The condemnation of the Remonstrants as heterodox

involved their exclusion from fellowship and of course the deposition of their ministers.

e. Persecution of the Remonstrants. The Remonstrant ministers who had been summoned to appear before the Synod were kept in custody after the adjournment of the body, although they had come under safe-conduct and supposed they had been guaranteed the right to return safely to their homes. On May 20 they were summoned before the lay commissioners, who represented the States-General, and asked whether "seeing that they had been deprived of their ministry, they would abstain from all ecclesiastical ministrations," and on condition of their compliance with the wishes of the government, they were promised a competent support. A promise not to write letters or publish books in the interest of the Remonstrant cause was exacted of Episcopius. They promised to cease ministering in the State churches, but their conscience would not allow them to promise to abstain from any effort to promulgate what they believed to be God's truth. Uytenbogaert feared lest Episcopius should suffer the fate of Barneveld and advised him to flee. The detained Remonstrants, failing to satisfy the commissioners, were taken to the Hague and on July 5 appeared before the government for sentence. Refusing to sign the "Act of Cessation," they were sentenced to banishment and threatened with severe treatment in case they should return without permission.

Among the coins handed to Episcopius for his expenses was one from the Duchy of Braunschweig, on one side of which was an image of truth trampling upon Calumny and Mendacity, with the inscription "Truth conquers all things"; on the reverse, the inscription "In doing right fear no man." He was so impressed with the applicability of these devices to his own condition and that of his brethren, that he had the coin mounted for preservation in his family as an heirloom.

A considerable number of the banished Remonstrant ministers were hospitably received and entertained by the lord of Walwick in the Catholic province of Brabant, with the cordial consent and co-operation of the bishop of Bois-le-duc. The latter may not have been quite disinterested in the favors shown to these persecuted Prot-

estants. However this may be, the following words said to have been addressed by him to Episcopius and his associates at the bishop's table, where they sat with two Jesuits and two Dominicans, are worthy of notice:

"I welcome you here, brethren; I call you brethren, for though we differ in many points, yet we all seek for salvation through one and the same Christ. Your oppression is a source of heartfelt grief to me. The Duke of Alva, by his rigorous and cruel persecutions, has done great mischief to the Catholic religion, and seriously injured our affairs. And if the States find their advantage in imitating conduct which has been ruinous to us, it will be matter of surprise." The bishop expressed his abhorrence of those Reformed doctrines to which the Remonstrants objected, and the Jesuits applauded. The Dominicans demurred from fear of favoring Pelagianism and prompted one of the Catholic pastors to denounce the Remonstrants. The bishop sternly rebuked him and sent a learned monk to make amends in a public discourse for this breach of courtesy.

Episcopius and others published extensively against the Synod of Dort and the intolerance of the government. They stigmatized the views of their opponents as "the iron and fatal tables of the Fates," "the most present bane of all religion," and as "Manichæan fatalism." They charged the Calvinists with being the murderers of Barneveld, "that most brave Atlas of Belgium and most prudent Nestor," and they were declared to be led by "the spirit of Antichrist." The Contra-Remonstrants, on the other hand, calumniated the Remonstrants as "haters of God," "injurious," "blasphemers," "calumniators," "murmurers," "querulous," "proud," "vainglorious," "inventors of evil things," "covenant breakers," "profane," "abominable wolves," "deriders of the whole Christian religion," etc. About two hundred Remonstrant ministers were deprived of their pastorates and those who would not agree to keep quiet were banished.

In 1625 toleration was granted to the Remonstrants. Five years later they were accorded complete freedom to live anywhere in Holland and to build and conduct churches and schools. Under Uytenbogaert's guidance they effected a presbyterial organization. They established a theological seminary at Amsterdam, in which such men as Episcopius, Grotius, Limborch, Curcellæus, and Le Clerc, gave instruction, and which still survives.

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

I. ATTITUDE OF THE PAPACY TOWARD THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION UP TO 1540.

1. *Leo X.* (*1513–1521*) was a son of Lorenzo de Medici, the Magnificent, the famous patron of literature and art. He was brought up in a humanistic atmosphere and without religious advantages of any kind. Made archbishop of Aix by the favor of the king of France on purely political grounds at eight years of age, and cardinal at thirteen, he was taught to regard ecclesiastical offices simply as sources of revenue, and his education under the most noted humanists of the time was purely secular. At sixteen he became an active member of the College of Cardinals and a papal legate. A fugitive under Alexander VI., the licentious, murderous, and despoiling Borgia, he came into favor again under the warlike Julius II., and was commander-in-chief of his army at the battle of Ravenna, where he was defeated and captured by the French. Escaping at Milan, he returned to Florence, and, Julius having died of a loathsome disease, he was able by shrewd bargaining with his fellow-cardinals to gain the papal chair. He was occupied almost exclusively with political measures for the advancement of the Medici family and with the promotion of literature and art. While he spent large sums in architecture, sculpture, and painting, employing such masters as Raphael and Michael Angelo, and upon the enriching of the Vatican library, he squandered vastly more upon the maintenance of the most luxurious and licentious court of Europe and in schemes for the political advancement of his relatives. His financial exigencies led to the shameless sale of indulgences that provoked the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution. He died deeply in debt. He regarded the Lutheran protest as a matter of small importance, and was utterly incapable of

realizing the widespread and determined demand for reform that Luther's bold utterances immediately called forth, or of devising any effective means for the prevention of schism. His vacillating policy in relation to France and Spain and his opposition to the appointment of either Charles or Francis to the imperial office in 1519 made it impossible for him to unite the great powers for the suppression of insubordination in Germany. He was completely out of sympathy with the stalwart and aggressive type of Roman Catholicism that had been developed in Spain and which applied the Inquisition to the extirpation of even suspected heresy. There was no chance for an effective Counter-Reformation under Leo.

2. *Hadrian VI.* (*1521–1523*) was born in Utrecht of obscure parents (1459), and was educated at Zwolle and Deventer, where he came under the influence of the reforming spirit of the Brethren of the Common Life, aud afterward at Louvain, where he became deeply versed in Thomist scholasticism and in church law. As a Doctor of Theology in the University of Louvain he attracted large numbers of students and exerted a strong moral and religious influence. In 1507 he was called from his university work by the Emperor Maximilian to become tutor of his grandson, Charles (afterward emperor). He strove in vain to lead his pupil to take more interest in Christian learning than in military matters. In 1515 he visited the court of Ferdinand of Spain to adjust some differences that had arisen between him and his grandson and successor (Charles), and so impressed the aged king with his stalwart Catholicism and his masterful abilities that he was appointed Bishop of Tortosa and Inquisitor in Aragon. In association with Cardinal Ximenes he was soon at the head of ecclesiastical administration in Spain, and in 1517 he was created cardinal by Leo X. Partly through the influence of the emperor and partly because of his well-known administrative ability and his zeal as a churchman, he was unanimously chosen to succeed Leo X., greatly to the disgust of the Romans, to whom his austere and simple life was distasteful, and who feared the scourge of reform that he would be likely to apply. He was already en-

gaged in a life and death struggle in Spain, where his stern rule was all the more unpalatable because he was a foreigner. An equally bitter opposition awaited him as pope. The luxurious Italian nobles had monopolized the papal office so long that they resented the intrusion of a meanly born Dutchman, who cared nothing for polite literature and the fine arts, and who set his face as a flint against the licentious and luxurious life that had become customary at the Vatican. Though an earnest reformer, he could not be suspected of sympathy with Lutheran heresy, for he had heartily approved of the condemnation of Luther's writings by the University of Louvain, and as Inquisitor in Spain he had dealt with twenty-five thousand cases of heresy and had become famous as a scourge of Lutheranism. But the reforming members of the College of Cardinals and Catholic reformers everywhere hailed his election as the inauguration of a reformation of the church in its head and its members which would destroy all legitimate ground for schism and ruthlessly crush the enemies of the church. Hadrian was convinced that the doctrines of the church as expounded by such teachers as Thomas Aquinas needed no revision or restatement; but the church law, and especially the church discipline, was capable of indefinite betterment. He fully recognized the evils of the indulgence traffic, the sale of benefices and expectancies, and all other corrupt methods of raising money. The granting of dispensations to marry within prohibited degrees and to violate other moral laws he strongly disapproved. He frowned upon simony and nepotism. His attempt to carry out these reforms brought upon him the vilest slander and threats of assassination and poisoning. Only two of the cardinals were willing to stand by him in his extreme reformatory efforts. His attitude toward Lutheranism at the Diet of Nuremberg has already been set forth (p. 64, *seq.*). He had the utmost contempt for Luther and wished to see him treated as Huss and Jerome of Prague had been. Neither the emperor nor the king of France would give him the support that he needed for carrying out the practical reforms recommended and crushing out by inquisitorial methods all obstinate heresy. Francis I. proposed to

invade Italy, depose the pope, and secure the appointment of a pope subservient to himself. Hadrian died, September, 1523, a disappointed and discouraged man. Knowing his simplicity of life, the cardinals supposed that he had hoarded a considerable sum of money and pressed him on his death-bed to reveal its hiding-place. Only a thousand ducats remained, the rest of the papal income having been faithfully devoted to church work and charity. If Hadrian had been supported by the cardinals and by the king of France and the emperor, and had he been spared a few years longer, he would have introduced such reforms in clerical and monastic life and in papal and episcopal administration as would greatly have lessened the force of Lutheran criticism and might have effectually checked the progress of the Protestant Revolution. But it would have been simply the triumph of the Spanish idea of rigorous discipline within the church and merciless intolerance toward insubordination of every kind. The Inquisition, if he could have had his way, would have been established wherever heresy lifted up its head, and all other interests would have been subordinated to the maintenance of absolute hierarchical authority.

3. *Clement VII.* (*1523–1534*), a Medician of illegitimate birth, had been one of the chief administrative officials under Leo X., and was, like Leo, devoid of religious interest and concerned chiefly about the advancement of the political interests of his family. He simply revived the policy of his illustrious relative. His chief scheme was, by double-dealing, to secure favors from both the emperor and the king of France without becoming wholly subservient to either. For either to become too powerful in Italy would imperil the papal interests.

Reference has been made in an earlier section to the severity of the punishment administered to him and to the city of Rome by the emperor with the help of a Lutheran army because of his treachery. It has also been sufficiently emphasized that this conflict between pope and emperor, pope and king of France, and emperor and king, in its various phases was greatly in favor of the growth of Protestantism. Not only did Clement VII. utterly fail to carry forward the Counter-Reformation attempted by Hadrian, but he still further weakened the Catholic cause and strengthened the hands of his opponents.

II. POLICY OF THE PAPACY, 1641 ONWARD.

Paul III. (*1534–1549*), a member of the influential Farnese family, was in his tastes and principles much like Leo and Clement; but he vastly surpassed them in diplomatic skill and in political insight. He had come to realize fully the seriousness of the ecclesiastical situation and he sought to strengthen the Roman Curia by the appointment of several of the ablest ecclesiastical statesmen in Italy: Contarini, the zealous reformer, who stood for compromise and conciliation with Protestantism; Caraffa, the Catholic zealot, who had become imbued with the Spanish idea of reform through internal discipline and the universal application of the Inquisition; Pole, who was to figure so prominently in English affairs; Sadoleto, who was to strive with Calvin for Geneva; Fregoso, etc. Though grossly immoral himself and shameless in his devotion to the interests of his illegitimate children, he professed to have the reformation of the church at heart, and after the failures of the negotiations with the Protestants for the restoration of church unity in Germany, in which Contarini was the chief Catholic diplomat, Paul adopted without reserve the Spanish policy of discipline and inquisition represented by Caraffa and the Theatines and by the newly organized Society of Jesus.

This policy of uncompromising hostility to Protestantism in every form was from 1641 onward that of the papacy and of the Roman Catholic church as a body. It had come to be realized by the papacy that the church had suffered enormous loss in territory and influence, largely through the devotion of the popes to the promotion of selfish political schemes and the formation of unwise alliances. Political misfortunes and exigencies had convinced the papal counsellors that only a broad and comprehensive policy looking far beyond Italian interests, providing effective means for checking the progress of the Protestant Revolution, and retrieving ground that had been lost, would avail. The chief means that were used by the Counter-Reformation from this time onward were the Council of Trent, the Society of Jesus, and the Inquisition. These means of fortifying

the church and repressing heresy are closely interlinked. The Council of Trent, especially in its later and more important phases, and the establishment and working of the Inquisition, like the policy of the papacy in general, were due to Jesuit influence.

III. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (1545–1564).

LITERATURE: Theiner, "*Acta Genuina Conc. Trident.*," 1874; Le Plat, "*Canones et Decreta Sac. Œcum. Conc. Trident.*," 1779, and "*Monumentorum ad Hist. Conc. Trident. Spectantium Amplissima Collectio*," 7 volumes, 1781; Schaff, "The Creeds of Christendom"; Döllinger, "*Sammlung von Urkunden zur Gesch. d. Conc. von Trent*," 1876; Froude, "Lectures on the Council of Trent," 1896; Littledale, "Short Hist. of the Council of Trent," 1888. Of less value are the works of Sarpi and Pallavicino.

1. *Occasion of the Calling of the Council.*

Luther and the German princes had from the beginning demanded the adjudication of their cause by a General Council that should be free from papal control, should make the Scriptures the criterion of doctrine and practice, and should undertake to reform the church in its head and members. Leo X. purposed the calling of a council, being fully assured that the entire body of prelates would decide against Luther and his followers and that the great political powers would unite in carrying out such repressive measures as the council might dictate. His early death prevented the execution of his plan. Grievances were continually coming before the imperial Diets until they amounted to several hundreds. Many of them came from Catholic princes. There was a widespread feeling of the need of a thorough reformation of the administrative and financial methods of the hierarchy and of the lives of clergy and monks, not only among those who were openly attached to Luther, but among those who still clung to the old faith as well. Paul III., who had been cardinal under three popes, was thoroughly familiar with the condition of religious life and thought throughout Europe and with the secrets of the Roman Curia, and had abandoned the policy of attempting to gain advantages from the antagonism of the great Catholic powers, saw that it would be bad policy to resist longer the demand for a council, and with a view to

testing still further the sentiments of the Germans, he sent out a legate to confer with the princes and other leading men, both Catholic and Protestant. The German Catholics, deeply distrustful of Italian diplomacy, declared themselves opposed to any council to be held in Italy. The Protestants agreed with the Catholics in this, and would have nothing to do with a council to be presided over by the pope. Nevertheless, Paul proceeded to issue a bull convoking a council to assemble at Mantua in 1537. Germany, France, England, and even Italy protested against the place. He next fixed upon Vicenza for 1538; but not a single bishop responded to the summons.

The readiness with which Catholic princes and prelates ignored the orders of the supreme pontiff furnishes the most striking evidence of the depressed condition of papal authority at this time. The papacy had deservedly lost the confidence of its constituency by reason of its corrupt administration, the devotion of the popes to personal interests, and the utterly unscrupulous diplomacy of the Roman Curia.

In 1541, Caraffa now being the power behind the throne with a fully developed policy of repression, the pope and the emperor conferred personally with reference to the reunification of western Christendom through a council, and Trent, an Austrian city only a few miles from the Italian border, was suggested as being outside of Italy, central, and as far as possible neutral. War again broke out between the emperor and the king of France, and nothing could be done toward the assembling of a council until peace had been made (December, 1544). One of the items of the treaty was an agreement of the potentates to co-operate for bringing about an early assembling of the long-deferred council. Under this influence a fresh papal bull was almost immediately issued, convoking a council to assemble in Trent, March, 1545.

2. *Conflicting Aims in the Calling of the Council.*

One of the chief difficulties in securing the co-operation of Catholic Europe in the assembling of the council and one of the chief causes of strife in the council when assembled was a radical difference of opinion between

the papal and the imperial parties as to the work to be attempted. The emperor had chiefly at heart the reunion of western Christendom as a means of strengthening the imperial power against Turkish invasion and putting an end to the ruinous internal strife occasioned by the Protestant Revolution. He had become convinced that Protestantism had become too firmly rooted to be forcibly extirpated. Any attempt at coercive measures would, he was sure, lead to a civil war, the results of which could not be foreseen, and would destroy for the empire the possibility of effective resistance to its external foes. Stalwart Catholic though he was, he fully recognized the terrible corruption of the ecclesiastical administration, the reality of the grievances that had long been accumulating, and the absolute necessity of such reforms as would lead to the conciliation of all who had not become hopelessly estranged from the church. In this policy France was practically at one with the imperial party. Gallicanism was still strong, and the idea of a council manipulated by the pope in his own interest was repulsive.

With the pope, on the other hand, the thing of fundamental importance was a minute definition of the doctrines of the church with the specific anathematizing of every current form of heresy. Such a definition of doctrine would furnish a convenient and highly effective instrument for the use of the Inquisition, which it was his design to establish wherever and whenever it was practicable. A complete body of Catholic doctrine had never yet been authoritatively set forth. Most of the earlier councils, as well as those of the Middle Ages, had been occupied with the definition of individual doctrines, or phases of doctrine, and great diversity of doctrinal definition existed in the writings of ancient and mediæval teachers that had been approved by the church. The time had come when it was of the utmost importance for the inquisitors of heresy to know precisely what the church taught and precisely what errors were outside of the pale of its toleration. Hence the policy of the Roman Curia was not to conciliate the Protestants by the abolition of abuses, but to cut off Protestantism from the fellowship of the church.

These two conflicting aims had to be harmonized before anything could be done by way of organizing the council for its work. It was early agreed that both reformation and the definition of doctrine should be attempted, but the question of precedence was more difficult to settle. The papal party insisted on defining the faith first and then giving attention to reformation, intimating that reformation was a delicate matter that would have to be proceeded with cautiously and deliberately, and that more harm than good might be done by rashly attempting the abolition of recognized abuses. The imperial party demanded that reformation be first attended to as the matter of most urgent importance and that doctrinal definition await its turn. It was finally agreed that the two departments of work should go on concurrently, each being entrusted to suitable committees and alternate sessions of the council being devoted to each.

A remarkably full record of the discussions of the various committees on doctrine and reformation has been preserved and has been recently made available (ed. Theiner). Freedom of discussion prevailed to an extent unknown in more recent Catholic gatherings and the utmost diversity of opinion was expressed on many matters.

3. *The Sessions of the Council.*

The first seven sessions of the council were held at Trent (March, 1545, to March, 1547). Pestilence broke out at this time, as the result, no doubt, of the congregation of a vast multitude of visitors in a comparatively small city without proper sanitation, and necessitated the removal of the council. The pope attempted to reassemble it at Bologna and a few unimportant and sparsely attended sessions were held there; but the opposition of the imperial party was so pronounced and determined that prorogation soon followed. The emperor demanded that the council be restored to Trent and entered into fresh negotiations with the Protestants, inviting them to send representatives to the council with the right "to deliver their opinions freely, without let or blame, in a council guided by the doctrine of the Scriptures and the Fathers." This proceeding aroused the indignation of the Roman Curia, now fully dominated by the Spanish-Jesuit policy of uncompromising warfare

against insubordination of every kind. The failing health of the pontiff and the bitter dissension between the papal and the imperial parties prevented the reassembling of the council until 1551, the year succeeding the death of Paul III.

Under Julius III. (1550–1555) the council was reassembled at Trent and proceeded slowly with its work for about a year. A number of Protestant ambassadors were present in response to the invitation of the emperor, but no satisfactory guarantee having been given that the deliberations would be free or that tne questions at issue would be decided on their merits, they soon withdrew. In 1552 war broke out between the emperor and the Protestant princes (Schmalkald War) and Trent seemed in danger of a Protestant attack. This led to another suspension of the council.

War and the deaths of popes (Julius III. and Marcellus II., 1555, Paul IV., Caraffa, 1559), prevented the reassembling of the body until 1561. The accession of Elizabeth in England, with the final overthrow of papal authority and the exclusion of Roman Catholicism, the successes of the Huguenots in France, the rapid spread of Protestantism in the Austrian dependencies, and the rebellious attitude of the Dutch evangelicals, led Pius IV., soon after his election (1559), to begin negotiations for the reopening of the council. The Protestants were again invited, but they refused to make any further efforts at compromise. The Augsburg Treaty (1555), which had followed the successful conflict of the Protestants of Germany, aided by France, with the emperor and his allies, had been repudiated by the papacy, and they were content to abide by this settlement until they could see their way to something more advantageous. By this time the Jesuits were thoroughly entrenched in the control of the policy of the church and had entered with great energy and zeal upon the task of destroying Protestantism and every form of opposition to Roman dominance, root and branch. Some of the ablest leaders in the final sessions of the council were members of this great order. The council reassembled at Trent in 1561 and continued, with slight interruptions, till 1564, when its work was completed.

4. *Decrees of the Council.*

(1) *On Reformation.* A vast number of grievances were considered and dealt with. No effort was made to deny or to palliate the fearful corruptions that had led to the Protestant Revolution. Among the numerous reforms finally adopted by the council, the following may be specified:

a. It was provided that in churches where an endowment for a lectureship for the expounding of the Scriptures existed, it should be faithfully used for this purpose, and that where no such fund had been established a master shall be appointed to teach the clergy and other poor scholars gratuitously.

The Protestants were laying great stress on biblical training. The Tridentine councilors felt the necessity of meeting Protestantism on its own ground and supplying the popular demand for biblical instruction. Few of the priests were familiar enough with the Scriptures to be able to hold their own with Protestant ministers in argument based on the exegesis of the sacred records and the people were prone to follow those who seemed to draw their teachings straight from holy writ.

b. It is ordered that all clergy in parochial charge shall preach the gospel.

The great mass of the priesthood were too illiterate to preach the gospel or to speak effectively on any theme. The power of Protestantism had been seen to lie largely in preaching. "Dumb dogs," as Knox called them, could not hold their own in competition with well-educated and enthusiastic evangelical preachers. The Catholics must use to the full this means of influencing the masses.

c. Monks are forbidden to preach in parishes without the license of the bishop.

Nothing had worked more powerfully for the degradation of the parish clergy than the unlimited license that had been bestowed upon the monastic orders by the mediæval popes to preach in any parish without episcopal permission, to hear confession, and to usurp the functions of the local ministry. Being for the most part better educated and more attractive than the local clergy and to all appearances holier in life, they were able to supplant them in the esteem and the affection of the people and discourage in them efforts to fulfill their functions aright. The council recognized the evil and sought to remedy it.

d. Holders of several cathedral churches are required

to resign all but one, and in cases where more benefices than one are allowed, by special dispensation, suitable vicars are to be provided for such churches as are not personally cared for.

The evils of pluralities are recognized and a feeble attempt at reformation is suggested. Many of the most important ecclesiastical positions were held by men who were not expected to render any service in return for the revenues enjoyed and who made no suitable provision for the work thus neglected. The conferring of bishoprics and archbishoprics on young children was no uncommon occurrence.

e. Restrictions were put upon the appointment of disreputable and incompetent men to ecclesiastical positions; but there is no indication that the council had any serious intention of bringing the priesthood up to a high moral or intellectual standard. Bishops are instructed to use all diligence in efforts to promote order and good morals among clergy and people. The deplorable moral condition of the clergy is frankly recognized.

f. It is insisted that those appointed to the higher ecclesiastical positions be men of good birth and morals and proper age. The minimum age is fixed at fourteen.

g. The need of a better educated clergy is recognized and a general provision for promoting ministerial education is suggested.

The power of an educated ministry had become evident in the history of the evangelical churches. Catholics must have an educated priesthood or they could not hold their own in the conflict with Protestantism, much less win back to the church the alienated multitudes.

h. A thorough reformation of monastic life is decreed, based upon a recognition of the corruption of the monasteries charged by the Protestants.

i. Frugality is enjoined upon the cardinals and all the clergy, wasteful luxury being recognized as one of the chief causes of the church's woes.

k. Concubinage is acknowledged as prevalent among the clergy and is disapproved. It is ordered that the illegitimate sons of the clergy shall not hold benefices in connection with those of their fathers.

It is to be observed that while many of these suggested reforms seem highly commendable and would give the impression of a seri-

ous purpose of purifying the church on the part of the prelates assembled, their force is greatly weakened by the fact that it is distinctly and emphatically stated that these reformatory decrees are to be so interpreted as that the authority of the Apostolic See is not touched thereby. The power of dispensation possessed and from this time onward freely used by the popes, rendered practically nugatory the decrees that the prelates enacted to satisfy the demands of public opinion rather than to render the church pure. Jesuitical policy would use evangelical weapons and simulate evangelical life whenever and so far as expediency might seem to require; but there is no reason to believe that there was any intention of enforcing the new regulations.

(2) *On Doctrine.* The doctrinal work of the council was a far more serious matter than the reformatory. The former was intended for systematic and rigorous use in the prevention and the suppression of heresy, while the latter could be used or neglected as the exigencies of the church might dictate. A number of theologians of great ability were engaged in the preparation of the doctrinal statements. The distinctive features of Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, Calvinism, Anti-pedobaptism, and other forms of dissent from the Roman Catholic Church, are specifically anathematized. These views are not always formulated in a way that does entire justice to those that were responsible for them, but in most cases it is easy to connect the anathemas with the parties for whom they were intended.

It is somewhat difficult to characterize the doctrinal position of the council. On the doctrines with respect to which Augustine and Pelagius were at a variance the statements of the council are neither Augustinian nor Pelagian. The term semi-Pelagian might seem appropriate, were it not for the fact that the Jesuit Molina, followed by a large proportion of the theologians of his society and many others, went much farther in the direction of Pelagianism and were regarded by the strict adherents to the formulæ of the council as semi-Pelagians. Perhaps the term semi-Augustinian would be more appropriate. The following specifications, which as being partial and condensed statements cannot claim to be absolutely accurate, must suffice:

a. On the Canon of Scripture. The Old Testament Apocrypha are included in the canon and an anathema

is pronounced upon any who shall deny that each book as given in the Latin Vulgate is inspired in all its parts.

It is worthy of remark that, in accordance with the decision of the council to have a uniform and absolutely authoritative edition of the Latin Bible, Sixtus V. issued a text in 1590. In it were omitted third and fourth Ezra, third Maccabees, and the Prayer of Manasseh, and it was so marred by typographical and other errors that Clement VIII. felt obliged to call in the edition and to issue a better (1592).

b. Original Sin. When Adam transgressed the command of God he lost the sanctity and righteousness in which he had been constituted and incurred the wrath and indignation of God, and therefore death, and with death captivity, under the power of the devil. This penalty was incurred not for himself alone, but for his posterity as well, and deliverance is through the merit of Christ alone. By baptism this original sin is taken away, but the inherited tendency to sin remains, hence post-baptismal sins. But sufficient grace is given, if utilized, for the avoidance of these.

c. Justification. This is not remission of sins merely, but also the sanctification and renewal of the inner man through the voluntary reception of grace and gifts. We are said to be justified by faith because faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification. We are said to be justified freely because none of those things that precede justification (whether faith or works) merits the grace itself of justification. But though it is necessary to believe that sins neither are nor ever have been remitted, unless gratuitously by the mercy of God for Christ's sake, yet it is not to be said that sins are forgiven or have been forgiven to any one who boasts of his confidence and certainty of the remission of sins and rests on that alone. Neither is it to be asserted that they who are truly justified must needs without any doubting whatever determine within themselves that they are justified, and that no one is absolved from sins and justified unless he believes for certain that he is absolved and justified. This was aimed at Luther's doctrine of assurance. Having been thus justified, Christians increase day by day in that justice which they have received through the grace of

Christ, through the observance of the commandments of God and of the church, faith co-operating with good works. Again, good works are represented as fruits of justification and to these God has mercifully promised reward. Venial sins may be expiated by good works.

d. Predestination. This is treated under justification and the Calvinistic statements are condemned, but not so decidedly as by the later Jesuit divines.

e. The Sacraments. The seven sacraments long recognized by the Roman Catholic Church are elaborately defended against the Protestants, who were united in rejecting all but baptism and the Supper, and are accurately defined.

f. The Interpretation of the Doctrinal Decrees of the Council. While it was of great importance to the papacy to have a carefully formulated statement of doctrine as a criterion of orthodoxy, it was early foreseen that differences of opinion would arise as to the interpretation of these formulæ. Provision was made for their authoritative interpretation by the establishment of the Congregation of the Council as a department of the Roman Curia. As the infallible head of the church, the pope, of course, has the last word in all disputed interpretations.

IV. THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

LITERATURE: The fundamental publications of the Society described in the text the author has in his library a collection of early editions of these fundamental writings that before and during the Thirty Years' War belonged to the library of the Jesuit establishment at Munich, the chief center of their operations in Germany; "*Doctrinæ Jesuitarum Præcipua Capita, a doctis quibusdam Theologis*" Chemnitz, Boquin, Whitaker, *et al.*), 1584–1585; Taylor, "Loyola and Jesuitism," 1849; Rose, "Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits," second ed., 1891; Baumgarten, "*Ign. von Loyola*," 1880; Gothein, "*Ign. von Loyola u. d. Gegenreformation*," 1895; Steinmetz, "Hist. of the Jesuits," 1848; Thompson, "Footprints of the Jesuits," 1894; Cartwright, "The Jesuits," 1876; Pascal, "Provincial Letters"; Döllinger u. Reusch, "*Gesch. d. Moralstreitigkeiten in d. Römisch-kathol. Kirche seit d. 16. Jahrh., mit Beiträgen zur Gesch. . . d. Jesuitenordens*," 1889; Reusch, "*Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Jesuitenorden*," 1894; art. by Stentz and Zöckler on "*Jesuitenorden*," in Hauck-Herzog, ed. 3, *Bd.* 9, *Sect.* 742–784.

From the preceding history of the Roman Catholic Church it might have been expected that such a crisis

as the Protestant Revolution would call forth a new monastic order precisely adapted in spirit and methods to the exigencies of the case. As the wonderful growth of dissent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought into the field the Franciscan and the Dominican Orders, which gathered up in themselves the energy and zeal of the corrupt mediæval church and hurled them against heresy in the form of enthusiastic popular preaching and improved theological literature and teaching, and devised more systematic and rigorous methods of searching out and destroying heretics, so the Protestant Revolution called forth the order of Jesuits, which represented the most enthusiastic, aggressive, and intolerant type of Roman Catholicism in a greatly intensified and thoroughly organized form.

Reference has already been made to the intense and intolerant character of Spanish Roman Catholicism at the beginning of the present period and to the influence of contact and conflict with Mohammedanism in producing it. It might have been expected that the country of Ferdinand the Catholic and Ximenes would give to the church its method, its leaders, and its organization in the great conflict with Protestantism, in which it must employ all its resources to the greatest advantage or else renounce its ambition to be and to be regarded as the Catholic church.

1. *The Founder of the Order.*

Ignatius Loyola (Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde) was the youngest son of the knight Beltran of Loyola, a member of one of the old noble families of Spain. Born in 1491, he received only a moderate education and spent his youth at the court of Ferdinand. Chivalry and reverence for saints and martyrs became deeply impressed upon his highly sentimental and imaginative nature. In 1521 he was severely wounded in the battle between the Spanish and the French at Pampeluna. During his long confinement, in the absence of works of chivalry in which he specially delighted, he read with absorbing interest a life of Christ and a book of legends of the saints. The images of heroic Christian service and sacrifice formed by his vivid imagination in reading these works deeply impressed themselves upon his nature. Such monastic leaders as Francis of Assisi and Dominic awakened in him a spirit of emulation. What they did he might also

do. Worldly thoughts, especially those involving ambition for advancement, and amatory desires inspired by the charms of his lady love, he came to attribute to Satanic prompting, while the desire to consecrate his life with chivalric devotion to the conversion of infidels in the Holy Land he accepted as divinely given. On his recovery he exchanged garments with a beggar and entered a Dominican monastery, where he hung his military accoutrements before an image of the Virgin. Rigorous asceticism, the performance of the most difficult and disagreeable services, and frequent confessions and masses, indicated his intense devotion to his religious ideal. From the monastery of Manresa he went to Barcelona, and in 1523 he journeyed to Palestine to enter upon his chosen life-work. Finding no opening for missionary activity in Jerusalem, after visiting the few holy places that were accessible to him, he returned to Spain. He had become convinced that a thorough university education was indispensable to the realization of his ideal of service. With almost incredible labor he mastered the elements of Latin at Barcelona. At Alcala he studied philosophy and trained a number of young people in the "Spiritual Exercises," which he had early prepared and which in their completed form embody very fully his religious ideals. Here and at Salamanca, where he continued his studies, he incurred the suspicion of the officers of the Inquisition and suffered considerable persecution.

In 1528, now thirty-seven years of age, he entered upon a course of study in the University of Paris, beginning again with grammatical work because of his conscious deficiencies. His religious enthusiasm might have been expected to thrust him all unprepared into the thick of the conflict; but he had come to realize that education was necessary for his work, and that if only twenty years of life were left to him he could afford to devote ten of them to arduous study. He lived on charity, spending his vacations in the Netherlands among his fellow-countrymen, who ministered liberally to his wants. But however much he became absorbed in the drudgery of acquiring an education he never for a moment lost sight of his great purpose. Wherever he could find any one disposed to subject himself to a course of training in the

"Spiritual Exercises" he rarely failed to master his will and to fill him with his own enthusiasm for self-sacrificing effort on behalf of the church. For disturbing the students in their studies by his "Spiritual Exercises" he narrowly escaped disgraceful punishment at the hands of the university authorities. Among the able youths who were completely mastered by his enthusiasm were Peter Faber, Francis Xavier, Alfonso Salmeron, Jacob Lainez, Nicholas Bobdilla (Spaniards), and Simon Rodriguez (a Portuguese). On August 15, 1534 (the anniversary of the assumption of the Virgin Mary), in the St. Mary's church at Montmartre, they unitedly took upon themselves the most solemn vows to enter, after the completion of their studies, upon hospital and missionary work in Jerusalem, or, the door being closed for such work, to go without questioning wherever the pope might send them.

In 1535 Loyola and his associates returned to Spain to arrange the affairs of the latter preparatory to their departure for the Orient. At the beginning of 1537 they betook themselves, with three recruits, to Venice, with the design of procuring transportation to Palestine. War between the Venetians and the Turks delayed them, and they entered enthusiastically upon hospital work, which brought them into relations with the Cardinal Caraffa that proved highly important to the society. Caraffa tried to win them to his Theatine order, which had much in common with the new society. Loyola next sent forth his followers as evangelists into the cities and towns of the republic. Reassembling at Rome they preached with great fervor in the market-place, on the streets, in the hospitals, and in private houses, and made a special effort to win the students of the university. Their labors were so abundant and successful that they were at last able to overcome the reluctance of the pope to the establishment of a new order, and on September 27, 1540, Paul III. issued a bull confirming the society but limiting its membership to sixty. This limitation was removed in March, 1543. Loyola was unanimously elected general and to set an example of humility he began his official career by serving as cook for a time. Then for forty-six days he devoted himself with un-

quenchable zeal and with remarkable success to the training of youth in the "Spiritual Exercises." From this time onward the society went forward in influence and in numbers by leaps and bounds, soon secured almost unlimited privileges, and was able to shape the policy of the entire Roman Catholic Church and furnish the most effective agents for the subjugation of the world to the hierarchy.

The facts that have been briefly given regarding the career of Ignatius Loyola reveal to us a man of remarkable power of will, mastered by a great purpose which he identified in the most absolute way with the will of God, idealizing the church by his vivid imagination so as to feel that its aggrandizement was a matter of supreme importance, self-sacrificing to the last degree on behalf of the object of his devotion, able by his zeal, his power of will, and his method of training readily to master the wills of those who came within the sphere of his influence, capable of planning and scheming with the utmost deliberation when it suited his purpose, intolerant in the highest degree of opposition to the church, which meant to him opposition to God himself, an enthusiast, but not a fanatic.

2. *Characteristics of the Jesuits.*

(1) *Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience.* In common with other monastic orders, the Jesuits are bound by the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. To these is added a vow to go without questioning or hesitation wherever the pope may command. This last vow was introduced partly to overcome the reluctance of the pope to confirm the order and partly to emphasize Loyola's idea of absolute obedience to a single central authority.

(2) *Centralization of Authority.* The fundamental idea of the society is that of securing absolute domination over the spirits of men and of centralizing all power in one earthly head representing God on earth. Jesuitism is thus the most perfect embodiment of the papal idea.

(3) *Perfect Organization.* The society combines high enthusiasm with careful selection and thorough training of the individual members and with perfect organization. In such a combination, whether the principles involved be right or wrong, there is almost irresistible power.

3. *System of Selection and Training.*

This was admirably adapted to the securing of fit men for the purposes of the society.

(1) *A Course of Spiritual Exercises.* These were conducted with the use of the manual early prepared by the founder. When an individual had come so far under the influence of members of the society as to be willing to submit himself to a four weeks' course, he was isolated, and under the direction of an adept taken systematically through these wonderful exercises, the aim of which was to induce a state of complete subjection of the will and a habit of vivid contemplation and imaginative realization. The "Spiritual Exercises" are a masterpiece of psychological insight. We can hardly conceive of anything better calculated for securing a complete mastery over a susceptible youth. The twenty-eight general divisions into daily tasks are each subdivided into five hourly meditations. Each of these begins with a preparatory prayer followed by two preludes, the first consisting of the realization of the place, the persons, and the circumstances of the biblical event that forms the subject for meditation. The effort is to induce in the mind of the subject such a vision of these as an eye-witness would have. He is taught to see the angels fall, to see our first parents sin, to behold the judge pronouncing condemnation, and hell opening its abyss. He is taught to hear the Persons of the Trinity planning the scheme of redemption. He is made to realize that he stands on the banks of the Jordan at the baptism of Jesus and beholds the Spirit of God descending as a dove and hears the accompanying divine utterance. He tarries on the mountain of transfiguration and beholds the glorified Christ and his companions. He stands among the disciples at the last Supper. He realizes as if he were present the fires and fumes of hell, hears the despairing groans and utterances of the damned, smells the horrible stench of combustion, and realizes the endless duration of hell-torments. The second prelude of each hourly exercise consists in a prayer in which the candidate is led to weep or rejoice as the subject of the meditation demands. Each meditation ends with an invocation of Christ whose presence the candidate is expected to realize. The candidate is taught continually to examine himself, to realize vividly his sinful condition, each individual sin being made to stand apart in all its hideousness, and he is

taught carefully to record from day to day the progress made in overcoming his sins. He is taught to realize deeply the natural consequences of sin as seen in the condition of those suffering eternal torment and to rejoice in the salvation provided by Christ, the glories of which are realized as vividly as possible. These "Spiritual Exercises" have from the beginning been one of the most valuable instruments of the society in the accomplishment of its purposes.

(2) *The Novitiate.* In case the "Spiritual Exercises" have produced the desired effect and the subject is regarded as spiritually, mentally, and physically adapted to the purposes of the society, and no obstacles appear, he is invited to become a Novice. He is now carefully excluded from all intercourse with his relatives and former friends. Every earthly tie is broken. He is to have no will of his own as to his future course, but is to put himself into the hands of the director as the interpreter of heaven toward him. He is to be as a corpse or as a staff. Absolute obedience is the thing most insisted upon. His conscience must not assert itself in opposition to the will of his superiors. Absolute destruction of individual will and conscience is aimed at and to a great extent accomplished. The director studies with the greatest care the condition of the Novice from day to day. He is allowed to read nothing but a little devotional matter. He may not converse with other Novices. His obedience is fully tested by the requirement of the most disagreeable and arduous services. The novitiate usually lasts for about two years, and if the Novice is found to possess great energy and tact, and absolute obedience, he is accepted as a Scholar.

(3) *The Scholar.* This promotion is accompanied by a pledge on the part of the candidate that he will devote his life to the service of the society if so required. He now undergoes a protracted course of training in the various branches of secular and theological learning. The educational work of the Jesuits was from an early date thoroughly systematized, and was conducted with an enthusiasm and a devotion of effort to the meeting of the peculiar needs of each individual that placed their institutions of learning decidedly in advance of contem-

porary Catholic and even Protestant schools. The principle of selection having already been applied in the case of the Scholars, they were a body of picked men, thoroughly obedient to their superiors and devoted to their work. The utmost attention was paid to wholesome nourishment and physical culture; for the leaders realized from the beginning that to accomplish their purposes a sound and hardy physique was just as important as a well-trained and well-stored mind. If at the end of the course of study the Scholar was regarded as highly promising, he was made a Coadjutor.

(4) *The Coadjutor.* Those who have attained to this rank devote themselves entirely to the promotion of the aims of the society in spiritual or in secular work. Some are employed as teachers in the schools and colleges of the society. Some serve as priests and missionaries. Some attend to the business affairs of the society, which early assumed great importance. Coadjutors designed for secular duties were not so highly educated as those designed for teachers, priests, and missionaries.

(5) *The Professed.* A small proportion of the Coadjutors, limited to such as have proved themselves possessed in the highest degree of the qualities desiderated in the Jesuit, after a long enough period of responsible service in various capacities to test very thoroughly their fidelity and capability, are admitted to the rank of the Professed, which constitutes the inner circle of the society from which the officers are chosen and who are entrusted with its secrets.

(6) *Watchcare.* Each member of the society, including the general, is responsible to another, to whom he must regularly make confession of his inmost thoughts, and who is required to exercise a watchcare over him and to report every deviation from rectitude, according to the standards of the body.

The "Constitutions" of the Jesuits give minute direction as to the manner of admission to the various ranks, the tests to be applied, and the occupations of those belonging to each rank. The original educational scheme is carefully outlined. The manner of electing officers and the manner in which they are to be removed when the interests of the society require it, and the way in which undesirable members are to be disposed of, are embodied in this remarkable document, which, along with the "Spiritual Exercises"

must be regarded as one of the fundamental documents of the society.

The "Rules" of the Society of Jesus give minute directions to the members in the various grades as to their personal conduct in the religious houses and in the world. Much of worldly wisdom is blended with some genuinely Christian precepts. In early editions Loyola's tract on "The Virtue of Obedience" is appended. Aquaviva, general of the society, prescribed (1604) the reading of this tract every two days by every Jesuit. It teaches each one to put aside all conscientious scruples and to obey his superior as if he were Christ himself, whatever he may command. No writing better embodies the spirit of the society or furnishes a better explanation of its immoralities.

The "Institutes" of the Society of Jesus (1606 and often), is the comprehensive law book of the society, embracing papal bulls, briefs, and privileges, a "General Examination of the Society"; a treatise on the nature, purpose, and task of the society; the "Constitutions," described above, with ten chapters of "Declarations" or authoritative interpretations of constitutional points; the "Decrees and Canons of the General Congregation"; the "Rules," mentioned above; a pedagogical manual ("*Ratio Studiorum*"); the "Ordinances of the Generals"; the "Spiritual Exercises," described above; and some other ascetical works.

The "*Monita Secreta*" (secret instructions), supposed to be the frank directions of the generals to the provincials and others and embodying the well-known worldly wisdom and unscrupulousness of the society, can no longer be used as a genuine document. Its genuineness is denied by the society and has not been fully proved by its opponents. It was first published in 1612 and, if not genuine, was probably the production of the ex-Jesuit, Hieronymus Zaorowski, on the basis of accurate information regarding the secret workings of the society. The repudiation of the work by the society is, of course, no conclusive evidence of its spuriousness. It has been the consistent policy of the society from the beginning to deny everything disadvantageous to the church or to itself and to take the chances of being proved unveracious by irrefutable testimony; and the training received by the members of the society has made them adepts at evasion.

4. *Aims of the Order.*

The professed aim of Ignatius and his associates was the promotion of the "greater glory of God." The expression of this aim abounds in the writings of the society. The greater glory of God was identified by them in the most absolute way with the world-wide and undisputed dominion of the Roman Catholic Church, with the pope as its infallible and irresponsible head. The bringing of the church into its normal condition of thoroughly organized and exclusive dominion meant to them

the universal triumph of their own ideal of church life and government. It was theirs, therefore, to master the church and its hierarchy, including the pope, and to use all its resources for the reconquest of territory that had been Catholic but was then under Protestant or Mohammedan control, and to bring the entire heathen world under the sway of the Jesuitized hierarchy. Absolute world dominion by a single will, which was nominally that of the pope, but really that of the general of the society—this and nothing less was the task that this little group of Spanish enthusiasts set out to accomplish.

Such dominion meant not merely outward obedience on the part of each individual prelate, priest, monk, king, emperor, noble, and peasant, to the commands of the central authority (complete subjection of will), but it meant also the renunciation of all private thinking and of all individual moral prompting, and the acceptance as intellectually correct and morally sound of whatever the church through its authorized channels teaches or prescribes (subjection of the intellectual and the moral sense), as well as joyful and loving acquiescence in such enslavement (subjection of the emotional nature).

5. *Methods of the Jesuits.*

(1) The careful selection and thorough training of its men has already been mentioned. No religious order, it is probable, ever exercised so much care in securing proper instruments. The purpose of the founder and the early directors of the society was not, however, the perfection of the individual for his own sake, but the securing of the most efficient instrument possible for the work to be accomplished.

(2) The power of dispensing with all rules and requirements when the interests of the society seem to make it expedient has been vested in the general. The Jesuit missionary or worker in any sphere may thus adapt his dress, manner of life, and occupation to the exigencies of the occasion. He may disguise himself and figure as a Protestant or a Brahmin, if by so doing he can gain an entrance otherwise difficult for Catholic teaching. The story is familiar of a Jesuit who mastered the Sanskrit language and the Vedas, assumed the dress and the mode of life of a Brahmin priest, and finally wrote and palmed off as ancient a Veda in which Roman Catholic Christianity under a thin disguise was taught. In Eng-

land and other Protestant countries where the Jesuits were outlawed, there can be little doubt but that they frequently conformed outwardly to the established form of religion and secretly and insidiously carried on their proselytizing work.

(3) They early realized the vast importance of directing higher education as a means of gaining control of the lives of the ablest and best-connected young men and making trained intellect subservient to their purposes. Their pedagogical methods, while not deviating very widely from those of the mediæval universities, were so vital with the enthusiasm of the society as to attract vast numbers of the ablest and noblest youths, including many Protestants, and to enthrall them. It is probable that more time was employed in molding their religious and moral characters into complete harmony with the ideals of the society than in securing a mastery of the studies of the course; but as twelve years were often devoted to the completion of the arts and theological courses, the intellectual training given was usually adequate for all the purposes of the society, and qualified their workers to hold their own in competition with Protestant ministers. Large numbers of the most desirable young men who entered their schools with no intention of becoming members of the society were won by the patient efforts of those in charge.

(4) From the beginning they utilized the confessional to the utmost as a means of mastering the souls of men and women and gaining a knowledge of religious and political affairs that could serve the ends of the society. The sons and daughters of the rich and the noble they sought by every means to bring under their influence, and they were soon the favorite confessors in the imperial court and in many of the royal courts of Europe. It was their constant aim to make their confessional system so attractive to the rich and the noble that they would seek it of their own accord. To this end their casuistical system of moral theology was elaborated, whereby they were able to appease the consciences of their subjects in all kinds of wrong-doing. It was their policy to indulge their noble charges in all kinds of vice and crime and to instill into their minds an undying hatred of every

form of opposition to the Catholic faith. The confessor of Louis XIV. was nicknamed Père de la Chaise.

(5) Their determination to use the political power of Europe for their own purposes caused them from the beginning to take the profoundest interest in politics. When they had once molded a ruler to their will and made him the subservient instrument of their policy, they were ever at his side dictating to him the measures to be employed for the eradication of heresy and the complete reformation of his realm according to the Jesuit ideal, and they were ever ready, with full papal authority, to conduct inquisitorial work. When Catholic or Protestant rulers opposed their schemes they made use of intrigue in the most unscrupulous manner for securing their overthrow and the installation of a new government more favorable to their aims. They soon grew so daring and high-handed in their measures, procuring in some cases the assassination of kings, that they became a terror to civil rulers and were expelled even from Spain and Portugal. The unscrupulous manner in which through the confessional and every method known to the expert detective they became possessed of State secrets and utilized them for their purposes is well known to students of political as well as to those of church history.

(6) Their activity in connection with the Council of Trent has already been referred to. The uncompromising attitude of the council toward Protestantism was due in a large measure to the influence of Lainez, the second general, and to other Jesuit members. Their influence in the interpretation of the doctrinal decrees of the council has been still more important.

(7) Recognizing, as they early did, the importance of popular preaching as a means of winning back Protestant communities to the Catholic faith, they gave the utmost attention to the cultivation of the preaching gifts among the members and used every device suggested by Protestant worship or otherwise for the popularization of the church services. They secured from the pope permission to omit such portions of the liturgies as were tedious and in the way of more interesting elements of worship, and thoroughly modernized the services in the churches where they ministered.

(8) Their ethical system, to be further described below, gave them perfect freedom as to the use of means for the accomplishment of their aims.

(9) Their superior efficiency, as compared with the other orders and the secular priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church, and with the Lutheran clergy of the latter part of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, may be likened to that of a thoroughly picked and thoroughly trained baseball or football team, filled with enthusiasm for the honor of a great university and reckless of everything but success, and an equal number of ill-selected and ill-trained men, without a large definite purpose and fearful of personal injury.

6. *The Ethical System of the Jesuits.*

Nothing was more conducive to the immediate success of the society and nothing was more calculated to bring it into everlasting obloquy, than the ethical ideas that its members professed and upon which their proceedings were based. Their system was simply a logical carrying out of principles that had for centuries been fully recognized in the Roman Catholic Church and had long before had a terrible fruitage; but many Catholics were shocked by the utter immorality of Jesuit teaching and conduct. A more disabolical system it would be difficult to conceive.

(1) Reference has already been made to the important place given to *obedience* in the Jesuit teaching. The founder of the society made the highest merit to consist in such a renunciation of the mental, moral, and emotional promptings of the individual as would enable him to do the bidding of his superior with the greatest satisfaction, even though it involved what he might otherwise have thought to be in the highest degree sinful and criminal.

In his letter on "The Virtue of Obedience" he writes: "We may the more easily suffer ourselves to be surpassed by other religious orders in fastings, vigils, and the rest, in the roughness of food and clothing, which each according to its own rites and discipline holily receives; but I am particularly anxious, dearest brethren, that you who serve in this society be conspicuous for true and perfect obedience and abdication of will and of judgment; and that the true and germane character of the said society be distinguished, as it

were, by this note, that its members never look upon the person himself whom they obey, but upon the Lord Christ in him whose cause they obey." He goes on to say that "if a superior be adorned and instructed with prudence, goodness, and whatever other divine gifts, he is not on this account to be obeyed, but solely because he is the vicegerent of God and performs his functions by the authority of him who says, 'Whosoever hears you hears me and whosoever rejects you rejects me'"; and that if the superior "be wanting in these gifts and graces, obedience is not to be withheld since he embodies the person of him whose wisdom cannot go astray and who will supply whatever is wanting in his minister." Again, he exhorts his brethren to be exceedingly careful to "recognize in the superior, whoever he may be, the Lord Christ, and in him to offer, with the highest religious devotion, reverence and obedience to the divine majesty." He is careful to guard against the supposition that mere external obedience suffices. There is to be complete agreement with the superior in willing and not willing. But the "third and highest grade of obedience" is "the absolute immolation of the intellect," so that one "not only wills the same, but also thinks the same as his superior, and subjects his own judgment to his." True obedience requires that whatever the superior commands or thinks should seem to the inferior right and true, as far as the will by its own power can bend the intellect." "You are not to behold in the person of the superior a man obnoxious to errors and pettinesses, but Christ himself, who is the highest wisdom, boundless goodness, infinite love, who cannot be deceived and would not deceive you."

The immorality involved in this blind subjection of all the powers of one's being to a superior who may be utterly bad is sufficiently evident. Obedience is made the supreme virtue and if the Jesuit is bidden to cast himself into a glowing furnace or to wield the assassin's dagger he is bound without questioning or hesitation to obey. It seems almost incredible that a human soul could be so perverted as to lose all sense of direct responsibility to God and all disposition to form approving and disapproving judgments independently; but we have reason to believe that the ideals of Loyola are to a great extent realized through the training that the system provides.

(2) There has been much controversy as to whether the Jesuits inculcated and acted upon the principle that "*the end sanctifies the means*," Protestants affirming for the most part and Romanists denying. The Romanists are probably correct in denying that the phrase used with approval can be found in any writing authorized by the church; but that the principle involved underlies the Jesuit system and has been approved by the Roman Catholic hierarchy can scarcely be doubted by any one familiar with the literature and with the history of the society. The supreme end, above remarked, is constantly represented as "the greater glory of God," and any su-

perior can declare any end, however diabolical, to involve the greater glory of God and command his inferior to use any means whatever for the accomplishment of this end, including deceit, theft, and even murder; and the inferior must unquestioningly obey. In the "Constitutions" of the society[1] the following remarkable passage occurs.

After enunciating in the heading of the section the principle that the "constitutions do not induce the obligation of sinning" and elaborating this statement at some length, it is stated: "It has seemed good to us in the Lord, the express vow by which the society is held to the supreme pontiff for the time being excepted, and the three other essential vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, no constitutions, declarations, or any order of living, can induce an obligation to mortal or venial sin (*posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere*), unless the superior should order these things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of obedience, which may be done in those things or persons in which it shall be judged that it will contribute in the highest degree to the particular good of each or to the general good; and in place of the fear of offense let the love and desire of all perfection succeed, and that the greater glory and praise of Christ the Creator and our Lord may follow." It seems to be admitted, to start with, that the four vows are so fundamental as to induce an obligation to sin if this be involved in their observance, and all other cases are covered by the provision that if the judgment of a superior that the individual good of each or the general good requires the commission of sin, it is to be done, the sinful character of the deed being put out of mind and the love and desire of all perfection and the promotion of the greater glory and praise of Christ taking the place of compunction in the act. The attempts to evade the plain meaning of this language are in the writer's judgment futile. When it is taught in Jesuit manuals of moral theology that poorly paid servants may by thieving from their employers raise their wages to a proper scale, that to relieve poverty the goods of the wealthy may be stolen, etc., this doctrine is inculcated in a form easily understood and exceedingly demoralizing.

(3) The doctrine of *Probabilism* was rejected by a portion of the members of the society, but in a modified form secured papal recognition. The theory is that an opinion is rendered probable if it has in its favor one or two theologians of repute, although there are a hundred more reputable authorities in opposition to it. The advocates of probabilism insisted that it was safe to act upon a probable opinion of this kind in opposition to the more or most probable opinions. The probabilists ran-

[1] Part VI., Chap. V., ed. of 1583.

sacked Catholic theological literature to find passages, which they did not hesitate to garble, that favored the laxest moral conduct, and they used these freely in the confessional as a pretext for encouraging those whom they wished to indulge in the most immoral living and dealing. It was held that a person might without burdening his conscience follow a "probable" opinion in his conduct, although personally convinced of the correctness of the opposite position.

(4) The scheme for evading responsibility for sinful and criminal conduct by the *method of directing the intention* was equally destructive of good morals. In accordance with this, one may commit murder without burdening his conscience, if in the act his intention is directed to the vindication of his honor or the deliverance of the community from a nuisance, or some more important end; one may commit adultery, if in the act the intention be directed not to the gratification of lust or the injury of the husband of the subject, but to the promotion of one's health and comfort or some other worthy end; one may commit robbery, if the intention be directed not to the wrong done to the subject, but to the laudable object of making suitable provision for one's needs, etc.

(5) Equally objectionable is the doctrine of *mental reservation or restriction*, whereby one may, without burdening his conscience, tell a downright falsehood, provided the word or clause that would make the statement true is in the mind. Thus, one accused of having committed a certain act last week in a certain place may swear that he was not there, reserving the statement "this morning." He may promise to do something, reserving in his mind a condition of which the person concerned knows nothing. One may safely use ambiguous language and by tones or gestures promote the understanding of it in a false sense.

(6) Their recommendation and defense of the *assassination of tyrants* shocked the moral sense of Protestants and of many Catholics and turned many Catholic rulers against them. The officials of the order sought to avoid the disadvantageous consequences of such teaching and of the numerous cases in which it was carried out in

practice, by condemning any who should teach the lawfulness of assassinating tyrants; but they were careful not to condemn the teaching itself or those who practised it. The doctrine of assassination is clearly set forth in the following sentences from Suarez:

"It is permitted to an individual to kill a tyrant in virtue of the right of self-defense; for though the community does not command it, it is always to be understood that it wishes to be defended by every one of its citizens individually, and even by a stranger. Then, if no defense can be found excepting the death of the tyrant, it is permitted to every man to kill him. Whenever a king has been legitimately deposed, he ceases to be a king or a legitimate prince, and that can be no longer affirmed of him, which may be said for a legitimate king: he thenceforth should be called a tyrant. Thus, after he has been declared to be deprived of his kingdom, it becomes legal to treat him as a real tyrant; and consequently any man has a right to kill him." The significance of this language will appear more clearly if it be borne in mind that the writer and his brethren looked upon the pope or the general as having the right to depose and declare as a tyrant any ruler who opposed the purposes of the church and the society. If a civil ruler shall have antagonized the pope and incurred his sentence of deposition, any one, even a stranger without patriotic motives, may assassinate him.

The Jesuits regarded moral philosophy as their special sphere and aimed to excel in this department of thought as much as the scholastic divines excelled in theology. They were willing to go to any lengths to attract to their confessional the rich and the noble and to this end they abolished all of the terrors of sin, finding a means of excusing or making venial even the gravest offenses. It could not be expected that men in whom conscience had been so completely eradicated and whose business it was to make sinning easy for others would preserve for themselves any very high ethical standard. As a matter of fact, apart from their self-sacrificing zeal on behalf of their society, and the Roman Catholic Church so far as it harmonized with the society, there was (and is) little in them that seems worthy of admiration.

7. *Relations of the Society to the States of Europe up to 1648.*

(1) In *Italy*, where they enjoyed the cordial support of Caraffa and his successors in the papal administration, the Jesuits made rapid headway.

(2) The king of *Portugal* early called to his council Xavier and Rodriguez, and entered with the utmost heartiness into the schemes of the society. Xavier's departure as a missionary to India, under the king's patronage, left Rodriguez his chief adviser in religious

and educational matters. The royal college at Coimbra and one of the principal churches of Lisbon were soon under the control of the society. Despite the opposition of nobles and cities the society tightened its grip on the public administration and under King Sebastian (1557–1578) it virtually ruled the kingdom.

(3) It might have been expected that this Spanish society of the Jesuits would find an open door in *Spain*. But Charles V. was opposed to their methods of dealing with Protestantism and to their ideas of papal absolutism. Even Philip II., whom they greatly influenced and who had much in common with them, refused to give them the position in his kingdom to which they aspired. Leading Spanish theologians, like Melchior Canus, denounced them as forerunners of Antichrist foretold by the apostle in 2 Tim. 3 : 2. With much effort they gained a foothold in the universities of Alcala and Salamanca, and afterward gradually extended their sway.

(4) In *France* the early efforts of Ignatius and his associates were sternly repelled. A number of youths whom he had sent to Paris for study in 1540 were driven away. While the Cardinal of Lorraine favored them, they were sternly opposed by the Archbishop of Paris, the Parliament of Paris, and the Sorbonne. In 1561 Lainez secured permission to establish the college of Clermont, which, however, was long denied full university privileges. In Lyons the Jesuit Augier preached with such success that the Huguenots had their churches and books burned, their preachers banished, and their worship suppressed. This victory was commemorated by the establishment of a well-equipped Jesuit college. They gained a strong influence over Catharine de Medici and gave direction to the Catholic side in the wars with the Huguenots. It is probable that the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day (1572) was due in some measure to their influence. They bitterly opposed Henry of Navarre in his struggle for the crown and even after his triumphal entry into the city and his submission to the pope they refused to pray for him. The Parliament of Paris and the university denounced them as disturbers of the peace and a decree of banishment was issued against them. Henry thought it good policy to conciliate these restless

intriguers, annulled the decree of banishment, chose a Jesuit for his confessor, and extended their educational privileges. His aim was to make it to their interest to support France in European politics as against Spain, where the Dominicans still surpassed them in influence. From this time onward they controlled to a very great extent the policy of France. From the death of Henry IV. (1610) to the French Revolution they were the power behind the throne and were largely responsible for the religious wars, the persecution of the Huguenots, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the French Revolution itself. Enthusiastic missionaries went forth into the New World exploring and aiding in colonizing what is now British North America and the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

Their semi-Pelagian theology and their demoralizing ethical teachings and practices called forth the bitter attacks of Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, St. Cyran, Dr. Anton Arnauld, of the Sorbonne, Pascal, the philosopher, and others, who advocated a rigorous form of Augustinian doctrine and a pure but ascetical morality, and mercilessly exposed the moral rottenness and the pernicious influence of the society. The doctrinal system of the Jansenists coincided almost completely with that of the Calvinists, but the spirit of the two movements was as different as possible, and there was no sympathy between them. The Jansenist movement will be treated more fully in the next period.

(5) The Republic of *Venice* had been an early stronghold of the Jesuits, but in 1606, as a result of a conflict with the pope, they were sentenced to perpetual banishment.

(6) In *Germany and Austria* their most noteworthy victories were achieved. In 1552 Ignatius had founded a college in Rome for the education of Teutonic missionaries (*Collegium Germanicum*) and there are many indications that the reconversion of the Germanic peoples was very near his heart. In 1550 Ferdinand of Austria had come in contact with the Jesuit Le Jay and had consented to the establishment of a Jesuit college in Vienna. The next year fifteen Jesuit missionaries were stationed in the city, and within a few years they had

gained control of the university and were high in the counsels of the king. In 1556 they established themselves in Ingolstadt and Cologne and were soon able to master the universities and to make of these cities centers of missionary activity. During the same year they opened an educational institution in Prague, under the patronage of the king. Within the next few years colleges were established at Tyrnau, Olmütz, and Brünn. Ferdinand's daughters encouraged them to take up work in the Tyrol. The ecclesiastical princes of Trier, Maintz, Speier, Aschaffenburg, and Würzburg gave them the most cordial support. Before 1570 they had established themselves strongly in Strasburg. In 1559 they began work in Munich, which soon became such a Catholic stronghold as to merit the title of "the German Rome." Their universities rivaled those of Geneva and Wittenberg.

By reason of the zeal of the professors, their pedagogical skill, and their learning, they drew large numbers of students, including many Protestants, and won to the enthusiastic support of the Counter-Reformation many of the ablest young men of the time. They made a special point of attaching to themselves the sons of noblemen, and no effort was spared in gaining the adherence of the most promising scholars. The marked ability of the Jesuit teachers, their unsurpassed knowledge of human nature, their affability of manners, and their remarkable adaptability to the idiosyncrasies and circumstances of each individual, made them practically irresistible when once they came into close relations with susceptible youth. Their proselyting zeal led them to go forth into the surrounding regions and by personal effort to win back to the faith those that had become involved in heresy. Whole communities were often reconverted in an incredibly short time. They made the services of the churches in which they ministered as attractive as possible, providing the best music that could be secured and rivaling the best Protestant preachers in the eloquence and the fervor of their sermons. They were able to instill into the minds of those who came under their influence the profoundest hatred of Protestantism in every form and the profoundest love of the Catholic Church, and to convince their adherents that the supreme end in

life was the destruction of heresy. It is probable that at this period the Jesuit professors, man for man, surpassed the Protestant professors of Germany in learning and in zeal. Lutheranism was being wrecked and ruined by controversy. The Jesuits made the most of their advantages, and the success of their propaganda was astonishing.

A good illustration of the Jesuit method of introducing the Counter-Reformation is found in the career of Martin Brenner, who had been educated by the Jesuits at Dillingen and Ingolstadt, and who in 1585, after a few years of service as counselor to the Archbishop of Salzburg, as rector of the seminary for priests, and in other responsible capacities, now fully equipped with the Jesuit learning, methods of propagandism, and zeal for the restoration of church unity, and with practical experience in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, entered upon his work as Bishop of Seckau.

He found his diocese, from the Catholic point of view, in a lamentable state. The great majority of the nobles, burghers, and peasants were Lutherans. Anabaptism, that had been widely disseminated from 1527 onward, had been almost exterminated; but medical missionaries from Moravia frequently gained entrance by their surgical skill into the homes of the people and won them to their heresy. Since the peace of Augsburg (1555) the Protestantism of the Augsburg Confession had been tolerated by the emperors and had covered the Austrian provinces with its influence. The Archduke Charles II., of Styria, had, a few years before Brenner entered upon his work, felt constrained to grant to his Lutheran nobles freedom of worship (the Bruck Pacification, 1577). The zealous Lutheran nobles had exerted themselves to the utmost to convert their Catholic subjects, or to exclude them from their lands; the Lutheran preachers were violent in their denunciations of the corruptions of the Catholic clergy. Through the prolonged residence at Graz of a papal envoy, and the influence of the archduchess, a Bavarian princess, mother of the Emperor Ferdinand II. (of Thirty Years' War fame), reinforced by that of the able and aggressive young bishop and by the exhortations of the pope and of his Jesuitized Bavarian and Austrian kinsmen, the archduke was led to establish at Graz a Jesuit school and to introduce in all of its features the Counter-Reformation. One by one all the privileges of the Protestants were withdrawn and exterminating measures were at last employed. After 1592 Brenner was made vicar-general of Styria, and he took a leading part in the movement by which the entire Protestant population of all the Upper Austrian provinces was forcibly converted or driven from the country. How persevering, single-minded, and remorseless Brenner was in this terrible work is made abundantly evident in the recent biography by the present Bishop of Seckau (Dr. L. Schuster). Ferdinand (afterward emperor) succeeded to the archduchy in 1590. He had been trained in the principles of Jesuitism and preferred to rule a wilderness rather than a country filled with heretics. Brenner and Ferdinand wrought hand in hand until the death of the former in 1616.

Nothing would have pleased Brenner better than the part taken by Ferdinand in the Thirty Years' War and the almost complete destruction of Protestantism in the Austrian domains.

The "Instruction" given by Pope Clement VII., in 1592, to the nuncio Count Hieronymus of Portia, regarding the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and regarding the claims of the people to liberty of conscience, etc., furnishes a good specimen of the cold-blooded disregard of human rights and moral obligations that dominated the papacy at the time. The candor with which the pope describes the morals of the Catholic clergy that were so largely responsible for the rise and growth of heresy is surprising.

Concubinage and (still worse) putative matrimony are represented as almost universal, few celibates being found even among the monks and abbots. The goods of monasteries and ecclesiastical foundations are consumed in supporting concubines and their children. "If all concubinaries should be driven away, it were to be feared that very few pastors would be left in the whole province."[1]

The influence of the Jesuits, once introduced into Austria, was soon widely felt. Catholic princes soon began to introduce rigorous measures for the restoration of Catholic unity. The Archduke Albert V., of Bavaria, banished such Protestants as would not become Catholics. The Markgrave Philip of Baden labored earnestly for the reconversion of his land, which was virtually accomplished during the years 1570 and 1571. Under the inspiration of the Jesuits Protestantism was excluded from Ichsfeld and from the territory of the Abbot of Fulda, from Cologne, Münster, Hildesheim, and Padderborn. In 1588 the Archbishop of Salzburg, who had been educated in the Jesuit college at Rome, compelled many of his Protestant subjects to return to the Roman faith and banished the obstinate. Under the same influence evangelical Christianity was excluded from the bishopric of Bamberg in 1595.

By 1542 the nobles of Inner Austria, including lords and knights and a very large proportion of the citizens of the towns and villages, were Lutherans of a very pronounced type. The Hapsburgers were utterly helpless. It was their hope, and that of many of the Lutheran nobles, that a general council would bring about a harmonizing of creeds and heal the schism. Little effort was made

[1] See Schuster's "Martin Brenner," Appendix.

in the meantime to check the Protestant movement in Austria.

The defeat of the Protestants of Germany by the emperor and his allies in the Schmalkald War (1548) seemed a favorable occasion for beginning the process of restoring Catholicism in Inner and Upper Austria. A provincial synod for Salzburg was held in 1549 to take measures for extirpating Protestantism. But even now the nobles were uncompromising, and the Hapsburg princes were not in a position to employ coercive measures.

The Augsburg Peace of 1555, which represented a great Protestant victory, was so interpreted by the Inner Austrian nobles as to justify their demand for the exclusive toleration of Lutheranism within their domains; while the Hapsburg rulers interpreted it as a warrant for the exclusion of Protestantism from the territory over which their suzerainty extended. From this time onward, until the Pacification of Bruck (1578), the relations between the Hapsburg rulers and the nobles were strained to the last degree. Ferdinand, emperor from 1556 to 1564, though intensely Catholic, felt obliged to compromise with the Lutherans of Austria. The Archduke Charles II. was constantly seeking for means to suppress the aggressive Lutheran movement. For years every request made upon the estates for financial assistance was met by a stern demand for the formal recognition of the right of the Lutheran nobles to their religion, and the right of the third estate (cities and villages) to Protestant worship. Ferdinand and Charles both felt obliged to grant freedom of conscience to the nobles; but claimed that the cities and towns were directly under their own rule, and that as Catholics they could not with a good conscience tolerate heresy therein. With the utmost reluctance the Hapsburgers were obliged to yield point by point, by reason of the persistent refusal of the nobles to grant financial aid until their religious rights were guaranteed. A certain degree of toleration was at last extended to the principal cities. In 1578 the archduke felt constrained to grant in a somewhat ambiguous way the religious privileges demanded by the nobles.

It must be admitted that the concession (Pacification of Bruck) was extorted from Charles, and that he despised

himself from the first for having so far compromised himself and the Catholic cause. He was already under the influence of the Jesuits, who some years before had been invited to labor in Inner Austria, and whose presence made the nobles all the more determined to secure a guarantee of their rights before it was too late. From this time onward, Jesuit, papal, Bavarian, and imperial influence co-operated with that of Charles' Bavarian wife, a fanatical Catholic of the Jesuit type, and his own strong inclinations, in devising means for the utter extirpation of Lutheranism from his domains.

The correspondence of the time, the careful records of public and private conferences, and the exceedingly full and well-preserved archival materials, give us an inside view of the process by which the Counter-Reformation was inaugurated and carried out to its bitter end. The Emperor Maximilian II. (1564–1576) had pursued and counseled a course of compromise and conciliation; but his advice was Jesuitical in a high degree and looked forward to the ultimate destruction of Lutheranism. After his death all the influences brought to bear upon Charles were uncompromisingly in favor of the recatholicization of his territory. He was led to believe that the salvation of his soul and the permanent holding of his hereditary possessions depended upon his remorseless persecution of heretics. At a conference of Catholic princes at Munich (October, 1579) Charles was urged to enter with vigor upon the work, and the princes bound themselves mutually to give each other all needful assistance in suppressing rebellion among their subjects. Protestant court officials and military commanders were at once to be displaced, competent Catholics from other provinces being supplied when needful. The dangers of Turkish invasion were now somewhat remote, and the Counter-Reformation could be undertaken with a good will. The Jesuits were already present in force, and they were ready to be the chief instruments in the destruction of Protestantism. One by one all the rights of the Protestants were withdrawn. The Lutheran cause was from this time doomed. The process was well-nigh completed by the death of Charles, in 1590.

The Protestants struggled heroically, as long as successful resistance seemed possible. Nowhere do we find a nobler type of Lutheranism than in this region. No country in Europe was readier to throw off the papal yoke and to adopt evangelical Christianity. Apart from Hapsburg rulers, Romanism would have been swept away almost without resistance. Hapsburg conservatism and Jesuit zeal were more than a match for the sturdy Lutheran nobles.[1]

The Archduke Ferdinand who succeeded Charles in 1598 had been thoroughly dominated by Jesuit ideas and

[1] See Loserth's "*Die Reformation und Gegenreformation in den Innerösterreichischen Ländern im XVI. Jahrhundert.*"

carried forward the work of Protestant extermination with even greater zeal. The battle on the White Mountain, in 1520 (Thirty Years' War), gave such a decided advantage to Ferdinand over his Protestant subjects and their allies that the Counter-Reformation could be carried forward almost without opposition and in the most drastic manner. Within a few years Protestantism had been almost completely exterminated throughout the Hapsburg domains, multitudes having been slaughtered, and the rest banished or forcibly converted. The Jesuits were the instigators and the chief agents in this horrible work.

(7) In *Belgium* the Counter-Reformation was carried forward under Jesuit influence with remarkable rapidity. Much opposition was encountered at first, but after the armed resistance of the Protestants had been broken, Jesuit colleges were established in Courtray, Ypres, Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp under the patronage of Philip II. Half the population had been Protestant. Within a few years it became exclusively Catholic. From Belgium the Jesuits next extended their work into the United Netherlands where in 1592 twenty-two Jesuit missionaries and two hundred and twenty priests, who had been trained in their colleges at Louvain and Cologne, were winning large numbers to their faith.

(8) A determined effort was made by the Jesuits during the reign of Elizabeth and the Stuarts to reconvert *England* to the Catholic faith. William Allen was their most active agent. In 1569 he established a college in Douay, and ten years later one in Rome, for the education of British Jesuit missionaries. Rigorous laws remorselessly executed, thwarted their purposes, but their zeal is indicated by the fact that two hundred martyrdoms occurred during Elizabeth's reign. Charles I. came under their influence, and Charles II. died a Catholic. James II. was completely subservient to the Jesuits and aided them in establishing a college in Savoy, which was attended by four hundred English students, of whom two hundred were Protestants. James' downfall was due in a large measure to his well-known partiality for his Jesuit councilor, Edward Petre.

(9) In *Poland* the first Jesuit college was established

at Braunsberg in 1569. This was soon followed by institutions in Pultusk, Posen, Wilna, etc. The divided and disorganized condition of Polish Protestantism and the widespread prevalence of antitritrinitarian views made the reconversion of Poland an easy task.

(10) From 1568 to 1592 a determined effort was made by the Jesuits for the reconquest of *Sweden*, encouraged by the Jesuitized Princess Catherine of Poland, whose influence over her husband, King John II. of Sweden, was very considerable. After strenuous efforts John was at last received secretly into the fellowship of the Roman Catholic Church. His second marriage to a Protestant princess led to the banishment of the Jesuits.

CHAPTER III

THE RELIGIOUS WARS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES AND THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

I. EARLIER RELIGIOUS WARS

THE earlier religious wars that were occasioned by the Protestant Revolution have been noticed in Chapter I. The Cappel Wars in Switzerland were distinctively religious and in them the lines were sharply drawn between Roman Catholicism and Zwinglian evangelicalism. Conflict between the emperor and the Protestant princes of Germany was, as we have seen, long averted, partly by reason of the emperor's preoccupation with French and Turkish wars, and partly because of Luther's strong aversion to armed resistance to imperial tyranny. The Schmalkald War of 1546 onward was the first of the military struggles between the Catholics and the Lutherans of Germany, but the ultimate issue in favor of the Lutherans was brought about, as we have seen, not so much by the superiority of the Lutherans in military strength, as by the unwillingness of the Catholic French king to allow the house of Hapsburg to become too potent. The Huguenot wars in France (1560 onward) were distinctively religious wars, in which French Calvinism took a determined stand against Roman Catholic coercive measures, and the Edict of Nantes, granted by Henry IV. to his Protestant subjects who had placed him on the throne, and whom he basely deserted for political reasons, represents a partial triumph of the Protestant cause and the creation of a Protestant within the Catholic State, that formed a most grievous obstacle to the carrying forward of the centralizing policy of the Bourbon kings and was sure to lead to continued strife and to the ultimate crushing of the weaker party.

The war of independence in the Netherlands was provoked by the rigorous measures for the suppression of

heresy entered upon by Philip II. (1556 onward) and precipitated by the arrival (1567) of the Duke of Alva, with the avowed purpose of exterminating heresy and restoring the absolute authority of the Spanish crown without regard to existing laws and arrangements. In 1566 a number of nobles, moved thereto by the Calvinistic minister Francis Junius, had formed a league for resisting with violence any attempt to introduce the Inquisition. Popular excitement reached such a pitch soon afterward that churches and monasteries were sacked, and objects of idolatry destroyed. It had become evident to Philip that either his authority would come to an end and the Roman Catholic religion be excluded from the provinces, or defiant and aggressive Calvinism must be summarily crushed. Alva's council (called the "Council of Blood") declared heresy high treason. William of Orange organized the Calvinistic forces for resistance (1573). Before the Calvinists were ready to defend themselves, eighteen thousand executions had occurred. This great loss nerved the Calvinistic hosts to a determination to sacrifice everything for religious and civil liberty. The Lutheran princes of Germany were so hostile toward Calvinism that they were well content to see its adherents butchered by the Spanish, and Eric of Braunschweig even joined hands with Alva for crushing the "Sacramentarians." The antipathy of Lutherans and Calvinists was afterward to produce lamentable results. The heroic struggle under the leadership first of William of Orange (assassinated in 1584) and afterward of his son Maurice of Nassau, can not be described in detail. England rendered valuable assistance and received through the close contact involved an impulse toward civil and religious liberty that was to prove highly important to the English-speaking people on both sides of the Atlantic. The commercial prosperity and the intellectual awakening that attended the struggle have been already noticed. Belgium remained Spanish and was cleared of Protestants. The northern provinces (the United Netherlands) were triumphant and Spain was obliged in 1609 to sign a twelve years' truce. War was resumed in 1621, but in the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the complete independence of the Protestant Netherlands was recognized.

II. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

1. *Antecedents of the Thirty Years' War.*

(1) *The Treaty of Augsburg.* The provisions of this treaty sustain so intimate a relation to the great conflict to be considered, that their restatement seems desirable. The treaty provided that princes were to choose freely between Roman Catholicism and the Augsburg Confession, all other forms of religion (including the growing and aggressive Calvinistic communion) being rigorously excluded. Catholics and Lutherans mutually bound themselves not to molest each other in the free exercise of their religious privileges, nor to attempt conversion by any other than moral means. Each party was fully to respect the property rights of the other. If Catholic subjects should be found in the territory of a Lutheran prince, ample time should be given them to dispose of their property, and it should be permitted them to remove to the territory of a prince of their own religion, and *vice versa*. In cities where both forms of religion had long been established both were still to be tolerated and protected, neither interfering with the other. This state of things was to remain in force until religious differences could be amicably adjusted by a free general council, or in some other way. The ecclesiastical reservation appended to the treaty provided that in case a Roman Catholic archbishop, bishop, or other prelate should change his religion, he should be required to resign his office and give place to a Roman Catholic successor to be appointed by the proper authorities. The motto of the Augsburg Peace of 1555 was in effect: *Cujus regio, ejus religio.* It gave to the prince unlimited power over the consciences of his subjects. The rights of subjects were guarded only to the extent of permission to sell their effects and to emigrate. The treaty was of such a character as to render future conflict inevitable.

(2) *The Union and the League.* The house of Hapsburg, in its Austrian branch, by the close of the sixteenth century, had come strongly under the influence of the Jesuits. As Archduke of Styria (1596 onward), Ferdinand, who as emperor was to play so prominent a

part throughout the Thirty Years' War, carried out remorselessly the Jesuit policy in which he had been schooled from infancy by prohibiting Protestant worship, banishing the Protestant clergy, and placing before Protestant laymen the alternative of conversion or exile. Many of the nobility were strong enough, however, to resist these measures and to protect the Protestant peasantry of their domains. Maximilian of Bavaria had likewise been trained by the Jesuits. Him also we shall come to know as one of the great leaders in the war. In fact he was the brain of the Roman Catholic powers engaged in the conflict. "What the Duke of Bavaria does has hands and feet," said one of his opponents. His guiding principle was to give no quarter to Protestantism. Donauwörth was a Lutheran imperial city on the border of his domains and in close proximity to the ecclesiastical province of the Bishop of Augsburg. To guard itself against being overwhelmed by its Roman Catholic neighbors, the city had made use of its right to exclude all Roman Catholics, a monastery having been tolerated on the express condition that its inmates should make no demonstration outside the walls. Encouraged by outside parties, the monks had violated this understanding in 1607. They were roughly handled, as might have been expected, by the Protestant population. This furnished a pretext for Maximilian, to whom Donauwörth had long been an eyesore. He laid the matter before the emperor. Donauwörth was put under the imperial ban, and Maximilian was given the privilege of dealing with it according to his own good pleasure. He invaded the city with an army about equal to the population, and insisted on holding it until he had been reimbursed for his outlay in occupying it. He established Catholic worship in the churches, and quartered his soldiers on the population to convert them to the Catholic faith. To secure and execute such an imperial decree was considered by the Protestants a gross violation of the rights of the Protestant electors, who had not been consulted. The aggressiveness of Ferdinand and Maximilian thoroughly alarmed the Protestant princes. The result was the formation, in 1609, of an Evangelical Union, composed of the Duke of Württemburg, Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel,

Ernst of Anspach, Frederick, Marquis of Dürlach, Christian of Anhalt, most of the imperial cities, and Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate. The leading spirit of the union was Christian of Anhalt, the nominal head was Frederick of the Palatinate. The Elector of Saxony and some other princes held aloof, largely, no doubt, from the active part that was being taken by the Calvinist leaders, Christian and Frederick. The Roman Catholic princes promptly met this effort at organizing for protection against Roman Catholic aggression by the organization of the Catholic League. Maximilian of Bavaria was the leading spirit, and was made chief in authority under the emperor. The other more prominent members were the Electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg, Würtzberg, and Aichstedt, and the Archdukes of Austria. The co-operation of the pope and the King of Spain was sought, and to some extent secured. The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel—to their shame be it said—by assuming a hostile attitude toward the Evangelical Union supported the Catholic League, and to some extent identified themselves with this organization. The Elector of Saxony seems to have hoped to secure for himself the duchy of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg, by his co-operation with the league.

Almost contemporary with the troubles at Donauwörth and the organization of the union and the league, was the attempt of the Emperor Rudolf II. to suppress the Protestants in Bohemia, Silesia, etc., followed by a great uprising of the Protestants, and the granting of the Royal Charter (1609) guaranteeing full religious liberty, providing for a Protestant Parliament or body of Defensors, and placing at the disposal of Protestants the old and famous University of Prague.

Perhaps no circumstance did more to precipitate the struggle than the dispute over the succession to the Duchy of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg. These are all small territories bordering on the Protestant Netherlands, and though insignificant in themselves, their situation was such as to make the succession a matter of the utmost importance to the Netherlands, to France, to Spain and Austria, and to the Lutheran and Calvinistic princes of

Germany. Early in 1609 the Duke of Cleves died without issue. Among the nine or more claimants to succession, the Elector of Brandenburg and the son of the Duke of Neuberg had the advantage of all others. Each tried to secure the support of the leading powers interested, and when the Emperor Rudolf sent the Archduke Leopold to take possession of the territory in the name of the emperor, and commanded all subjects of the empire to recognize his authority, the two Lutheran claimants were induced to join hands in opposition to the common enemy. War broke out, in which several Catholic and several Protestant powers had some part. Henry IV. of France had decided to send a large army, and hoped to be able to strike a decisive blow at the growing pretensions of the house of Austria. His assassination by a Jesuit prevented his active intervention, although his successor sent twelve thousand infantry and a contingent of cavalry to the assistance of the Lutheran claimants. The breaking out of war in Hungary and Bohemia prevented the emperor from maintaining his position in Jülich-Cleves. He invested the Elector of Saxony with the succession to the duchy, and left him to settle the matter with the two other claimants. Having with the aid of France and the United Netherlands repelled their Roman Catholic enemies, it remained for the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Neuberg to settle between themselves the question of ownership. The duke proposed to settle the matter by marrying the daughter of his rival. The elector was indignant and boxed the duke's ears. The result of this personal encounter was momentous. The duke renounced Protestanism, married a daughter of Maximilian, and became a stanch member of the League. The elector, having no hope of Lutheran aid, owing to the pretensions of the Elector of Saxony, turned Calvinist, and became one of the most active members of the Union. A little later the dispute as to the duchy was decided by dividing the territory between the two chief claimants. This dispute came very near precipitating the great war.

In 1612 Rudolf died, and was succeeded by his brother Matthias, who had been for some years king of Bohemia and Hungary, and regent for his imbecile brother Rudolf.

Matthias had made use of the Protestants for his own ambitious ends, and had doubtless encouraged them in their insubordination. He too was growing old and feeble, and the Austrian princes put forward Ferdinand of Styria as his successor in 1617. There was considerable hesitation about recognizing Ferdinand as king of Bohemia on the part of the Protestant nobles; but they finally yielded to the inevitable. Ferdinand at once began to put in practice his Jesuit principles. Though fully resolved to extirpate Protestantism, he allowed himself to sign the Royal Charter guaranteeing the liberty of the Bohemian Protestants. From this time onward there was a growing feeling of discontent among the Protestant nobles, who felt that they were ignored in the government, and that the confidential advisers of the emperor and the king were their bitter enemies. This discontent was intensified by the oppressive conduct of the Roman Catholics, with the connivance of Matthias and Ferdinand, in refusing to the Protestants the use of certain churches they had erected. At Bruneau and Klostergrab, both of which were, in the view of the Protestants, in the royal domains, and so within territory where freedom of worship was guaranteed by the charter, buildings had been recently erected. From the former the Protestants were rigorously excluded; the walls of the latter were demolished. The Protestant Defensors met in Diet and appealed to the government for redress of grievances. Their appeal was treated with contempt. The Protestants were thoroughly exasperated. Under the leadership of Count Thurn, a reckless, impetuous German-Bohemian, violent resistance was decided upon. The emperor and the king were both absent from Prague, seeking to secure the allegiance of the Hungarians, who were thoroughly Protestant, and who had during some years showed small respect for the authority of the emperor. The counselors of the emperor were held responsible for the indignities and outrages that had been perpetrated upon the Protestants. It was decided that a body of Protestant nobles, with Thurn at their head, should force themselves into the apartments of the counselors, demand of them a direct answer as to the source of the ob-

noxious proceedings, and in case of refusal to give full satisfaction should employ violence. One of the most obnoxious ministers had left the city. Martinitz and Slawata were accosted. On refusal to give the information demanded of them, they were seized and hurled from the windows into the moat, seventy or eighty feet below. Their secretary, Fabricius, remonstrated, and was similarly dealt with. Marvelously, all escaped without even a broken bone. When they were seen rising and trying to escape many shots were fired at them from the windows, but not one took effect. The Protestant nobles at once took possession of the city, established a provisional government, and compelled the citizens to swear allegiance to the new government. The throwing from the windows was the beginning of Bohemia's woe. It precipitated a struggle which must have come sooner or later between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant powers of Europe, a struggle that was destined to last for nearly a generation, that was to deluge the continent with blood, that was to cause an amount of human woe that is absolutely incomputable, that was to destroy property to an extent we can scarcely conceive of, that was to leave central Europe almost a desolation.

2. *The Conflict* (*1618–1648*).

(1) *Frederick and Ferdinand.* The Protestants soon had a small and poorly equipped army in the field. After months of indecision and inaction, Matthias and Ferdinand had come to appreciate the fact that force must be met by force. The Bohemian Protestants appealed to the Evangelical Union ; Matthias and Ferdinand appealed to the Catholic League. Frederick of the Palatinate and Christian of Anhalt took a deep interest in the cause of the Protestant Bohemians, and soon had armies in the field. They induced the Duke of Savoy to interest himself in the Protestant cause. He sent Count Mansfeld, a soldier of fortune, with a small army. Silesia soon joined the Bohemian Protestants in the struggle. Moravia, under the advice of the noble-minded, but perhaps too peace-loving, Protestant statesman, Zerotin, refused for some time to take part in the Protestant strug-

gle. The Elector of Saxony counseled peace, and would give no aid to the cause of the Bohemians. Frederick of the Palatinate was son-in-law of James I. of England, and it was expected that for Frederick's sake James would furnish material aid to the Protestant cause, especially when it was proposed to make his son-in-law king of Bohemia. Several reasons prevented James from responding favorably to the solicitations of the German Protestants: *a.* His income was never equal to his own supposed necessities; *b.* he was a stanch defender of the divine right of kings, and thought the effort of the Bohemians to dethrone Ferdinand unwarrantable; *c.* he was planning a Spanish match for his son Charles and did not wish to become embroiled with the house of Hapsburg; *d.* he had little taste for warlike enterprises. The Evangelical Union, apart from Christian of Anhalt and Frederick, took little interest in the conflict. The Dutch sent a little money, but were not in a position to do more. At one time Ferdinand was on the very brink of ruin, and had it not been for his Jesuit training he would doubtless have yielded to the demands of the Protestants, and have withdrawn from the conflict, leaving the entire empire in the hands of the Protestant aristocracy. Besieged in Vienna, where he was supported by only a few hundred troops, Thurn thought he had him at his mercy; and if he had not stopped to parley with him might easily have destroyed him. Ferdinand's dogged refusal to compromise his position stood him in good stead. Relief arrived, and his enemies were glad to make good their own escape. Matthias died about this time (Mar., 1619). Through the inability of Frederick of the Palatinate and the Elector John George of Saxony to agree upon any common basis of action in the interest of Protestantism, Ferdinand was elected emperor in August following. Two days before, the Bohemian Protestants, having repudiated the claims of Ferdinand to the Bohemian crown, had elected Frederick King of Bohemia. The war was now well under way. Maximilian of Bavaria, who, up to 1620, had held aloof from the controversy, now threw himself into the conflict with all his powers. By this time Spain also was ready to support with an army and with treasure the

cause of Ferdinand. John George of Saxony, Lutheran though he was, could not endure to see Frederick succeed in so ambitious a scheme as that of adding Bohemia, and perhaps the rest of the territory of the house of Austria, to his hereditary possessions, and thus to have his own relative position dwarfed. Having secured from the Catholic League assurances that Protestantism would not be interfered with in his own territory, he joined hands with the Catholics in war against Frederick and the Bohemians. Frederick accepted the Bohemian crown against the advice of James of England, the Prince of Orange, and all the electors. The result it would not have required prophetic foresight to have foretold. By this time Moravia, Silesia, Hungary, Lusatia, and Austria were all in rebellion against Ferdinand, but he had the resources and the trained armies of Spain and Bavaria at his back, besides the help of the Protestant Elector of Saxony. The Bavarian army was led by Tilly, one of the most honorable and one of the most accomplished generals of the age. The Spanish army had for its head the famous Spinola, who had had his training in the Netherland wars. Frederick must depend very largely upon his own limited resources, and upon the resources of the Protestants of Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Christian of Anhalt, one of the ablest statesmen of the time, was faithful to him; but success, under existing circumstances, was altogether out of the question. While he was in Austria contending with the armies of Ferdinand and Maximilian, led by Buquoi and Tilly, and suffering terrible defeat at their hands, his own Palatinate was being ravaged by the Spanish army under Spinola. Mansfeld fortified himself in the mountains of Bohemia, where the Taborites in the Hussite wars had defended themselves so valiantly, and as long as he could maintain his army by plundering the towns and villages within his reach and by laying waste the agricultural regions far and wide, he was by no means anxious for peace. In fact, when Frederick was in a position to sue for peace, and when peace might have been had on pretty favorable terms, Mansfeld's independent position was the chief obstacle. Probably no greater mistake occurred from

the beginning to the end of the war than that of committing to this unprincipled but able general the defense of the Protestant cause. It is doubtful whether the combined forces of Tilly and Buquoi, terrible as were their ravages, caused a greater amount of desolation than did the army of Mansfeld, which was ostensibly maintaining the cause of the Bohemian people. When Mansfeld transferred his army to the Palatinate, and when, in addition to his other allies, Christian of Braunschweig and the Margrave of Baden-Dürlach had taken the field in support of Frederick's cause, prospects seemed brighter for a time; but, in June, 1622, after other serious reverses had been suffered by Frederick's allies, Mansfeld's army was almost annihilated in the battle of Höchst. This was a decisive blow. Frederick retired to Sedan, and gave expression to his feeling of ruin in a letter full of pathos to his wife: "Would to God," he wrote, "that we possessed a little corner of the earth where we could rest together in peace." A meeting of the princes favorable to the imperial cause transferred the electorate of the Palatinate to Maximilian of Bavaria, to whom the victory over Frederick was chiefly due. But even now Mansfeld refused to quit the field. With a valorous remnant of his army, soon recruited by adventurous spirits, he was opposed to peace except on terms sure not to be granted. Christian of Braunschweig was equally determined to continue the struggle. They remained in Alsace until the resources of the country within their reach were exhausted. Thence they went to Lorraine and lived on plunder as long as they could. They were invited thence to the Protestant Netherlands to assist in troubles with Spain renewed by the Jülich-Cleves affair already referred to. When they were no longer wanted there Mansfeld betook himself to Westphalia and East Friesland, and Christian to Lower Saxony.

(2) *Ferdinand Extirpates Protestantism.* It need scarcely be said that Ferdinand followed up his victories in the Austro-Hungarian Empire by vigorous measures for the extirpation of Protestantism. The Jesuits were on hand in full force to aid in the terrible work. This is not the place to describe the process by which Protestants,

who in Bohemia at the beginning of the war constituted eighty per cent. of the population, were in an incredibly short time almost wholly exterminated. The Counter-Reformation did its work here with an amazing thoroughness. Roman Catholicism had an opportunity here to exhibit itself in its true character. The time for expediency had ended. The rigid carrying out of the principles of the body now had place.

(3) *England, France, Denmark, and Sweden succor the Protestant Cause.* If any of those interested flattered themselves that peace was at hand, they were destined to be sorely disappointed. What had gone before was as child's play in comparison with what was to come. Apart from the determination of Mansfeld and Christian of Braunschweig to maintain their armies at the public expense, the Lutheran princes of North Germany and of Denmark and Sweden were becoming alarmed. The ruthless way in which the Counter-Reformation was being carried out in Austria and its dependencies opened their eyes to the possibility and the probability that similar methods would be employed in the North as soon as a suitable opportunity should occur. The transference of the electorate of the Palatinate to the ablest, most determined, and most aggressive of the Catholic rulers, the close bond that united him with Ferdinand, and the intimate relation—natural, religious, and political—in which Ferdinand stood to Spain, could not fail to convince even John George of Saxony, who heretofore had thrown his influence on the imperial side and had resolutely held aloof from actual participation in the conflict, that Protestantism was in imminent danger. In 1524, the negotiations which had long been pending between England and Spain looking to the marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish infanta, and to the restoration of the Palatinate to James' son-in-law, Frederick, were broken off. England was now free to deal with continental questions on their merits. Moreover, a marriage alliance had now been formed with France, and both England and France were jealous of the growing power of the house of Hapsburg. An agreement was reached between England and France to unite in sending an army under Mansfeld to the Palatinate. This

attempt to succor the Protestant cause proved abortive. France refused to allow the twelve thousand English troops under Mansfeld to pass through French territory, and the king of England proved unable to furnish money for the maintenance of the army after it had with great difficulty reached the scene of proposed operations. Left destitute in the midst of winter the English troops died by thousands.

But already there were looming up in the distance interests and personages that were destined to play a great part in working out the destiny of Europe. Cardinal Richelieu was coming into power as the prime minister of Louis XIII., of France. He was far more a statesman than an ecclesiastic. Magnificent schemes of French aggrandizement from the first floated before his vision. While he had no sympathy with Protestantism and did what he could for its destruction in France, he would sooner have seen Germany Protestant than suffer the interests of France to be jeopardized by the Spanish and Austrian branches of the house of Hapsburg. From now onward Richelieu is to be regarded as one of the elemental forces in the great conflict.

But of even greater immediate importance was the resolve of Christian of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus to come to the rescue of the imperilled Protestant cause. Prolonged negotiations took place with a view to uniting England, Denmark, and Sweden in a vigorous movement against Ferdinand and Maximilian. Gustavus was the noblest and ablest of the Protestant rulers of the age. He combined statesmanship of the highest order with the rarest military strategy and courage. Few military men of history have had their powers in more complete control, and few men have ever shown more ability to understand the complicated problems of their age. He knew how to act with promptness and expedition, when such action was called for, and he knew just as well how patiently to bide his time, when circumstances required patience. He was withal an earnest consistent Christian and Protestant, and he sincerely lamented the downtrodden condition of Protestantism in the Austrian dependencies. Charles I. found it utterly impossible to carry out his part of the agreement that had been reached.

He lacked the confidence of Parliament, and Parliament was resolutely opposed to voting large sums of money for continental wars. Gustavus was unwilling to precipitate the conflict, until he should make sure of the means of success. His realization of the seriousness of the undertaking and his unwillingness to run dangerous risks are well expressed in the following sentences, with reference to the proposal of Christian of Denmark to enter at once and without proper assurance of support on the perilous undertaking:

> But if any one thinks it easy to make war against the most powerful potentate in Europe, and upon one too who has the support of Spain and of so many of the German princes, besides being supported, in a word, with the whole strength of the Roman Catholic alliance; and if he thinks it easy to bring into common action so many minds, each having in view his own separate object and to regain for their own masters so many lands out of the power of those who tenaciously hold them, we shall be quite willing to leave to him the glory of his achievement, and all its accompanying advantages.

Gustavus felt obliged to hold aloof until he could see such an amount of co-operation as would give a chance of success. The less statesmanlike Christian of Denmark took the field with Mansfeld and an uncertain English subsidy as his principal support. Even Protestant Germany was not yet ready to enter heartily into the war against the emperor. The cities especially were opposed to the continuance of war.

(4) *Wallenstein.* Another great military figure now came to the front on the imperial side. Assailed in the east by Bethlen Gabor, the Protestant prince of Transylvania, who was aided by the Turks, deprived for the time of active Spanish support, with Denmark supported by England actively engaged against him, with France likely at any decisive crisis to throw her whole strength on the side of his enemies, Ferdinand felt keenly the need of reinforcement. Wallenstein, a Bohemian of Protestant parentage, had been trained by the Jesuits and had already shown extraordinary military ability. He proposed to Ferdinand to raise and to support, without subsidy from the imperial exchequer, an army of twenty thousand or more in the imperial interest. Next

to Gustavus Adolphus he was the most brilliant military leader of the Thirty Years' War. From this time onward he was the chief dependence of Ferdinand. As his operations were more extensive than those of Mansfeld had been, and as he had a larger army to maintain, his campaigns were by so much the more destructive. Like Mansfeld, Wallenstein supposed he had a vested right in the perpetuation of war, and he could dictate terms even to the greatest potentate in Europe.

Space forbids our attempting anything like a detailed narrative of the campaigns of 1625–1628. Wallenstein came more and more into prominence. Military operations extended from Hungary to the Baltic. Christian of Denmark was ably sustained by Mansfeld and Christian of Braunschweig. Christian died soon after the battle of the Bridge of Dessau, April, 1626. Mansfeld died a few months later in Hungary, whither he had gone to assist the redoubtable Bethlen Gabor. The oppressive measures of Wallenstein made him a terror even to those who favored the imperial cause, and Ferdinand himself tried in vain to restrain him. There was no denying that the decisive victories that had been achieved for the imperial cause had been due to the great brigand. Ferdinand and Wallenstein attempted to treat with the Hanse towns of Northern Germany, holding out to them tempting promises of trade monopoly with Spain, and other advantages. But they knew too well what it would mean to be at the mercy of the rapacious soldier and the bigoted emperor. By the close of 1627 nearly all the Baltic towns were in the hands of Wallenstein. Stralsund held out and gained an important victory over its besiegers. The inhabitants had bound themselves by oath to spend the last drop of their blood, if need be, in defending their religion and their liberty. Sweden came to the rescue. The reverse suffered by Wallenstein was of decisive historical importance. War with the Huguenots prevented France from taking an active part in the war against the emperor. Charles I. of England had espoused the cause of the French Protestants,—the only creditable act of his life, so far as we are aware,—and co-operation of French and English in opposition to the house of Hapsburg was for the present out of the

question. Peace was made in 1628, and Richelieu was once more free to take a hand in German politics. The Protestants gained another decisive victory at the siege of Glückstadt in January, 1629, over the combined forces of Tilly and Wallenstein. The influence of Sweden and Gustavus Adolphus was beginning to tell in favor of the Protestant cause. Seeing that if he carried on the war further, he must do it in dependence on Gustavus Adolphus, and unwilling to take a secondary place, as he knew he must if Gustavus entered heartily into the struggle, Christian of Denmark hastened now to make peace with the emperor on as favorable terms to himself as he could.

The Peace of Lübeck has little historical significance. Christian was to receive back all his hereditary possessions and to surrender all claim to certain of the bishoprics for whose possession he had contended.

(5) *The Edict of Restitution (1629).* Encouraged by the success of the Counter-Reformation in his Austro-Hungarian domains and in the Palatinate under Maximilian's rule, and by the success of Wallenstein's and Tilly's arms on the Baltic and elsewhere, Ferdinand now thought it opportune to promulgate his policy with reference to the conquered portions of Germany. The Edict of Restitution, March, 1629, restored to the Roman Catholics "the two archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the twelve bishoprics of Minden, Virden, Halberstadt, Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Misnia, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus, and Camin, with about a hundred and twenty smaller ecclesiastical foundations." These foundations, we must remember, had been appropriated by the Protestants since the Augsburg Treaty.

(6) *Gustavus Adolphus.* But if the emperor and his friends imagined that the struggle was reaching its end they were soon to be sorely disappointed. We are now approaching the most momentous period of the conflict. Richelieu, having made peace with the Huguenots, led in person an army of twenty thousand into Italy to compel the King of Spain and the Emperor Ferdinand to grant to a French prince his hereditary right of succession. This business was soon dispatched and he was

ready to use the resources of France for the humbling of Ferdinand. Gustavus had made peace with Poland and was now eager for the fray. John George of Saxony saw at last that his only safety lay in taking up the defense of Protestantism and in joining hands with Gustavus. Wallenstein had increased his army to one hundred thousand, and was becoming so odious to the princes who were loyal to the emperor that his dismissal was urgently demanded. The Protestant Netherlands were again aggressive, having gained decided advantages in recent years over Spain. The Elector of Brandenburg and the Margrave of Hesse-Cassel, along with many of the less influential nobles, saw themselves compelled to choose between Ferdinand and the Edict of Restitution, and Gustavus Adolphus with a firm French alliance against the imperial cause. It is easy to see, without going into further detail, that the fortunes of Protestantism were rising and that the imperial cause was becoming beset with discouragement. It would be a pleasure to describe the splendid tactics of Gustavus during the years 1630–1632. It was a period of almost uninterrupted success. The battle of Leipzig, in which Gustavus gained almost a complete victory over the veterans of Tilly, gave the noble Swede a prestige that rendered future victories easy. Wallenstein congratulated him on his victory and proposed to enter his service. If Gustavus would place him at the head of twelve thousand Swedes he would chase his former master across the Alps and would divide the riches of the Jesuits among the soldiers. Among many other conquests was that of Donauwörth, which had been cruelly wrested from the Protestants a few years before by Maximilian. In another engagement Tilly was slain. Before the end of 1631 all Germany, except the hereditary possessions of the house of Austria, was in the power of the Swedish king. John George of Saxony marched through Bohemia almost without resistance. There seemed no limit to that which Gustavus could accomplish. The cause of the emperor was growing desperate. Is it to be wondered at that he felt compelled to make terms with Wallenstein, who had just been pleading for an opportunity to drive him beyond the Alps, or that he

should have given to this crafty soldier the dictatorship? The two greatest soldiers of the age were now arrayed against each other. Wallenstein tried in vain, at least for the present, to entice the Elector of Saxony from his allegiance to Gustavus. After a number of not very important or very decisive engagements, the battle of Lützen was fought November 16, 1633. Wallenstein was strongly entrenched and had greatly the advantage as regards position. After singing Luther's hymn, "A Mighty Fortress is Our God," and engaging in other acts of worship under Gustavus' direction, the Swedish army made the assault. Gustavus refused to put on armor, and as he set forth he looked heavenward saying, "Now, in God's name, Jesus, give us to-day to fight for the honor of thy holy name." He then waved his sword and gave the command, "Forward." He was shot to pieces; but the victory was won. Just as the Protestant cause seemed to be triumphant, the only man who could command the Protestant forces was taken away. The victory had been gained at too great a price. We can scarcely exonerate Gustavus from blame in thus recklessly sacrificing the hopes of the Protestant cause.

Wallenstein was soon at cross purposes with Ferdinand. He insisted on making terms with the Protestants which Ferdinand was too good a Catholic to grant. He now succeeded in seducing the Elector of Saxony from his support of Protestantism by leading him to believe that he had power, even against the will of Ferdinand, to re-organize Europe on a liberal basis which would guarantee to Protestants their rights. It was no more than the elector deserved, when he was ruined by the Swedes a few years later. Wallenstein refused to fall in with Ferdinand's scheme, which involved more and more dependence on Spain. He tried again to make terms with Sweden, and would, no doubt, have been willing again to join with the Protestants in driving the emperor beyond the Alps. Ferdinand once more threw him off. He retired to a garrison supposed to be faithful to him. Some Scotch soldiers who, though Protestants, had been fighting the battles of the emperor, determined on his assassination. An Irishman named Devereux

was deputed to commit the crime. Thus passed away the most striking character of the age from the scene of mortal conflict, February 25, 1634. In September of the same year a decisive battle, resulting in favor of the emperor, was fought at Nördlingen, Bavaria. The influence of France became greater and greater as the war advanced and the great leaders were one by one removed; and French intervention was not much more palatable to Germans then than now.

(7) *The Peace of Prague* (*1635*). In May, 1635, another peace—the Peace of Prague—was attempted. The emperor agreed to abandon the Edict of Restitution, or rather to make the date for determining the ownership of church property 1624 instead of 1555. This arrangement left the Palatinate in the hands of the Catholics. Most of the Northern bishoprics were to be given to Protestants. Lusatia was to be ceded to the elector of Saxony and Protestantism was to be protected in Silesia. Calvinism was excluded from recognition, as in the Augsburg Treaty. This treaty failed to satisfy Sweden, France, and the Calvinistic princes. The French and the Swedes won many important victories. By 1643 the fires of war had well-nigh burned out. Negotiations looking toward the pacification of Europe now began. The situation was as complicated as can be readily conceived. Conflicting interests and conflicting demands were so numerous and so intractable as often to fill with discouragement those who were seeking a basis of settlement.

(8) *The Peace of Westphalia* (*1648*). The Peace of Westphalia was the final result. This was signed by plenipotentiaries of the various sovereigns concerned on the 24th of October, 1648. As it marks the close of the most destructive war of history, so it was the most influential treaty ever made. There were in reality two treaties signed on the same day, the one at Münster, the other at Osnabrück. The former was between the emperor and the King of France and his allies, and the latter between the emperor and the Queen of Sweden and her allies. They are substantially the same. Their substance can be given only in a condensed form. The treaties guaranteed "a peace Christian, universal, and

perpetual, and a friendship true and sincere," between the contending parties and their allies, each party pledging itself to "observe and cultivate sincerely and seriously this peace and friendship," and each to be zealous for the "utility, honor, and advantage of the other." The various nations were to perform the part of good neighbors one toward the other. There was to be a perpetual forgetting of past differences and a universal amnesty. Anything tending to awaken ill feeling was to be studiously avoided. To Maximilian of Bavaria the Upper Palatinate and the electoral dignity were given in perpetuity. An eighth electorate connected with the Lower Palatinate was created in favor of the son of Frederick. Sweden received Western Pomerania, with the control of the mouths of the great German rivers. The Elector of Brandenburg received Eastern Pomerania, together with the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Camin, and Minden, and part of Magdeburg. Denmark received the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, with the control of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. France secured Alsace, the city of Strasburg and certain vassals of the empire being excepted, and the bishoprics of Metz, Verdun, and Toul. Switzerland and the Protestant Netherlands were recognized as free and independent countries. Provision was made for paying off the armies, which, without a satisfactory settlement of past claims, would hardly have consented to the peace. The religious settlement was much like that of the Augsburg treaty, only it was far more definite, and made full provision for the recognition of Calvinism. It still belonged to the prince to determine the religion of his subjects, and to tolerate or exclude dissent according to his own good pleasure. The year 1627 was now fixed upon as the date of reckoning, as regards the possession of ecclesiastical property. This left the northern bishoprics in Protestant hands. The war had taught Protestants and Catholics alike, that nothing could be gained by violent efforts to exterminate each other. Both parties were now willing to live and let live. The proselytizing spirit was, for a time at least, almost extinct. Each civil ruler could now feel that his right to his territory was undisputed, and was guaranteed to him by the most solemn

covenants of all concerned. Each ecclesiastical party could feel sure that no rival party was plotting its ruin, and it was now possible, as it had not been before, for two or three forms of religion to exist peaceably side by side. The universal longing for peace that prevailed, and the universal and profound joy with which the peace was greeted, we can scarcely appreciate unless we are able to realize the horrors of the war. The papal nuncio, Fabiana Chigi, to use the language of the Jesuit Bougeant, pleaded, protested, fulminated against the bishops and Catholics who were present at the signing of the treaty. The pope, finally seeing that all the remonstrances of his nuncio were in vain, himself published a protestation in the form of a bull, in which he represents the treaties of Münster and of Osnabrück as "prejudicial to the Catholic religion, to the divine worship, to the Apostolic Roman See—in granting to heretics and their successors, among other things ecclesiastical goods, in permitting to heretics the free exercise of religion, the right to ecclesiastical offices, dignities," etc., and declares them "perpetually null, void, of no effect, iniquitous, unjust, condemned, reproved, frivolous, without force and effect," and declares that no one is bound to observe their provisions. So little regard did Rome have for the peace and happiness of Europe, and so determined was she to leave herself free, for the future as in the past, to use every available means for the destruction of all religious opposition!

The extent of the destruction of life through the Thirty Years' War cannot be estimated. If we take into account the multitudes who died of starvation and exposure, the hundreds of thousands of women and children who were slain in the sacking and destroying of the towns and cities, the fearful waste of life that must have been involved in camp-following, the deaths caused by the war would amount to many millions. In Bohemia, at the beginning of the war, there was a population of two million, of whom about eight-tenths were Protestant; at the close of the war there were about eight hundred thousand Catholics and no Protestants. Taking Germany and Austria together, we may safely say that the population was reduced by one-half, if not by two-thirds.

And the deaths were in most cases the result of untold sufferings and as horrible as we can conceive. So far as the cities and towns were not utterly destroyed, they were the mere shadows of what they had been. Their buildings were dilapidated and large numbers of them unoccupied. Business of all kinds had been almost entirely destroyed. Agriculture had equally suffered. Live stock had been almost exterminated; farming implements had become scarce and rude. Desolation was everywhere.

The physical deterioration of the people must have been very marked. It is pretty evident that there had been a decided intellectual, moral, and physical decline between the beginning of the Reformation and the beginning of the Thirty Years' War; this process was greatly promoted by the war. The persistent, universal, and destructive plundering of the peasants left multitudes of women and children to die of starvation or to become camp-followers. An army of forty thousand is said to have had a loathsome camp-following of one hundred and forty thousand. The misery and the moral ruin involved in such a state of things, who can describe? There is no reason to think that the army mentioned was exceptional in the number of camp-followers.

Education and all the arts of civilization except war must have suffered enormously. But enough. We are prompted to inquire whether this war was a necessity; whether this was the only way in which Protestants and Catholics could be taught to respect each other's rights? We cannot answer; but we have grave reason for doubting whether the destroyer of old evangelical Christianity and the father of the great politico-ecclesiastical Protestant movement, which called forth the Counter-Reformation and the Jesuits, and which directly and indirectly led to the Thirty Years' War, was after all as great a benefactor of the human race and promoter of the kingdom of Christ as has commonly been supposed.

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Fletcher, "Gustavus Adolphus and the Struggles of Protestantism for Existence," 1891; Fey, "*Gustav Adolph im Lichte der Geschichte*," 1894; Dodge, "Gustavus Adolphus," 1895; articles, "Ferdinand II.," "Maximilian," "Waldstein," "Gustav Adolf," "Tilly," "Richelieu," etc., in Hauck-Herzog.

PERIOD VI

THE ERA OF MODERN DENOMINATIONALISM

(A. D. 1648–1902)

CHAPTER I

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGE

I. TOLERATION AND LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

1. *Relation of the Renaissance and the Protestant Revolution to Liberty of Conscience.*

THE principle of liberty of conscience was a constituent element of the mode of thought that dominated the Renaissance and its offspring, the Protestant Revolution. Most humanists were tolerant in a high degree. Repudiating as did the leaders of the Renaissance the theology of the schools and the authority of the papacy, insisting as they did on the direct application of the intellect to nature and to the great problems of philosophy and religion, and themselves skeptical on many points, they could feel no obligation to seek to enforce upon their neighbors any particular type of doctrine or practice. They believed that truth should be diligently searched for with the use of all the powers of the soul and all of the objective means available, and that each individual should be free to communicate to others the results of his researches.

The Protestant Revolution was in its essence a protest against the authority of the corrupt hierarchy in doctrine and in practice, and an assertion of the right of each believer, by the use of the means that God has placed within his reach, to determine for himself what he should believe, how he should worship, and how he should live. Yet Luther and Zwingli were led by temperament and exigencies that arose to persecute to the death earnest evangelical Christians who could not rest content with such reforms as were authorized by the civil authorities, while Calvin was led to establish a theocracy more exacting in relation to the belief and the moral and religious lives of the entire population than the Jewish or the Roman Catholic theocracy ever was.

Socinians were humanistic, and so were skeptical and tolerant; but their toleration principles and their tolerant practices were due to a weakness of conviction regarding any particular body of truth and their need of toleration for themselves, rather than to their conviction that absolute liberty of conscience is the inalienable right of every human being, and that the cause of truth and righteousness gains vastly more than it loses by allowing every man to think and teach what seems to him right.

The Anabaptists, like the mediæval evangelical parties whose principles they perpetuated, repudiated with the utmost decision any sort of interference by the secular authorities in matters of religion and the use of any other than moral means by individual Christians or churches for the enforcement of religious duties. Religious liberty, in its most comprehensive sense, was fundamental with Christians of this type. Many of them erred, however, in refusing to recognize civil government as necessary for Christians, and in making the holding of civil office a disqualification for church-membership.

2. *The Peace of Westphalia and Liberty of Conscience.*

Even the Peace of Westphalia (1648) did not involve anything approaching the recognition by the Continental powers concerned of the principle of liberty of conscience, which came much later and is not yet universally accepted. Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic princes agreed to tolerate each other, within carefully defined limits, not because they were tolerantly disposed, or were convinced that toleration was in accordance with the nature of the Christian religion, but because they realized that the pacification of Europe, urgently needed, could be no otherwise brought about. The papacy promptly repudiated the treaty as involving a recognition of the rights of others than Roman Catholics, and it has consistently taught and practised religious exclusiveness, and the use of force for securing religious uniformity and for the subjection of Christendom to the Roman See. Lutherans were still ready, as far as might be expedient, to persecute Catholics and Calvinists; while Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists were of one

mind in their intolerant attitude toward Anabaptists and forms of Christianity that had not attained to the position of State Churches.

The present age is pre-eminently the age of toleration and of liberty of conscience, and modern denominationalism is one of the most important products of the gradual recognition of the rights of men of all shades of belief, so long as they conduct themselves in such a way as not to endanger public morals, to put in practice and to impress upon others their religious views.

Toleration, and still more a recognition of the righteousness and the practicability of allowing absolute liberty of conscience to all, while they are of the very essence of the religion of Christ, are so antagonistic to the unregenerate nature of man, and were, until comparatively recent times, so contrary to the experience of many centuries, that they must needs come slowly to common acceptance. Only a few individuals who had made up their minds to follow the principles of New Testament Christianity regardless of consequences, and who had come to regard the current social and civil arrangements as so little in accord with the spirit of Christianity as to be unworthy of perpetuation, were likely to venture upon the advocacy of these principles before they had been shown by experience to be practicable. Such were the Waldenses and related parties in the mediæval times and the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century.

3. *Influences that have Opposed the General Acceptance of the Principles of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience.*

(1) *The Old Testament and Christianity.* The opinion generally prevailed at the beginning of the present period that the precept and example of the Old Testament regarding the treatment of dissenters from the established form of religion apply to Christianity as well as to Judaism. We have seen that the theocratic idea was as fully developed and as tenaciously held by the great Calvinistic bodies as by the Roman Catholic church or by the Jews of the ancient time. From this point of view toleration of error was not simply not required of Christians, but it was positively wicked.

(2) *Union of Church and State.* The union of Church

and State universally in vogue till toward the middle of the seventeenth century was regarded by those concerned with civil administration, no less than by those concerned with ecclesiastical administration, as of fundamental importance, and it was the unanimous conviction that toleration of dissent, to say nothing of the granting of full liberty of conscience, was incompatible with the successful maintenance of a State Church.

(3) *The Spirit of Conservatism.* The spirit of conservatism and the natural dislike of teachings and practices to which men are unaccustomed, and the great temptation to make use of force for the suppression of what is regarded as dangerous or troublesome, has furnished a mighty obstacle to the triumph of liberty of conscience.

4. *Influences that have Favored and Promoted the Recognition of the Right of Private Judgment.*

(1) *Humanism.* Humanistic insistence of the right of each individual to determine for himself by research what is truth in every realm of thought, and to act upon the results of such unfettered application of the mind to the facts of nature, the problems of being, and to matters of religion.

(2) *Voluntary Relationship.* The diffusion of the old evangelical view of religion as a purely voluntary relation of the believer to his God, and as completely outside the sphere of civil jurisdiction or social compulsion of any kind. This type of religious thought was perpetuated from the mediæval time by the Anabaptists, and was taken up and powerfully advocated by English Anti-pedobaptists (1609 onward), and was advocated with great power and consistency in America by Roger Williams and John Clarke (1638 onward), and by them successfully put in practice in Rhode Island.

(3) *Practicability of Toleration.* Demonstration of the practicability of the toleration of other than the established forms of religion by the actual practice of toleration under circumstances that made it necessary (as in Germany after the Peace of Westphalia, in England during the Cromwellian age, etc.).

(4) *The Scientific Spirit.* The pervasive influence of

the scientific spirit, which has encountered sharp antagonism in religious intolerance, and has been led thereby to assume a hostile attitude toward religion in general, has operated powerfully against the persecution of dissenting forms of Christianity.

II. MODERN DENOMINATIONALISM.

Modern denominationalism is, no doubt, the most characteristic feature of the present period. It was impossible for denominationalism, as it has existed since the middle of the seventeenth century, to flourish without a certain measure of toleration. With the growth of toleration and the emergence of liberty of conscience it was sure to flourish.

1. *The Rise of Modern Denominationalism Synchronizes with the Peace of Westphalia.*

The Peace of Westphalia, involving, as it did, the recognition by Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Zwinglians of the right of each other to exist, within carefully defined limits, is rightly regarded as forming an epoch in European church history. It synchronized closely with the failure of the Puritan (Presbyterian) party in England, which had recently overthrown, along with the tyrannical government of Charles I., the corrupt and intolerant prelatical government of which Archbishop Laud was the chief representative, to enforce its views on England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the triumph of the Independents (Congregationalists and Baptists), led by Cromwell, with the recognition of the rights of all evangelical Christians not disloyal to the government to carry on their work without interference and even with the encouragement of the State.

2. *Is the Tendency of Protestantism Toward Endless Divisions?*

It is a favorite method with Roman Catholic polemicists to make much of the unity of the Roman Catholic Church and to exaggerate the tendency of Protestantism to endless division into sects. It should be remembered that the unity of the Roman Church during the

mediæval time was more apparent than real. Various schools of thought (nominalism, realism, conceptualism, etc.), and various religious orders, representing varying conceptions of Christian life, were tolerated side by side so long as the authority of the church was not impeached. Since the Council of Trent, far less of religious liberty has been allowed, but throughout the present period distinct schools of thought and types of life have ever existed within its communion. It is true that Protestantism has, from the beginning, manifested a divisive spirit. The principle of freedom of thought, fundamental in evangelical Christianity, involves the right of each individual believer to reach his own conclusions after carefully considering with all his powers the facts within his reach and to impress upon others the truths of which he has become convinced. Men of light and leading who have reached conclusions of fundamental importance not otherwise sufficiently recognized have become the founders of great evangelical denominations; while ill-balanced enthusiasts and fanatics have never failed to find a considerable number ready to follow them in their wildest vagaries.

The fact that there are at present in the United States over a hundred more or less distinct denominations is of less importance than the statement would seem to imply. Many of these number in their membership only a few thousands, and are dwindling rapidly away. The great mass of non-Catholic Christians are gathered in a few great denominations which, by reason of their important services in the past and of the principles that they continue to emphasize, meet a widely felt popular need; and by reason of the fact that their churches have been planted in almost every community, their strong institutions for the conservation and the propagation of their principles have been established, and a social prestige that has enabled them to influence large elements of the population has been gained, they will long continue their distinct existence.

A Christian denomination with a noble history, with great institutions, and with a large body of learned and forceful men devoted to its maintenance, is one of the most indestructible of social organisms.

Side by side with the centrifugal tendency of Protestantism, that allows each individual who reaches peculiar views to form a denomination if he can gain sufficient followers, is a mighty centripetal tendency toward the unification of religious thought and life. Among the agencies that are at work in this direction may be mentioned such institutions as the Evangelical Alliance, in which all evangelical denominations meet on a footing of equality and emphasize the points in which they can join forces against Romanism and infidelity; the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, in which the features of evangelical Christianity which the various denominations hold in common are magnified and the sectarian spirit is deprecated; the Young Men's Christian Association, which is equally careful to put into the background the peculiar teachings of the various denominations; the almost universal reading by members of the various denominations of the religious books and periodicals of the others; the frequency with which members of one denomination attend the ministry of members of others; the co-operation of members of all the leading denominations in social reform and philanthropy; the frequent intermarriages between members of the various denominations; the education of members of various denominations in great undenominational universities, etc.

III. OTHER FEATURES OF THE AGE.

1. It has been beyond any other period an age of *missionary endeavor*. The missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church had been organized and was being vigorously conducted through the monastic orders before the beginning of the present period. The Waldenses and the Bohemian Brethren, during the later Middle Ages, were essentially missionary organizations and their work was widespread and effective. The Anabaptists of the sixteenth century followed in the footsteps of these mediæval parties in giving to missionary effort the foremost place in their thoughts and their endeavors, and where they had an opportunity to perfect their organization, as in Moravia and the Netherlands, their work was conducted systematically and effectively and

extended throughout Europe. The Lutherans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while they put forth much earnest effort for the diffusion of their principles, had no distinctively missionary organization. Calvinists, with Geneva as a great rallying point, sent forth multitudes of earnest men to evangelize among Catholic populations, but no missionary society was organized during the preceding period. Now all the great bodies of evangelical Christians are vying with each other not only in reaching with evangelizing influences the neglected elements of the populations in the lands that they occupy, but in sending the gospel through consecrated and well-trained missionaries into every part of the great heathen world and to countries in which corrupt forms of Christianity have enslaved but not saved the people.

2. Never before did *practical philanthropy* assume anything like its present proportions. Roman Catholic beneficence, from the fourth century onward, was grounded on the supposition that almsgiving is a means of salvation. No doubt it did something for the relief of human misery, but it was conducted with so little wisdom as probably to produce as much misery as it relieved. It may be said in general that Protestantism is chiefly concerned with elevating men to a higher plane of living and by insisting on a pure morality preventing crime and misery, while Roman Catholicism, inefficient as a means of producing a high standard of living or preventing misery and crime, devotes its charitable efforts chiefly to the relief of actual misery and to making provision for the consequences of immorality and thriftlessness. Modern humanitarianism, in the good sense of the term, is the direct product of evangelical Christianity. Mediæval Roman Catholicism was little less cruel than the paganism that it supplanted, and modern Roman Catholicism in its Spanish and Jesuitized forms has probably equaled in cruelty any class of pagans that ever existed. Evangelical Christianity, emphasizing as it does love for man as man, tends powerfully toward the prevention of cruel disposition and act and greatly promotes kindness and gentleness of character.

3. The present period coincides pretty closely with

the age of *scientific research* and its marvelous results. Modern science is a product of the Renaissance, though it made little progress until after the beginning of the present period. It has gone hand in hand with evangelical Christianity, though some of its leaders have been unbelievers and some evangelical Christians have denied the right of scientific research and especially the right to promulgate its results. It is coming to be more and more clearly seen that true science and true religion cannot possibly be contradictory the one to the other, and that such hostility as has existed has been due to imperfection in the one or the other or in both, or imperfect understanding of each by the other. As science becomes more complete and religion as doctrine and life becomes more perfectly accordant with the nature and will of God, we may expect that all seeming lack of harmony between the two will disappear. The pervasive influence of the scientific thought of the age on Christian thought and life and the large and growing number of devout Christians who are deeply interested in natural science are among the striking and characteristic facts of the present age. That Christians should endow scientific research and that many Christian institutions of learning should devote more of their resources to scientific than to religious instruction is characteristic of the spirit of the age.

4. Closely related to the growing consciousness of harmony between natural science and evangelical Christianity has been the application of *the historical method* to the study of religious doctrine and life. This has been manifest in the study of the Scriptures in relation to the histories and religions of contemporary peoples, the study of Christian doctrine and life throughout the Christian centuries in their relation to the thought and life by which Christianity has been surrounded, the study of Christian institutions in connection with the circumstances under which they have arisen and in comparison with the institutions of other religious systems, and in the comparative study of religions with a view to reaching a true philosophy of religion. It is not to be supposed that such comparative study of religions is always conducted with right motives and true methods, or that

its results are always wholesome. But the historical method is good and the ultimate result of its application to every department of life and thought cannot fail to produce beneficent results.

5. The wonderful progress that evangelical Christianity has made in the world during the present period, and the rapidity with which it is still advancing, and the growing pervasiveness of its influence on civilization, notwithstanding the imperfection with which it has been understood, lived, and taught by most of its adherents, constitute the most conclusive evidence of its divine character and furnish the fullest assurance of its ultimate triumph. It is becoming more and more evident that Christianity is not only the true religion, but that it is the highest philosophy, and that the only satisfactory philosophy of history is that which it involves. Progress is the keyword to the understanding of history and Christianity is the embodiment of the principle of progress.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

I. THE POPES OF THE MODERN PERIOD

LITERATURE: Ranke, "*Die röm. Päpste,*" *Bd.* III., 1869 (also Eng. tr.); Walch, "*Entwurf einer Historie d. röm. Päpste,*" 1758; Alzog, "Universal Ch. Hist.," Vol. III. (Eng. tr.); Nippold, "*Handbuch d. neuesten Kirchengeschichte,*" *Bd.* II., 3d. ed., 1883; Capefigue, "Louis XIV.," 1844; pertinent sections in the works on Ch. Hist. by Gieseler, Schröck, Sheldon, Hurst, Baur, etc.; articles on the various popes and other influential leaders, with full bibliographies, in Hauck-Herzog, Wetzer und Welte, McClintock and Strong, and Schaff-Herzog; and literature on the Jansenists, the Jesuits, the French Revolution, the Vatican Council, etc. The political histories of the various Catholic countries involved should be consulted in connection with contemporary papal history.

(1) *Pope Innocent X.* (*1644–1655*) was a feeble prelate, who in the absence of Donna Olympia Maidalchina, his brother's widow, felt "like a ship without a rudder." Donna Olympia's influence over him was so great that cardinals and others who wished for papal favors found it advantageous first to win her support. This relationship occasioned much scandal, but criminality was not proved. By his intemperate zeal against the Cardinal Barbarini, the nephew of Pope Urban VIII., who had placed himself under the protection of the King of France, he provoked the latter to send an army into Italy which speedily brought him to terms. He humiliated the Duke of Parma, who had treated with contempt his demand for the payment of dues, and who had caused to be slain the Bishop of Castro, whom he had sent to enforce his authority. His intervention in Spanish and Portuguese affairs was neither profitable nor creditable. His repudiation of the Peace of Westphalia in the bull *Zelo domus Dei* (November, 1648) was completely ineffective, but the bull is a monument of his intolerance and of his indifference to the peace of Europe.

Innocent's condemnation of the "Five Propositions,"

alleged to have been taken from Jansenius' "*Augustinus*," was to figure prominently in the controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists (see section on the Jansenist controversy), and was an act of subserviency to the French government under Cardinal Mazarin. Yet he supported the Fronde, representing an uprising of the Parliament of Paris, the clergy, and the nobles, under Cardinal Retz, against Mazarin.

To the last Donna Olympia retained her absolute control of the papal administration and kept Rome and Italy in perpetual unrest by her extortionate and corrupt procedures. When Innocent was dying she busied herself with getting possession of what valuables he had retained, and when he was dead she refused to bear the expense of his funeral on the ground that she was a poor widow. The Jesuits were too much occupied in Germany, Austria, France, Poland, etc., to exercise much influence on this administration, and, unless they could have gained an ascendency over Donna Olympia, they could in any case have accomplished little.

(2) *Alexander VII.* (*1655–1667*). As Fabio Chigi, he had represented the papal interests in the negotiations that led to the Peace of Westphalia, and had vehemently protested against any sort of compromise with heresy. Soon afterward he was made cardinal by Innocent and thenceforth participated influentially in the papal administration. The condemnation of the propositions of Jansenius was due chiefly to his zeal against heresy, Innocent X. having yielded somewhat reluctantly to his insistence. On the death of Innocent X. he was supported by the "Flying Squadron," the party in the Curia that demanded an aggressive and uncompromising policy in relation to heresy. The absorption of Innocent in promoting the interests of his family had occasioned much scandal, and the new pope prudently kept his relatives away from Rome during the first year of his pontificate. But the temptation to place them in positions of affluence and influence was greater than his power of resistance, especially when the Jesuit, Oliva, who had gained an ascendency over him, advised him strongly to yield.

It is worthy of note that Christine of Sweden, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, the great champion of Prot-

estantism in the Thirty Years' War, became a Catholic, abandoned her country, and threw herself upon the pope's bounty. He was often sorely tried by her unreasonable demands upon his liberality.

He was in complete harmony with the Jesuits in his attitude toward Protestantism, and members of the society were highly influential in his administration. Oliva so won his confidence and support as to be appointed by him vicar of the general of the society some years before the death of the latter, who had become unacceptable to the rest of the officials and was thus practically set aside. In the controversy of the Jesuits with the Jansenists he gave to the former his heartiest support. He procured the restoration of the Jesuits who had been banished by the republic of Venice.

The refusal of the French ambassador to treat with consideration the pope's relatives led to a storming of his palace. This aroused the hostility of Louis XIV., already resentful because of Alexander's support of Retz and the Fronde against his government. The king denounced the outrage as unworthy even of barbarians, banished the papal nuncio, seized Avignon and Venaissins, and threatened to invade the States of the Church. Finding himself without political support, he felt obliged to yield to the hard and humiliating terms of the king.

Alexander followed the policy of Innocent in refusing to recognize Portugal's independence of Spain or to confirm the bishops appointed by the house of Braganza in defiance of the papacy. Although he had risen to power through his devotion to practical politics, as pope he preferred a literary life and delighted in association with literary men. By his extravagance he brought the papacy to a state of bankruptcy.

(3) *Clement X.* (*1667–1669*) devoted himself zealously to the reformation of the papal finances, and was influential in bringing about the peace of Aix la Chapelle, 1668, and in allaying the Jansenist strife (*Pax Clementina*).

(4) *Clement XI.* (*1670–1676*) was elected by the cardinals, after five months of partisan wire-pulling and balloting, as a very old man who could do little harm and whose early death would make way for another elec-

tion. The administration was conducted by Cardinal Paluzzi and was not wanting in vigor or in corrupt dealing. Paluzzi succeeded in again embroiling the papacy with Louis XIV., the bone of contention being the royal claims to the revenues of vacant benefices (*regalia*) which had long been recognized and acted upon.

(5) *Innocent XI.* (*1676–1689*). Venedetto Odescalchi (b. 1611) received his early education from the Jesuits, and was about to enter upon a military life when a cardinal persuaded him to accept employment in the Roman Curia. He was rapidly promoted from stage to stage until he became one of the most influential of the cardinals. He was greatly beloved by the Romans because of his simplicity and purity of character and his sincere devotion to the well-being of the people. He came to be known as the "father of the poor." In judicial decisions he was so impartial as to be free from any suspicion of corruptibility.

On the death of Clement XI. he was elected pope, notwithstanding the determined opposition of Louis XIV. He accepted on the express condition that he should have a free hand in seeking to reform the papal administration and the lives of the Roman clergy.

He restricted the living expenses of the cardinals, abolished all sinecures, and bestowed not a farthing of the church's funds upon his relatives, whom he carefully excluded from any connection with his administration. He compelled those around him to conform to his simple mode of living, and required prelates outside of Rome to retrench their expenditures and restrict themselves to the proper duties of their offices. In making new appointments he insisted on evidence of good character and adequate education. He required the lower clergy to live morally, and, instead of attempting to deliver learned discourses, to preach to the people the crucified Christ and to give special attention to the moral and religious education of the young. He required the women and girls, on pain of excommunication, to dress modestly and to avoid all unseemly exposure of the person. Three years later he prohibited the learning or the practice of music by Roman women of the lower classes. Rigorous laws were enacted for the promotion

of morality among the men and playhouses were abolished.

In the rigor of his ethical code and in his profound religious earnestness, as well as in his theocratic ideas, he greatly resembled John Calvin. He condemned with the utmost sternness the immoral teachings of such Jesuits as Escobar, Suarez, and Busenbaum. He supported Tyrso Gonzalez in his efforts to suppress the doctrine of Probabilism among the Jesuits and procured his election as general of the society, but he incurred thereby the undying enmity of a large proportion of the members of the society. While he lived they shamefully slandered him and when dead they refused him their blessing. He sympathized to a considerable extent with the Spanish mystic Molinos, when he was attacked by the Jesuits and condemned by the Inquisition. But Molinos had treated the church's ceremonies and authority with such disrespect and had advocated a type of piety so remote from ecclesiasticism that the pope thought it best to confirm the action of the Inquisition, which declared sixty-five propositions from his writings heretical and blasphemous.

While he heartily approved of the exterminating measures of Louis XIV. against the Huguenots, culminating in the revocation of the edict of Nantes (1685), he yet resolutely refused to accept the Gallican articles put forth by the French clergy (1682) under the direction of the king regarding *regalia* and the rights of the national church over against papal authority, and he could not be persuaded to confirm as bishops those who had been nominated by Louis as a reward for their subserviency.

When the king insisted on the pope's guaranteeing the immunity of French ambassadors to the papal court and their right to take refuge in the palace of the French legation when pursued by papal officers, Innocent issued a bull excommunicating any who should in the future claim the right of asylum. The king's ambassador, who had been excommunicated by the pope, entered Rome with a guard of eight hundred troops and the pope placed the Church of St. Louis, which he attended, under interdict. The ambassador felt obliged to withdraw, but the French nuncio was held as a prisoner. This so exas-

perated Louis that he seized the papal city of Avignon, prohibited the exportation of French money to Rome, and was on the point of having a French patriarch, independent of the pope, placed at the head of ecclesiastical administration. Innocent held his ground and persisted in refusing to recognize the king's newly appointed bishops, now thirty-five in number. As a way out of difficulty he suggested the intermediation of James II. of England in the dispute between himself and France, but this had no important result. He tried to dissuade James II. from rashly attempting an immediate restoration of Roman Catholicism in England and disapproved of the acts that brought about his downfall, and he even treated with marked coldness his ambassador, who visited Rome to secure the pope's co-operation in the conversion of England. He suspected in James devotion to political rather than religious interests, and feared an alliance between England and France which would be disadvantageous to the papacy.

A vacancy in the archiepiscopal electorate of Cologne brought Louis XIV. and Innocent XI. again into conflict. Louis favored the candidacy of Cardinal Fürstenberg, who was deeply indebted to him and would forward his political schemes. The pope supported Joseph Clemens, brother of the Elector of Bavaria, who also stood for Hapsburg interests. As no choice could be reached without papal intervention, Louis sent an ambassador to Rome to negotiate for the pope's support of his candidate. Innocent would not even confer with the ambassador. Joseph Clemens was elected, and the fact that James II. co-operated with Louis XIV. in this matter confirmed the pope in his suspicion regarding his motives. It was suspected that Innocent even promoted the supplanting of James by William of Orange. Certain it is that the approaching overthrow of James was known in Rome before it had become assured in England. When the dethroned king appealed to the pope for aid he was coolly informed that nothing could be done for him. His friendship for Louis XIV. had destroyed his chances of papal favor. When Louis XIV. sought to win the electorate for Fürstenberg by armed force he was met by an offensive alliance (May, 1689) of Eng-

land, the empire, and Spain, supported by the pope. Innocent was greatly concerned for the stability of the empire. He secured an alliance of the empire, Poland, and Venice against the Turks, whereby the latter were driven from Hungary.

From what has been here recorded it is evident that Innocent XI. was one of the ablest and best of the popes. The hostility of France long frustrated the purposes of his successors to canonize him. He deserves credit for having materially aided in preventing Louis XIV. from carrying out his schemes of aggrandizement and for having consistently striven for the peace of Europe.

(6) *Alexander VIII.* (*1689–1691*) as cardinal had supported the French interests, and he owed his election to Louis XIV., who had neglected no means for enlisting in his cause a majority of the cardinals. Louis XIV. was at this time in sore straits because of a powerful coalition that had been formed against him, and he regarded papal support as almost indispensable. He restored Avignon to the papacy and renounced the right of making the palace of the French legation in Rome a place of refuge for fugitives from papal justice. The pope, in turn, confirmed the French bishops who had been active in the promulgation of the four Gallican articles that had occasioned most of the trouble between Louis XIV. and Innocent XI., and to whom the latter had persistently refused recognition. He required of them not a retraction of the articles as their private opinion, but only a renunciation of them as binding on the French church. Louis objected to their making even this concession, and Alexander was led to assume the attitude of his predecessor and to absolve the French clergy from their oath to the king in connection with the Gallican liberties. He gained popularity in Rome by his abounding liberality, but scandalized right-thinking people by his shameless nepotism. His chief merit lies in the fact that he condemned the new doctrine of "philosophical sin," that was being promulgated in the schools of the Jesuits. A "philosophical sin" is one committed without a clearly conscious design of offending God or breaking his law, and therefore of little gravity and easily remissible. He enriched the Vatican library by

the purchase of the library of Christiana, queen of Sweden, which was especially rich in manuscripts.

(7) *Innocent XII.* (*1691–1700*). Born of a distinguished family of Neapolitan nobles (1615) Antonio Pignatelli, when only twenty years old, entered the papal service. He was created cardinal by Innocent XI. (1681). After a prolonged struggle between Hapsburg and French factions in the Conclave for the election of a successor to Alexander VIII., Pignatelli was elected as a compromise candidate. Though he had been educated by the Jesuits, he was, from principle or from policy, a rigorous moralist. Like Innocent XI., he took a firm stand against nepotism, declaring that the poor were his "nephews." He was so lavish in his distribution of gratuities to the poor that on his return to the city after journeys thousands would go out for miles to meet him, crying, "There comes the father of the poor," and would insist on bearing his palanquin. He turned a portion of the Lateran palace into a hospital and made special provision for the education of poor young men.

He sought to restrict the nepotism of his successors by decreeing in a Bull (*Romanum decet Pontificem*), that no pope has the right under any pretext whatever to bestow the money, goods, or offices of the church upon his relatives. In case such are absolutely without means they should take their places along with the rest of the almoners of the church. In case, on the ground of merit, a relative of a pope should be made cardinal, his income should be restricted to twelve thousand scudi. He insisted that all present and future cardinals should take an oath to observe this constitution in case they should be elected to the papal office. He further renounced for himself and his successors the right to sell ecclesiastical offices and dignities and undertook to refund moneys received in this way. Without increasing the taxes he was able by simplicity of living to meet these expenses and expend large sums in philanthropy. He enforced his rigorous moral regulations without respect of persons. A number of Roman noblemen were banished. Women addicted to gambling were thrown into prison. He prohibited the acceptance of bribes by the judges and established a central tribunal (*Curia Innocentiana*) in

place of the numerous ill-regulated and corrupt courts of the city. He attempted to reform the monasteries, but met with bitter and determined opposition.

He scored an important victory in France in the permission given to the French bishops by Louis XIV. (1693) to express to the pope their disapproval of the four Gallican articles of 1682 and their sorrow for having participated in this act of insubordination. Innocent, in turn, gave his approval and blessing to French bishops who had been appointed since the breach of 1682. At the instance of Bossuet the pope reluctantly condemned twenty-three propositions from a work of Fénélon's on the inner life. While he relieved from disabilities some clergy in the Netherlands who had been suspected (but not convicted) of Jansenism, he took pains to make it known that he had no idea of receding from the position taken by his predecessors respecting the five propositions as belonging to Jansen and as heretical in Jansen's sense.

The good understanding that had come about between the pope and Louis XIV. bore fruit in the papal approval of the succession of the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis, to the Spanish throne. This decision reversed the policy of the popes since Urban VIII., who had invariably supported the house of Hapsburg. The change was due, no doubt, to the fact that the relations between the Roman Curia and Austria had for some time been lacking in cordiality owing to the renewal by the latter of claims to the right renounced under Innocent XI. to protect fugitives from papal justice, and the offensive assumption of precedence by the Austrian ambassador in a certain procession.

Nothing, it is probable, gave to Innocent XII. more joy than the conversion to the Roman Catholic Church of the elector Frederick Augustus of Saxony, who hoped thereby to further his designs upon the Polish crown.

(8) *Clement XI.* (*1700–1721*) was learned and statesmanlike and had many of the virtues of Innocent XI. He made considerable effort to reform the papal administration. Though not elected through French influence, he was friendly to France. In the war of the Spanish succession, while affecting neutrality, he secretly sup-

ported the Bourbons. His relations with the emperor, Joseph I., became so strained in consequence that he threatened him with excommunication, but the invasion of the States of the Church by an imperial army soon brought him to terms (1709), so that he felt obliged to recognize Charles III. as King of Spain and to renounce his claims to Comacchio, Parma, and Modena. This subserviency to the emperor aroused Louis XIV. and Philip of Anjou against the pope.

A controversy was raging between the Jesuits and the Dominicans regarding the conduct of the former in their missionary work in China. It was claimed by the Dominicans that the Jesuits adopted pagan customs, allowed their converts to worship idols after covering them with the cross, and devoted themselves more to secular pursuits than to religious. In this controversy Clement supported the Dominicans against the Jesuits. Yet in their controversy with the Jansenists he zealously supported the Jesuits and promoted their interests by establishing (1718) the festival of the Immaculate Conception.

(9) *Innocent XIII.* (*1721–1724*) belonged to an ancient Italian family that had produced more than one pontiff (among them Innocent III.). For a number of years (1697–1710) he was papal nuncio in Portugal, where he had come into sharp conflict with the Jesuits, who finally drove him from the country. Elected pope, partly through the Hapsburg interests, he invested the emperor, Charles VI., with Naples, and received from him the oath of fidelity. But he took issue with the emperor regarding his right to invest Don Carlos, a Spanish prince, with Parma and Piacenza, which was claimed as papal territory. The controversy between the Dominicans and the Jesuits regarding the Chinese missions was still raging. He withdrew from the Jesuits the right of conducting a mission in China, and was on the point of abolishing the order, but he contented himself with prohibiting the reception of new members. Clement XI. had caused much dissatisfaction among the anti-Jesuit (moderately Jansenistic) clergy of France and the Netherlands by the promulgation of the Constitution *Unigenitus*, which condemned as Jansenistic one hundred and one propositions from Quesnel's "New Testament,"

a work held in high esteem by this party. Innocent, when cardinal, had been understood to disapprove of this measure. In 1720 seven French bishops asked for the revocation of the constitution, but he censured them severely and required of them and the French clergy unconditional acceptance. The emperor, Charles VI., objected to the enforcement of the constitution in the Netherlands, and for a time the pope agreed to suspend its operation, but later the emperor, by reason of a *quid pro quo* in the way of papal political support, withdrew his objection, and persecution was renewed in 1723. Innocent granted a pension to the English Pretender (James III.) and promised him a large subsidy in case he should find an opportunity to raise a rebellion against the existing government.

(10) *Benedict XIII.* (*1724–1730*). A member of the Orsini family (b. 1649), Pietro Francisco had been a cardinal since 1672. He devoted much of his leisure to theological study and writing and published a number of learned works. He made some ineffective efforts to restrain the luxury of the prelates. The Lateran Council (1725) enacted severe penalties for prelatical extravagance and maladministration, but these were never enforced. The council confirmed the Constitution *Unigenitus* and strengthened the hands of the Jesuits against the Jansenists of France and the Netherlands. But to appease the Dominicans Benedict gave them (in the Bull *Pretiosus in conspectu Dei*, 1727) the privilege of teaching without let or hindrance the doctrines of Augustine.

His political administration was exceedingly feeble. Political negotiations he committed to Cardinal Coscia, who was lacking in statesmanship and brought nothing but humiliation to his superior. Disputes with the emperor regarding ecclesiastical administration in Sicily and with the King of Sardinia respecting the appointment of prelates resulted in papal defeat. When the Lucerne authorities drove from his post an unworthy priest and insisted on permitting the reading of the German Bible and the translation of the church service into German, he attempted to compel the restoration of the priest and the observance of the old order, but he found himself

powerless and felt obliged to yield. The financial administration was disastrous, and the tyranny of Cardinal Coscia brought hatred and contempt upon the pope.

(11) *Clement XII.* (*1730–1740*), a Florentine noble of the Corsini family (b. 1652), was already a feeble old man when appointed pope, and in his hand the papacy failed to hold its own as a political power. Charles III. of Naples and Philip V. of Spain introduced reforms that greatly limited the papal prerogative. In France the influence of Jansenism reappeared in scientific and literary attack on the papacy. Clement was ambitious for the extension of the Catholic faith and zealous in promoting foreign missions. He made himself ridiculous by offering to the Protestant princes of Germany the secularized Catholic estates if they would only return to the Catholic faith (the Bull *Sedes Apostolica*).

(12) *Benedict XIV.* (*1740–1758*), a member of the Lambertini family of Bologna (b. 1675), was highly educated in law and theology, and is equally distinguished as an author and an ecclesiastical statesman. As Cardinal-archbishop of Bologna (1731) he was greatly beloved because of his charity and his devotion to the moral and spiritual improvement of clergy and people. The conclave that elected him was divided into Austrian, French, and Spanish factions. After six months of wire-pulling and intrigue and many ineffective ballots, Lambertini was chosen, and, in honor of his former patron, Benedict XIII., he assumed the same name. He was a man of talent and character and often bewailed the fact that he had to "row against a stream of lies." He was inclined to be cynical and sometimes frivolous, but he devoted himself very zealously to the work of his office. He did much for the promotion of agriculture and trade in the States of the Church and introduced many economic reforms in the city.

He failed to secure from the King of Spain a withdrawal of his order prohibiting his subjects from studying in the Roman University. He secured the good-will of the King of Portugal by according to him the right of nomination to all vacant bishoprics and abbacies, and declared him "the most faithful of all kings." He settled the trouble with the King of Naples by yielding

to his demands. He pacified King Ferdinand V. of Spain by recognizing his right to nominate to all benefices in his dominions with the exception of fifty-two. In the war of the Austrian Succession he adopted the policy of neutrality. He greatly promoted the spread of the Roman Catholic faith in Hungary, yet he was the most tolerant of all popes toward Protestantism.

He was the first to recognize the Protestant Margrave of Brandenburg as King of Prussia, and he won thereby from Frederick I. an important concession, namely, that in all disputes among his Catholic subjects the Bishop of Breslau, as the vicar-general of the pope, should have the final decision. He had little disposition to persecute heretics and showed great moderation in his dealing with the Constitution *Unigenitus*.

In opposition to the Bishop of Paris, who insisted on withholding the sacrament from all who would not declare their acceptance of the constitution, he required in an encyclical of 1756 that all be admitted to communion who did not publicly condemn the constitution. The Jesuits, whose opposition he had already incurred by his condemnation of their heathenish practices in China and Malabar (Bulls *Ex quo singulari*, 1742, and *Omnium solicitudinum*, 1744), treated the encyclical with contempt, as they had ignored his requirement that "the Christian religion be preached purely and truly" in heathen lands. He made an earnest effort to lessen the number and the evils of church festivals and pilgrimages.

In 1750 he held a great Jubilee, to which even Protestants were invited, but they responded by a volley of publications sharply polemical. He devoted much attention to literary work and cultivated the society of the learned. Asseman's great catalogue of the Vatican library was prepared under his patronage and direction. He established learned societies for the study of Roman and Christian antiquities and church history. Among his last acts was an effort to reform the Society of Jesus, especially in Portugal.

(13) *Clement XIII.* (*1758–1769*), a member of the Rezzonico family (b. 1693), became cardinal in 1757, and had borne a high reputation for virtue and piety. Whether from his own conviction or by reason of the

dominating influence of Cardinal Torrezziani, he was from the beginning of his pontificate a stanch supporter of the Jesuits. Spain, Portugal, Sicily, and Naples had banished them because of their treasonable meddling in political matters. Clement (in the Bull *Apostolicum pascendi munus*, 1765) confirmed the institution of the order and commended it as useful and holy. In another Bull (*Animarum saluti*) he bestowed the highest praises on the society and put under an interdict the countries from which its members had been banished, restricting the performance of religious functions therein to Jesuits. This proceeding brought upon the papacy a storm of protest, and the pope was urged by cardinals to abandon the society.

He attempted to coerce the Duke of Parma, nephew of the King of Spain and grandson of the King of France, into subserviency to the church. Du Tillot, his minister, with the support of France, retaliated by imprisoning the Jesuits in the duchy. The kings of France and Spain (Bourbons) protested against the pope's support of rebels (Jesuits), demanded a recall of the offensive brief, and insisted upon the abolition of the society. The papal policy was sharply attacked by German prelates as well as by French and Spanish clergy and statesmen, and papal authority seemed almost at an end. Clement, however, proved unyielding, and declared that he was not aiming to please men, but God. He would rather lose everything than violate his oath of office or prove a traitor to the church. The pope was deprived by France of a part of his territorial possessions (Avignon, Venaissin, Castro, and Ronciglione). According to Carraccioli, he was on the point of yielding to overwhelming force and making the required concessions to the Bourbons when he suddenly died. It was suspected that he was poisoned by the Jesuits, whose cause he had championed, to save the situation.

(14) *Clement XIV.* (*1769–1774*). After three months of sharp intriguing between cardinals who were supporters of the Jesuits and those subservient to the Bourbons, the latter triumphed and Cardinal Ganganelli (b. 1705) was elected. The final decision was no doubt influenced by the threat of the French Cardinal De Bernis,

on behalf of his sovereign, that, in case the opposing party should make a choice not acceptable to France, he would be simply a bishop of Rome and not pope. Whether or not before his election he had pledged himself to the Bourbons to abolish the Jesuits is uncertain. His many attempted economic and social reforms were unsuccessful, and in some cases made bad worse. He lacked the cordial support of the cardinals, whom he deeply distrusted, and soon found himself almost without support in the Curia. The Jesuits did everything in their power to discredit him and to thwart his reformatory efforts.

If he had committed himself beforehand to the destruction of the order he was politic enough to hesitate for some time to carry his purpose into effect and to delay action until it might appear inevitable. The support of the society had brought the papacy into conflict with the chief Catholic powers, and if it was to be abolished the matter must be so managed as to secure from these powers as large concessions to the papacy as possible. He was so careful to commit himself to no one of the cardinals that his policy was then, and has to some extent continued, a mystery. Early in his pontificate he conferred upon the Jesuits certain new privileges for the sale of indulgences on the behalf of their mission work, and, when urged to abolish the society by the King of France, he refused, on the ground that he could not annul what nineteen of his predecessors had decreed in their favor. Yet he refused to the general of the society any access to his person.

He seemed to ignore the fact that Naples, Venice, the Electorate of Bavaria, Portugal, Mainz, and Austria had seriously infringed on the prerogative of the Roman Curia. The measures of his predecessor that had aroused the hostility of the Bourbons (the brief against Parma and the Bull *In Cœna Domini*), he revoked or omitted to enforce. In 1770 diplomatic relations were re-established with Portugal. France, Spain, and Naples still pressed for the abolition of the Jesuit Society, and threatened in case of the pope's refusal to withdraw from any relations with the papacy and to establish an independent patriarchate for the three kingdoms. Having made

up his mind to yield to this demand, the pope sought to secure guarantees that the powers would interfere no further with papal administration. Maria Theresa, of Austria, had become subservient to the Jesuits to such a degree that the pope was obliged by his spiritual authority to absolve her from their thraldom before she felt free to consent to the abolition of the society.

Clement was not yet ready to issue a Bull for its abolition, but preferred to test the sentiments of Christendom and the society's power of resistance by gradually depriving it of its means of exerting influence. His first step was to close the *Collegium Romanum*, the Roman Seminary, and the Jesuit houses throughout the States of the Church (1772). He next withdrew the protection and support that he had given to Jesuit exiles from Portugal. Finally, in the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster* (July 21, 1773), a carefully prepared document that had been submitted beforehand to the representatives of the Catholic powers, he decreed the abolition of the society. The utter badness and mischievousness of the society, the hopelessness of its reformation, and the impossibility of its ever again subserving the interests of the church, are set forth in language as drastic as their bitterest Protestant enemies could have wished. Papal coins were struck during the same year with the inscription, "Depart from me all of you, I never knew you."

Many of the bishops, even in the Bourbon States, had done their utmost for the protection of the society to which the Roman Catholic Church was so deeply indebted for its rehabilitation. It was only under pressure that seemed absolutely irresistible that any pope would have ventured upon so bold and revolutionary a step as the smiting to the ground of this great champion of the papacy. But this action having been determined upon as a political necessity, it must be justified in the eyes of Christendom by the admission of the truth of the terrible array of charges that had been made against the order by its Catholic opponents. The fact was and is that the Society of Jesus was then, and is to-day, neither better nor worse than the modern Roman Catholic Church, whose battles it has fought and whose policy it has shaped.

In Rome a number of Jesuit leaders were thrown into prison, and every precaution was taken to prevent members of the society from escaping with valuables and records. The Bull was everywhere greeted with joy, most Catholics having become convinced that the order was the promoter of strife and that its sacrifice was the price of peace and prosperity, and feeling that an incubus had been removed.

Frederick the Great of Prussia and Catherine of Russia, the one a Lutheran and the other a Greek Catholic, hoped by furnishing protection to these arch-enemies of everything antipapal to be able to use them for the discomfiture of the Bourbons. Evidently the Jesuits were not alone in their advocacy and practice of the doctrine that the end justifies the means, the civil rulers of Europe being almost as free in the choice of means for the accomplishment of ends deemed desirable as if Christian ethics had never been heard of.

The king of France promptly showed his appreciation of the subserviency of the pope by restoring the papal property that had been seized. Clement died the next year, and on general principles Jesuit poisoning was suspected.

(15) *Pius VI.* (*1775–1799*). Born (1717) of impoverished noble parents he was educated with reference to an ecclesiastical career, and in 1755 became secretary to Benedict XIV. His promotion thenceforth was rapid, and in 1776 he attained to the highly influential position of treasurer of the Papal Chancery. His fidelity and zeal in the financial administration proved so inconvenient to some of his influential opponents that they induced Clement XIV. to bestow upon him a cardinal's hat in order to be rid of him. As Cardinal Braschi he earnestly opposed Clement's measures against the Jesuits, and thereby incurred the pope's bitter resentment. It is related that the only word the pope ever addressed to him afterward were: "I want deeds, not words." His private life was by no means free from scandal, and those who opposed his candidacy for the papal office did not hesitate to bring against him the gravest charges. To weaken the force of the criticism to which he had been subjected he began his pontifical career with an

effort to reform the morals and to abate the luxury of the Roman clergy. Naturally his reformatory measures were not taken very seriously, and clerical life remained much as it had long been. He refused to confirm the Bull of his predecessor against the Jesuits and encouraged the society to maintain its organization and to continue its work in Prussia and Russia.

In 1781 the Emperor Joseph II. prohibited all connection between monastic orders in his dominion and foreign monastic officials. The pope visited the imperial court to negotiate for better terms, but was treated disrespectfully by Kaunitz, the imperial secretary of State, and could gain no concession from the government. In 1783 the emperor appointed a new Archbishop of Milan without having secured the pope's approval, and when the pope refused to confirm the appointment he was informed by Kaunitz that the matter could be attended to by a provincial synod. The pope threatened to punish the emperor's contumacy by excommunicating him. The emperor returned the insolent letter and demanded the punishment of its writer. A conference in Rome between pope and emperor (1783) resulted in no better understanding. In the following year the emperor restricted the worship of relics and levied a tax on pilgrimages to shrines, etc. In 1785 he ordered the removal of side-altars from the churches, and in 1786 caused the introduction of the vernacular into the church services. A revolution in Belgium withdrew the attention of the emperor from the execution of these reforming measures, and with his death in 1790 they were abandoned. The rumblings of the French Revolution would probably have deterred him, had his life been extended, from persisting in his policy of antagonizing the papacy.

Joseph II., one of the "benevolent despots," like Frederick the Great of Prussia, and several other sovereigns of the time, had become deeply imbued with the skepticism of the French school (Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert, etc.), and cared little about religion in any form. That his opposition to the papacy met with little popular disapproval indicates clearly the widespread skepticism and indifferentism of the age.

The French Revolution (1789 onward) greatly increased the difficulties in which the papacy was involved.

Skepticism had made the great mass of the French people open-eyed to the corruptions and oppressions of the hierarchy, and had prepared them to see in the special exemptions and privileges of the church, no less than in those of the nobility, the cause of their many woes. That the property and privileges of the church should have been among the first objects of attack when the people rose in their might to demand "liberty, equality, and fraternity" is precisely what might have been expected; for the church had received its property and privileges at the hands of the monarchy (from Clovis or Louis I. to Louis XVI.), had wrought hand in hand with the monarchy for the crushing out of civil and religious liberty (Huguenots, etc.), and its prelates being for the most part members of noble families, appointed by royal favor without regard to religious qualifications, were as a class indifferent to the people's woes, and lived in luxurious ease at their expense. When fifty thousand French priests and one hundred and thirty-two French bishops refused to accept the Constitution of 1791, which Louis XVI. had felt constrained to approve, the pope issued a Bull denouncing the Constitution and prohibiting its acceptance by the French clergy. The French National Assembly retaliated by confiscating Avignon and Venaissin, papal possessions in France, and the pope was helpless. Excommunication and interdict had lost their force, for the people no longer believed that their temporal or spiritual well-being was in the hands of pope or priest, and they could smile at papal and prelatical anathemas. The confiscation of the estates of the church, the complete abrogation of ecclesiastical privileges, the proscription and persecution of the clergy because of their opposition to the revolution, and finally the legislative annihilation of the Christian religion with the attempt to obliterate all Christian institutions by changing the calendar, etc., grew out of the widespread popular conviction that the dominant form of Christianity, with which Christianity itself was identified, was the arch-enemy of human rights and the enslaver of men's bodies, minds, and consciences.

It should be noted that a large number of prelates and lower clergy cast in their lot with the revolutionary cause, among them the Abbé

Sieyès, the Abbé Gregoire, the archbishops of Vienna and Bordeaux, the bishops of Chartres, Coutance, Rhodez, and Autun (Talleyrand). Some of the members of the monastic orders, like Fouché and Chabot, became notorious for their fanatical support of the most extreme measures of the Republicans (Reign of Terror).

In 1795 Pius VI. joined the coalition of European powers against France and put an army of twelve thousand men in the field. Napoleon Buonaparte, at the head of the victorious French army, seized the pope's possessions in Bologna and Ferrara and compelled him to pay an indemnity of twenty-one million francs. When the pope resorted to efforts at evasion the indemnity was increased. In 1798 Rome was captured by the French, a republic was proclaimed, and the pope was taken to France as a prisoner, where he died, August, 1799.

Few popes have been more unfortunate than Pius VI. Though not distinguished for piety or morality, he was fully seized of the dignity of his position and the necessity of preserving intact the prerogatives that had come from centuries of conflict, and he did not quail before the mighty personality of the great Napoleon. No doubt he was statesman enough to foresee that the excesses of the Revolution would lead to a reaction that would more than counterbalance the humiliations and the losses of his own time.

(16) *Pius VII.* (*1800–1820*). Barnabas Louis Chiaramonti, son of Count Scipio Chiaramonti, was born August 14, 1740, and when sixteen years of age became a Benedictine monk. In due time he became an abbot in his order, and in 1785 he was made a member of the College of Cardinals by Pius VI., his relative. As cardinal he opposed the uncompromising attitude of the pope and the dominant faction in the Curia and expressed his hearty accord with the democratic aspirations of the Italian people. "Become out-and-out Christians," he said in a sermon (1797), "and you will also be thorough-going democrats." His attitude toward the Italian Republic (established by Napoleon in dependence on France) was not quite consistent, but in general he gave his support to the new *régime*. After months of delay he was unanimously elected to succeed Pius VI., whose papal name he adopted. The Napoleonic wars were still raging when

he entered upon his office. Three months after his election Napoleon became master of Italy through his victory over the Austrians at Marengo. In July, 1801, he succeeded in making a concordat with Napoleon, which involved the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church in France with a reduction of the episcopate from a hundred and fifty-eight to sixty, the resignation of all existing French bishops, the right of Napoleon as first consul to nominate bishops, the payment of the clergy out of the State treasury, a recognition of the obligation of obedience to the civil government, the renunciation on the part of the pope of all claim to the confiscated estates and valuables in France, the forgiveness of priests who had married during the revolution, and the control of public worship by a civil council. All of the higher clergy were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the government and all appointments of parish clergy were subject to the approval of the government. The advantages on the papal side were largely neutralized by Napoleon's "Organic Articles," published in France simultaneously with the concordat. In the opinion of Consalvi, the pope's chief counselor, the concordat as interpreted by Napoleon turned the structure that had been erected with such an expenditure of time and diplomacy into a heap of ruins. These laws of Napoleon contained full regulations for the conduct of religious affairs in France and involved an almost complete ignoring of the Roman Curia. The pope protested, but in vain. Napoleon rapidly approaching the height of his glory had no idea of sharing his authority even in religious matters with another.

The pope's dissatisfaction with Napoleon's arbitrary and drastic methods did not prevent him from going to Paris to assist in the coronation of the first consul as emperor. The refusal of the pope to annul the marriage of Jerome Buonaparte to Miss Patterson, of Baltimore, was a grievous offense to Napoleon, thwarting as it did a cherished plan for the formation of another advantageous alliance with a royal family.

As early as 1805 Napoleon seems to have resolved upon the secularization of the States of the Church. In 1809 he annexed the papal territory to France, made of

Rome an imperial city, and by way of recompense to the pope provided him with an annual income of two million francs to be paid out of the imperial treasury. By this means he hoped to make the pope completely subservient to his own European interests. Pius' protest was answered promptly by his arrest and by his imprisonment in the fortress of Savona, on the gulf of Genoa. In 1812, as he was entering upon the Russian campaign, Napoleon had the pope brought to Fontainebleau and compelled him to sign a concordat to the effect that he would abandon his claim to the States of the Church and would make Avignon his place of residence (January, 1813). As soon as he felt free to do so the pope disowned the concordat, which he had signed under compulsion. Napoleon's aim in this measure was to repeat the proceeding of Philip the Fair at the beginning of the fourteenth century and by retaining the pope in France to use him more freely for imperial purposes, and to prevent him from meddling unduly in Italian politics. The failure of the Russian expedition and the destruction of Napoleon's prestige enabled Pius VII. to return to Rome (1814). An ovation awaited him there and rejoicing was general throughout Italy over Napoleon's fall as well as in most of the other countries that he had subjugated.

In August, 1814, feeling keenly the need of its aid in restoring the church to its former dignity and influence, Pius VII. re-established the Jesuit society which had so well maintained its organization and discipline that it was ready at once to enter upon the task of rehabilitating and directing the policy of the Roman Catholic Church. Under its influence the pope issued (1816) a Bull declaring Bible societies "a fiendish instrument for the undermining of the foundation of religion."

The policy of this pope was to a very large extent shaped by Cardinal Consalvi, who amid all the intrigues and disasters of the revolutionary period had been unswerving in his maintenance of the rights of the papacy. He was of noble parentage (b. 1757) and had been educated by the ex-Jesuit, Zaccaria, in a school which enjoyed the patronage of Pius VI., who took the young scholar into his service as soon as his education had been

completed. Immediately after his election Pius VII. committed to him the chief business of the office of secretary of State, and shortly afterward made him cardinal and official Secretary of State. From beginning to end Consalvi was the soul of the administration of Pius VII. He was declared by a Roman contemporary to be "a worthy successor of the political geniuses in the Roman court, who had been half swans and half foxes." It was further said of him, "if one would escape his sagacity it was not enough to keep silent, but it was necessary to avoid thinking in his presence." He had guarded the interests of the papacy as carefully as possible in the negotiations that led to the concordat of 1801, and had refused in 1809 to go with the other cardinals to Paris at Napoleon's bidding until actually forced to do so. He refused a pension of thirty thousand francs offered him by Napoleon, and showed by his words and actions how deeply he resented Napoleon's assumption of ecclesiastical authority and his determination to use the papal organization for his own purposes. By his obstinacy he incurred the wrath of Napoleon and was kept a prisoner until after the concordat of Fontainebleau (January, 1813). He disapproved of the concessions made in this concordat by the humiliated and discouraged pope. The protest that the pope made against the terms of the concordat under Consalvi's influence led to his further harassment by the emperor. He represented the papacy in the Congress of Vienna (1815) and was chiefly instrumental in rehabilitating the Roman Catholic Church after the revolution. It had been under his advice that the Jesuits were restored. On the death of Pius VII. he might have been expected to ascend the papal throne; but the Roman clergy and people were weary of his iron rule and the cry went up from the populace in the hearing of the Conclave: "Heaven save us from such a despot as Consalvi."

(17) *Leo XII.* (*1821–1829*) successor of Pius VII., was an Italian noble of the Genga family (b. 1760) who had been made cardinal in 1816 and had become a bitter adversary of Consalvi. Yet his policy did not differ essentially from that of the great diplomatist. Consalvi was not resentful, but gave to the new pope the benefit of his

deep insight into ecclesiastical politics and soon won his unbounded admiration. France, Spain, England, the South American Republics, etc., in their relations to the papacy, Consalvi knew to perfection, and the art of shrewd diplomacy and dissimulation no one could teach better than he. His wonderful knowledge of existing conditions and relations gave him deep insight into the future and enabled him in some measure to foresee the reaction in favor of the papacy that was to follow the French Revolution. The pope rewarded the aged statesman by making him Prefect of the Propaganda.

Leo permitted the publication of two writings that from motives of prudence Consalvi had disapproved, the one by the Dominican Anfossi, which insisted that the restoration to the papacy of the Patrimony of Peter was necessary to the salvation of those who had unrighteously appropriated it; the other by Fea, who sought to establish the *de jure* supremacy of the papacy over secular princes in worldly as well as in spiritual matters.

Before his elevation to the pontifical office Leo had figured as an opponent of the Jesuits. As pope he outdid his predecessor in showing them favor. He restored for them the *Collegium Romanum*, the *Oratorio del Caravita*, and the *Osservatorio Gregoriano*, and left nothing undone that would increase their efficiency as the foremost agency in the restoration and extension of ecclesiastical dominion.

Under Jesuit influence he issued (May, 1824) an Encyclical, in which he denounced modern forms of Christianity that call themselves "philosophical" and preach toleration and indifferentism, and Bible societies which are spreading themselves over the whole earth and in contempt of the prohibition of the church are translating or rather perverting the Holy Scriptures into the languages of the peoples, so that in them (the translated Scriptures) not Christ's, but man's, nay, the Devil's gospel is to be found.

In a brief published in 1826 he set forth his abhorrence of all non-Catholic Christians: "Every one separated from the Roman Catholic Church, however unblamable in other respects his life may be, because of this sole offense, that he is sundered from the unity of

Christ, has no part in eternal life; God's wrath hangs over him."

In 1824, following the advice of Consalvi, he proclaimed a jubilee in thankfulness to God for the suppression of the Revolution. Special indulgences were offered for prayers for the extirpation of heresy. In connection with the jubilee the Spanish Minorite Julianus, an intolerant fanatic, was canonized, and miracles (?) in St. Peter's (among them the flying of a half-roasted bird from a spit) attested the divine recognition of his saintlhood. Other canonizations, as that of the Jesuit Rodriguez and that of Gallantini, founder of the Congregation of Christian Instruction, showed clearly the reactionary and intolerant tendency of the administration. The jubilee was conducted with great pomp. The Propaganda rejoiced in the conversion on this occasion of one hundred and fifty Protestants and Jews. These conversions, we have reason to suspect, were deliberately arranged for and as regards their authenticity stand on the same plane as the miracle of the roasted bird. Everything possible was done to emphasize the importance of the victory that had been won by constituted authority, civil and ecclesiastical, over revolution. The Duke of Angoulême accepted with much ceremony the consecrated sword that Daun had received when in conflict with Frederick the Great. The Queen of Sardinia was the recipient of the golden rose. The indulgences connected with the jubilee were extended during the months that followed into other countries.

Leo succeeded in making concordats highly advantageous to the Roman See with the German, Dutch, South American, and other governments. Everywhere the spirit of reaction against revolution was manifest and the Roman Catholic Church came to be looked upon even by Protestant rulers and statesmen as a conservative force that could not safely be ignored.

Leo's secretary of State, Bernetti, was almost equal to Consalvi in astuteness. He affected such liberality of sentiment that Chevalier Bunsen, when residing in Rome as a member of the Prussian legation, became warmly attached to him, and when Bernetti visited England in the interests of English and Irish Catholics, Bunsen,

then Prussian ambassador at the Court of St. James, procured for him a cordial reception by leading Anglican churchmen whereby he was able in a measure to overcome the deep-seated aversion of the English people toward the Roman Curia. The emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland was not fully accomplished under Leo, but he prepared the way for the achievement of this important end under Gregory XVI.

The publication of Lamennais' essay on "Indifferentism in the Matter of Religion" (1817–1824) made a tremendous sensation and caused a remarkable revival of Ultramontane sentiment in France and elsewhere. His visit to Rome was triumphal. He declined a cardinal's hat offered to him by the pope. While courted by the pope he was regarded with marked disfavor by the Jesuits and the Sorbonne Faculty, who doubtless perceived underneath his fervid mysticism, which for the moment ministered or seemed to minister to enthusiastic devotion to the papal cause, those rationalistic and socialistic tendencies that led to the censure of his writings by Gregory XVI. and to his complete estrangement from the Roman Catholic faith. Lamennais died a pronounced free-thinker (1854).

The sufferings of Pius VII. and his heroic bearing during the revolutionary age had won for him a multitude of friends outside of the Roman Catholic Church. His most famous monument is the work of the Danish Protestant, Thorwaldsen. Leo, whose earlier life as an ecclesiastic had not been free from scandal, as pope lived ascetically, occupying with a cat for company an almost unfurnished room and eating almost nothing; yet because of his arrogance he became universally hated, princes and beggars vying with each other in their expressions of disapproval. Pius had risen to popularity on the floodtide of reaction against the anarchism and irreligion of the French Revolution. Leo was able for a while to ride upon the same floodtide; but the revolutionary reaction was absolutely beyond his control and he could not or would not adjust himself to the changing conditions. He was ambitious to be regarded as a reformer and introduced somewhat rigorous measures for the enforcement of moral living among the Roman clergy and the Roman women, re-

stricted the privileges of the Jews, and exercised a rigorous censorship over works of science. One of his press censors condemned a scientific work by Galvani on the supposition that its author was John Calvin. Popular opposition to the papal administration became so outspoken and violent that the prisons of the Inquisition had to be enlarged to accommodate the hordes of offenders (1826).

Meanwhile Ultramontane principles were being subjected in France, Belgium, Germany, etc., to a fierce literary onslaught. Richard Rothe, the famous Lutheran theologian, had become fascinated with the idea of the unity and ascetical piety of the Roman Catholic Church, under influences like those which produced the remarkable Romanizing revival in the Church of England (Tractarianism). A visit to Rome completely disenchanted him and produced in him the conviction that Rome knew nothing of the true spiritual life that belongs to evangelical Christianity. He became deeply conscious of the utter unscrupulousness and immorality of Roman Catholic polemics and propagandism.

The administration of Leo XII. was so unpopular and his person was an object of such general execration, that it was not unnatural that his death, which was an occasion of general rejoicing, should have been attributed to poisoning.

(18) *Pius VIII.* (*March, 1820–December, 1830*). As Cardinal Castaglioni (b. 1761) the new pope had suffered much from the French Revolution and Napoleon. He had been educated by the Jesuits and was one of the foremost canonists of the time. He had been made cardinal by Pius VII. in consideration of his valiant defense of papal rights. It is said to have been the wish of Pius VII. that Castiglioni should succeed him. His policy as pope was in general identical with that of the two preceding popes and the influence of the Jesuits was everywhere manifest.

Pius VIII. began his reign with a public denunciation of liberty of conscience, Bible societies, Freemasonry, and the Carbonari (the social democracy of Italy). During his brief pontificate Catholic emancipation (including the right of Catholics to sit in Parliament and to hold

civil offices) was completed in England (April, 1829), and the exodus to Rome from the Church of England, begun some time before, was greatly accelerated, especially among the clergy, the nobility, and the gentry.

During this year the Jesuits appointed a new general (the Belgian Roothan), who proved one of the most accomplished and effective in the history of the society. The work of the society grew so rapidly under his administration and by reason of the strong papal support given it that high administrative officers for France, Spain, Italy, and Germany were found necessary. They had a momentary triumph in France, whose Bourbon king, Charles X., is said to have been more popish than the pope and whose policy was thoroughly Jesuitical and Ultramontane; but the revolutionary reaction (July, 1830) was too mighty for the combined forces of pope, king, and Jesuits. The July revolution in France was followed by revolutionary proceedings in Belgium, Poland, Ireland, and several Protestant countries. The principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, that had been sternly repressed since 1815, had gathered energy for a fresh outbreak and no human power could hold them in check.

Lamennais won the approval of Pius VIII. by his radical Ultramontane utterances. His periodical, "*L'Avenir*" ("The Future"), was the organ of extreme Ultramontane opinion and his writings supplied ammunition for O'Connell, the Irish orator and agitator, and for many other lesser lights among Ultramontane propagandists. He designated Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) as the greatest patriarch of European liberty, and insisted that the popes of the present day may and should depose disobedient princes as in the mediæval time.

Under Pius VII., Prussia, through Niebuhr's diplomacy, had signed a concordat with the Roman Curia that conferred privileges upon Roman Catholics greater in some respects than those enjoyed by the evangelicals. The reckless use of these legalized privileges led to a controversy between Pius VIII. and Frederick William III. (1829–1830). In legalizing mixed marriages, the Prussian government had intended simply to bestow upon Roman Catholics a parity of privilege with the

evangelicals. The Prussian Catholics, following the instructions of the Roman Curia, would solemnize no marriage without a solemn promise on the part of the contracting parties that the children born of the marriage should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. The pope so far modified his previous position as simply to withhold the priestly benediction from those not making the required promise and giving them only passive assistance (*assistentia passiva*).

It was with the utmost reluctance that Pius VIII. consented to recognize Louis Philippe as king of the French and to permit the French bishops to take the oath of allegiance to him and to include his name in the prayers of the church. Already in feeble health when he was elected pope, his absorption in the great ecclesiastico-political questions of the time soon exhausted what vitality remained to him and he succumbed to the strain, December, 1830.

(19) *Gregory XVI.* (*1831–1846*). A member of the Venetian Cappellari family (b. 1765) and educated in Ultramontanism, the new pope had been since early youth an advocate of papal infallibility (1786). He had not been a leader in the College of Cardinals and was not among the prominent candidates for the papal office. When the supporters of the two great rival candidates despaired of securing a majority for their respective favorites, the choice of Cappellari was made as a compromise measure. The election was hastened by the urgent appeal of Austria in view of the revolution that was breaking out in central Italy.

The policy of non-intervention in Italian affairs by France or other powers, proclaimed by Louis Philippe, left the Italian democracy free to engage in revolutionary proceedings. Two days after the election of Gregory XVI. (February 4), revolution broke out in Bologna and the Italian tricolor was hoisted as a declaration that the dominion of the pope was at an end. From Bologna as a center the revolution spread to other parts of Italy. An unsuccessful attempt was made (February 12, 13) to arouse the Roman populace to revolution, and a short time afterward outside revolutionaries approached close to the gates of the city. Powerless to pacify turmoiled

Italy, the pope appealed to Austria, which was anxious for an opportunity to intervene in Italian affairs, and an Austrian army was soon in the field. The provisional government that had been established at Bologna by the revolutionaries was put to flight and most of the conspirators, including Louis Napoleon, were compelled to leave Italy.

By inviting Austria to aid in quelling the revolution, Gregory had incurred obligations to satisfy the demands of the Catholic powers for the reformation of papal administration in Italy. A papal edict (March 23) confirmed the lavish promises of reform that had been made by Bernetti, Secretary of State. The promised reforms not having appeared, the five great powers united in a memorandum of reforms thought to be essential to the maintenance of order in Italy. The reforms suggested embraced the admission of laymen to administrative and judicial positions, the leading of the communes through self-chosen counselors, the constitution of a body of provincial counselors, and a junta or administrative assembly of notables who should furnish a guarantee for continuity in the government. These reforms should not be limited to the districts threatened with revolution, but should be extended throughout the whole papal territory, including Rome.

Gregory pursued dilatory tactics and, as far as possible, ignored these demands for reform, but in 1832 he introduced important improvements in the ecclesiastical administration and promulgated a new code of laws. Various economic reforms were attempted. The courts were secularized and the administration of justice was considerably improved. Gregory was zealous in the fostering of learning, the fine arts, and the sciences. His friendliness to learning was manifested in his appointment of Angelo Mai, the great patristic scholar, and Mezzofanti, the phenomenal linguist, as cardinals.

Gregory showed that he was perpetuating the policy of his immediate predecessors by publishing (1832) an encyclical (*Mirari vos*), directed against Lamennais, now a pronounced liberal, and his school, and against the Belgian government that had recently declared itself in favor of religious liberty, which the pope pronounced

mere craziness (*deliramentum*). His sharp condemnation of the rationalism of the school of Hermes in Germany (1835) startled Germany. He gave every encouragement to the propagation of the doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary without proclaiming it as a dogma.

An ill-advised letter to the French ambassador in Rome by Gregory's Secretary of State, Bernetti, reflecting on the Austrian government, found its way to the Austrian court and led to a demand for Bernetti's removal that could not safely be refused. He was succeeded by Lambruschini, a disciple of Consalvi, to whom the pope committed unreservedly the administration (1836). The intolerant and reactionary proceedings of Gregory were largely attributable to Lambruschini's influence. He made of little effect the concessions that had been granted to the Italian democracy, restricted the application of the amnesty that had been promised to the revolutionists, and refused to give municipal government to the city of Rome.

The remarkable victory of Gregory over the Prussian government in the matter of mixed marriages and in that of the Hermesian rationalism was due in large measure to the statesmanship of Lambruschini. The insubordination of Droste-Fischerung, who by his professions of loyalty to the Prussian government and of his willingness to abide by the compromise arrangement regarding mixed marriages had been accepted by Frederick William III. as Archbishop of Cologne, but who once in the office had adopted an Ultramontane policy and had ignored the rights of the government to interfere with Roman Catholic administration in Prussia, so exasperated the king that the archbishop was removed from his office and thrown into prison. The immediate occasion of the strife was the effort of the archbishop, on behalf of the Roman Curia, to employ drastic measures for the suppression of rationalistic teaching in the Catholic faculty of the University of Bonn, which was supported by the government. This proceeding threw Prussia into a state of turmoil and brought upon the Prussian government the execration of the Roman Catholic world. Gregory XVI. protested most vehemently against this

interference with the freedom of the church. The death of Frederick William III. and the succession of Frederick William IV. gave an opportunity to the government to change the policy of antagonism to a policy of conciliation. The Archbishop of Cologne was not restored, but concessions were made to the Roman Curia in the matters that had occasioned the conflict which amounted to a victory for the papacy.

Gregory exerted himself to the utmost to save the Jesuits of France, who had incurred the disfavor of Louis Philippe and his minister, Thiers; but he felt obliged at last to acquiesce in their suppression (1845). Gregory is said to have practised a rigorous asceticism, sleeping very little and on the floor, eating the plainest food, and devoting much time to religious exercises. Filled with dark forebodings regarding the future of the papacy and of Italy, but consoled by the fact that the Romans were going wild over a favorite ballet dancer ("As long as my Romans applaud the appearing of a dancing girl, they make no revolutions"), he died June 1, 1846.

(20) *Pius IX.* (*1846–1878*). The successor of Gregory XVI., an Italian noble (Count Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferreti, b. 1792), had in his youth served in the French army, and had entered the papal service as early as 1823. He became Archbishop of Spoleto in 1827, and, in spite of his liberal views, that had become somewhat notorious, he was made cardinal by Gregory XVI. in 1840. He was elected pope with less than the usual amount of opposition, the Conclave requiring only two days to reach a decision. On the day of his coronation he is said to have remarked: "To-day persecution begins," and his pontificate was certainly a stormy one.

With a view to pacifying the States of the Church, which were still in a revolutionary condition, he proclaimed a universal amnesty, and emptied the prisons of their thousands of political victims. At the same time he inaugurated such measures of political reform as he thought calculated to meet the reasonable demands of the revolutionary party. A liberal Secretary of State was appointed, and a new Council of State made up of younger and more progressive prelates was provided for. Commissions were created for the reformation of the ad-

ministrative system and the revision of the laws. Conservatives were alarmed, but the populace cried, "Long live Pio Nono." But these measures soon proved to be inadequate, and agitation for constitutional liberty and Italian unity and independence was renewed. The social democracy ("Young Italians" or Mazzinists) urged the pope to lead a crusade of united Italy against Austrian domination, and when he refused they repudiated utterly his right to secular authority.

As a compromise measure he assented (March, 1848) to a new Roman Constitution and to the institution of a reform ministry, with the liberal statesman Mamiani at its head, and with only two clerical members. In the new Constitution the College of Cardinals formed a sort of senate, while matters of taxation and legislation were committed to two chambers. Large numbers of laymen were admitted to the civil service.

It must be remembered that the year 1848 was one of the most revolutionary since the close of the French Revolution (1789–1795). In all the leading countries of Europe spirited agitation for popular rights and constitutional government alarmed the conservatives and called for vigorous repressive measures. "On every side thrones and dynasties seemed tottering to ruin, and each day brought the news of another revolution" (Lodge). In Switzerland the radical party succeeded in reuniting all the cantons, Catholic and Protestant, into a well-ordered and compact confederation. The movement carried with it the abolition of the league of Roman Catholic cantons (Sonderbund) and the expulsion of the Jesuits. In Sardinia and Lombardy the Jesuits were expelled in response to the demands of the revolutionary party early in 1848. Naples and Sicily soon followed. Popular uprisings in Austria and Prussia extorted from the rulers important constitutional concessions, and necessitated the expulsion of the Jesuits, who were universally regarded as the arch-enemies of popular rights. In March, 1848, the Austrian democracy compelled Metternich, the great conservative statesman who more than any other man was responsible for the repressive measures adopted by the European powers (1815 onward) to relinquish the Austrian chancellorship and to leave Vienna. The terrified emperor saw no alternative to granting their demand for a constitution. A popular uprising in Berlin compelled Frederick William IV. to withdraw his troops from the city, and to promise parliamentary government (March, 1848), and led to the formation of a great German national union with a parliament elected by universal suffrage. This body met at Frankfurt-on-the-Main (May, 1848), but did not accomplish all that its promoters hoped for.

Encouraged by the seeming success of the popular

movement in Germany and Austria, the Italian provinces, including the States of the Church, rose in their might and drove the Austrian troops from Milan and Venice. The refusal of the pope to co-operate in the struggle for Italian independence and unity caused him to be looked upon as a traitor. He felt obliged to dismiss the Mamiani ministry, and to commit the public administration to the conservative Count Rossi. The assassination of Rossi (November 15, 1848) precipitated a crisis. The demand of the liberals for the appointment of a ministry in sympathy with Italian unity and freedom were so peremptory, and their attitude so threatening, that the pope was constrained (November 24, 1848) to leave the city and to take refuge at Gaëta, in the province of Naples. Mazzini, Mamiani, and Galetti, as statesmen, and Garibaldi as military chieftain, were at the head of the national liberal movement. Having frightened the pope away, they proclaimed a republic, with Galetti as chief minister and Mamiani as foreign minister. A constituent assembly elected by popular suffrage deprived the pope of his temporal power and confiscated all ecclesiastical property (February, 1849).

The appeal of the pope to the Catholic powers for intervention was responded to by France, which, though at that time a republic, was willing to avail itself of the opportunity to regain a foothold in Italy. Rome was wrested from the revolutionists by the French (July 3, 1849), and the Austrians succeeded in reoccupying the papal legations in the north of Italy. The pope promised financial and administrative reforms, and was able to return to Rome in April, 1850. Cardinal Antonelli, one of the most astute of ecclesiastical statesmen and a determined reactionary, was at once entrusted with the chief responsibility, and the Jesuits, who now returned to Rome in large numbers, were put in charge of public instruction throughout the papal States. The clergy were once more in charge of the details as well as the administration of the civil service, and the popular outcry against clerical arrogance, corruption, and inefficiency became as violent and persistent as before.

Under the leadership of Count Cavour, the Piedmontese agitation for Italian unity and independence

reached alarming proportions, the secularization of the papal States and the exclusion of the Austrians being the prominent features of his policy. As early as 1856 a secret understanding seems to have been reached between Cavour and Louis Napoleon, which involved the co-operation of the latter in the realization of the Italian policy of the former, and the securing in return of coveted territory on the French border.

At the beginning of 1859 Napoleon declared his policy regarding Austria and Italy, and shortly thereafter war was raging between Austria and Sardinia supported by France. Austria was speedily driven from Bologna, Ancona, Romagna, the Legations, Parma, and Modena, which were appropriated by Sardinia; Tuscany, Naples, and Sicily were afterward similarly dealt with, and by the treaty of Zürich Lombardy became a part of the new Italian kingdom.

Victor Emmanuel was not satisfied with even this measure of achievement. He next proceeded, with the consent of Napoleon, to appropriate Umbria and the Marches, which had belonged to the papal States. The pope had only a fifth of his territory left, embracing Rome and its environs, with a total population of seven hundred thousand, and with a debt of eleven million dollars incurred in defense of his possessions. Of the debt he was promptly relieved by the generosity of Roman Catholics throughout the world, largely through Peter's Pence.

Even yet the revolutionists were not satisfied, but they insisted on making Rome the capital of Italy and secularizing the rest of the papal territory. "Rome or death" was their watchword. It was only the influence of Napoleon that prevented Victor Emmanuel from at once completing his work of unification. In 1864 a treaty was signed by Louis Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel in accordance with which Florence should be the capital of Italy, the integrity of the remaining States of the Church was guaranteed, and the French army, with the exception of certain frontier garrisons, was to be withdrawn from the States of the Church within two years.

It was not until the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian

war (1870) that the withdrawal of the French troops left Victor Emmanuel free to complete his task of unification and to transfer his capital to the Eternal City. Cavour's maxim: "A free Church in a free State" was not fully put into practice; for the administration of ecclesiastical matters throughout united Italy was assumed by the State, which provided also the ecclesiastical revenues by public taxation. The popes have regarded themselves, since the secularization of the States of the Church, as prisoners in the Vatican, and they cease not to call the attention of the faithful throughout Christendom to the enormity of the outrage that has been perpetrated on the Holy See.

The ecclesiastical proceedings of the pontificate of Pius IX., including the dogma of the immaculate conception, the celebration of the nineteenth centennial anniversary of the martyrdom of Peter, the Encyclical and Syllabus, and the Vatican Council, may be more advantageously treated in another section.

By fostering to the utmost superstitious regard for relics, shrines, etc. (appearance of the mother of God at Lourdes in 1858 and miraculous cures ascribed to her); by virtually deifying the mother of our Lord and in every way promoting her cult (1854); by condemning Protestantism as involving and naturally giving birth to socialism, rationalism, pantheism, atheism, anarchism, and every perverse mode of thought and life; by repudiating modern civilization as contradictory of the spirit of the gospel (Encyclical and Syllabus, 1864); by asserting the right of the church to suppress by force all erroneous teaching and practice and to command civil rulers to execute its behests (*ibid.*); by asserting the right of the church to annul the allegiance of disobedient rulers, and the duty of all true believers to prefer the interests of the church to those of the State and to obey the head of the church rather than the civil magistrate (*ibid.*); by riding roughshod over the consciences of liberal Roman Catholics in France, Belgium, Germany, etc., in pursuance of Jesuit policy; by assuming for the papacy the right to define ecclesiastical dogma and to require its universal acceptance without the concurrence of a general council (as in the promulgation of the dogma of the immaculate con-

ception, 1854); by forcing the dogma of papal infallibility through a general council (the Vatican, 1869–1870), without giving an opportunity to the opposing minority freely to discuss the question, Pius IX. provoked a widespread spirit of revolt among the more intelligent and conscientious members of his own communion, and led some civil rulers, notably the emperor of Germany, in whose domains the conflict between papal and civil authority had long been raging, to adopt drastic measures for the protection of themselves against the exercise of irresponsible authority on the part of the pope (May Laws, etc.).

The movement for Italian unity, nationality, and independence of papal and Austrian foreign powers, had gone on gaining momentum under the wise leadership of Victor Emmanuel with the military support of Garibaldi and the friendly though interested co-operation of Louis Napoleon, until all Italy had been brought under a single government with the exception of the city of Rome, whose retention by the pope had been guaranteed by Louis Napoleon, who kept an army in Italy for the maintenance of this arrangement. The Franco-Prussian war (1870) that broke out almost immediately after the dogma of papal infallibility had been proclaimed, led to the immediate withdrawal of the French army from Italy. This was promptly followed by the occupation of Rome by Victor Emmanuel and the transference thither of the capital of the kingdom of Italy. Thus Pius IX., one of the most arrogant of popes, who had recently proclaimed himself infallible and had lost no opportunity for asserting his lordship over civil rulers, had the humiliation of seeing not only the patrimony of Peter that for over a thousand years his predecessors had made the greatest sacrifices to hold intact and to increase, snatched from his grasp (1866), but Rome itself appropriated by his enemy and himself, stripped of temporal power, a prisoner, so called, in the Vatican, which as a matter of favor he was allowed to occupy.

This seeming reverse, however, proved a blessing in disguise to Roman Catholicism; for it aroused to so great an extent the sympathy of Catholic Christendom as enormously to increase the papal revenues, freed the

Roman Curia from the difficult, unprofitable, and often scandalous work of secular administration, and enabled it to devote itself more assiduously to the larger and more profitable fields of ecclesiastical enterprise throughout the world; while it enabled the papacy to make more plausible its claim of being a universal spiritual force and did much to allay the fears that had been awakened by the intolerant utterances and boundless claims of authority that had been set forth by the pope during recent years. While no doubt sincerely lamenting the loss of temporal power, Pius IX. was not slow to avail himself of the advantages of the new situation. While he anathematized Victor Emmanuel in every member of his body and in every bodily and mental function, and posed as a martyr before his sympathetic followers, he rejoiced greatly in his swelling coffers and pressed the work of world-conquest with ever-increasing vigor. Never before had the Roman Catholic Church been so well organized, so conscious of its mission of universal conquest, so wise to avail itself of everything that would tend to further its ends.

During this pontificate new monastic orders were founded and old ones took on new life and greatly increased in membership and activity. Tertiaries (lay friends and supporters of the various orders) were encouraged and utilized. Pius unions (1848 onward), the aim of which was to foster among the people zeal for Ultramontane Catholicism and hatred of Protestantism, secret societies, Bible societies, and everything condemned by Pius IX., spread over Roman Catholic Christendom and proved a mighty agency for propagating Ultramontane views. Other types of Catholic opinion were fostered by St. Francis Xavier unions (foreign missions), Borromæus unions (circulation of Catholic literature), etc.

(21) *Leo XIII.* Pius IX. had come to be looked upon by the faithful Catholics of his time as almost superhuman in his sanctity and spiritual power and a widespread confidence prevailed, fostered by a portion of the Catholic press, that the aged pontiff would not die until he should see himself victorious over his enemies. The fiftieth anniversary of his ordination as bishop (1877)

was celebrated throughout the Catholic world with great fervor and in such a way as to minister powerfully to his popular influence and to his financial resources. He died before the German government had shown any signs of yielding in the contest for church autonomy that had raged since 1870, but with the full assurance that his German bishops and clergy would suffer anything rather than yield to demands that he regarded as tyrannical and as subversive of religious freedom. Yet he had really won the victory that his successor was to enjoy.

Never had the Roman Catholic Church been more active in the acquisition of valuable property, in the erection of costly buildings, in the founding of schools, colleges, hospitals, etc., or more successful in drawing upon public treasuries and non-Catholic private purses for the support of its educational and philanthropical work than during the later years of Pius IX. In England and America as well as in Germany, the Roman Catholic Church went forward with leaps and bounds during this long reign.

The Roman Conclave required only two days to elect and proclaim Joachim Pecci the successor of Pius IX. In honor of Leo XII., who had introduced him into clerical life, he adopted his name. Because of his earnest and successful efforts to make peace with the powers that were in conflict with the papacy he has been designated the "peace-pope"; but it would be a mistake to suppose that his desire for peace has been such as would lead him to compromise the papal principles that he inherited from his immediate predecessors, or that he has ever been content with the worse end of a bargain. His policy has been the well-known Jesuitical policy that has been in force since the French Revolution, and involves uncompromising hostility to modern civilization and modern thought, the utter denial to Protestantism of the right to be considered a valid form of Christianity, and the greatest freedom in the use of means for the attainment of advantages for the church. The means employed by Pius IX., have been continued in use, employed on a larger scale, improved upon by experience, and applied with greater skill. If his administration provokes less

antagonism than did that of his predecessor, it is partly because he had the work of Pius IX. behind him, and had no occasion to shock Christendom by the proclamation of fresh dogmas, and partly because of the superior astuteness and finesse of his diplomatists.

It is certain that no government in the world is equipped to-day with diplomatists who understand better what they wish to accomplish, who are more conversant with all the phases of the matters with which they have to deal, and who can present their views more effectively and with less risk of giving offense, than the Roman Curia.

Papal infallibility, which it seemed necessary to Pius IX. and his Jesuit advisers to proclaim, but the proclamation of which involved, as they fully realized, grave difficulties, had now been accepted by all but an insignificant fraction of the Roman Catholic Church, and was already admirably serving its purpose of increasing the boldness and aggressiveness of the adherents of the papacy. Some civil governments had protested against the dogma, but Pius had held his ground and his adherents under hostile governments had shown a spirit of uncompromising resistance; and the unfriendly nations were already reaching the conviction that self-interest dictated a policy of conciliation with this great world-power that had such a dominion over the hearts and consciences of its subjects rather than a policy of extermination which might end in disaster and would certainly turmoil their countries for an indefinite period.

Leo found the world ready for conciliation and he adapted his diplomacy to the changed situation. His conflicts with civil governments have been few and unimportant. The concessions he has gained have been many and valuable.

No sooner was he installed in the papal office than he expressed to the governments that had been at war with his predecessor a desire for the restoration of friendly relations. In less than two years (October, 1879) Bismarck, on behalf of the German Empire, intimated his willingness to negotiate for a settlement, and a few months later (May, 1880) he began to make important concessions. In a short while Bismarck had abandoned nearly everything that he had contended for and had

"gone to Canossa." The German Catholics, under the direction of the Roman Curia, had organized themselves as a political faction and could give a solid vote for or against government measures. This faction came to be known as the Center. The social democracy (the Left) was increasing in power and, with the help of the Center, could greatly embarrass the government. Bismarck felt it necessary to make concessions to the Catholics in order to gain the support of the Center.

Pius IX. had refused to allow the Italian clergy to recognize the government of Victor Emmanuel by taking part in political life. Leo encouraged them (1880) to participate in politics as a means of advancing the interests of the church; but he was and has remained far from acquiescing in the robbing of the church of the patrimony of Peter.

Leo's attitude toward non-Catholic forms of Christianity was no more conciliatory that of Pius IX. His sentiments, expressed some years before his elevation to the papacy, remained unchanged: Protestantism is "a pest, the most pestilential heresy, a perverse, opportunist system arising from pride and godlessness." In his second Encyclical he declared Protestantism to be the mother of that "death-bringing pest," socialism. Referring to the evangelical schools that had been established in Rome, he spoke of the shamelessness with which, under the very eyes of the pope, schools were erected in which "tender children have horrible errors thrust down their throats," and from which the most immoral and injurious influences proceed. He adopted as his own (in his first Encyclical) the denunciations of evangelical Christianity and of modern modes of thought contained in the Encyclical and Syllabus of Pius IX. and fully sympathized with the Mariolatry fostered by his predecessor. He spoke of Mary as "the immaculate queen of heaven" and of Joseph as "the heavenly patron of the church."

Equally significant of his agreement with Pius in his hostility to Protestantism and to modern science, philosophy, and institutions, was his third Encyclical (1879), in which he recommended the study of Thomas Aquinas as the foundation of all studies in schools and seminaries

and as the supreme authority in matters of science, philosophy, and theology. The result was that the works of the great mediæval divine have become a text-book in the schools of the Jesuits and in Roman Catholic schools in general.

As the excesses of the French Revolution, while they brought immediate calamity to the Roman Catholic Church, wrought mightily for its rehabilitation and the increase of its influence, and furnished an occasion for the restoration of the Jesuits to their place as the power behind the papal throne; as the revolutionary proceedings of 1830 and 1848 had enabled the papacy to gain further favor as the enemy of revolution and the champion of law and order; so the rapid growth of socialism, anarchism, communism, nihilism, and the excesses that have been committed by these enemies of current forms of government have ministered to the advancement of papal interests during the past twenty-five years.

Roman Catholicism has greatly profited also in recent times by the wide diffusion of rationalistic modes of thought in Germany, France, the Netherlands, the United States, etc.

Having a thoroughly wrought-out and self-consistent policy; claiming to have apostolic succession, to be the sole depository of the truth, the authoritative interpreter of Scripture, and the one stable and unerring guide of consciences; pointing to the utter uncertainty and confusion that have resulted from the exercise of the right of private judgment in the non-Catholic world, the multiplicity of contending sects, the conflicts of opinion in individual sects, the disputes about the authority and the interpretation of the Scriptures; and confidently attributing popular infidelity, philosophical error, and all perverse social theories and practices to the rejection of the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, Roman Catholics invite all who are weary of endless strife, confusion, and uncertainty to come to mother church and find the rest that their souls long for.

Being utterly unscrupulous in their statements and interpretations of history, they seek to make it appear that the Roman Catholic Church has ever been the promoter of true civil and religious liberty, of which its

opponents have been the enemies, claiming for the hierarchical church all the beneficent features of history, and ascribing to the enemies of the church all the evils. It is needless to say that many earnest souls have been ensnared by the subtleties of such Roman Catholic sophistry.

The Roman Curia is to-day on friendly terms with nearly all the governments of the world, and through skillful diplomacy is exerting a tremendous political influence and is constantly strengthening its hold. Not only has Germany gradually withdrawn all the measures adopted (1870 onward) for protection against Roman Catholic encroachment, but very recently (June, 1902) the German emperor has made a great parade of a compliment bestowed by Leo XIII. on the law-abiding quality of the German people under the present administration. The United States government, while founded on the principle of absolute separation of Church and State, recognizes the Roman Catholic Church, negotiates with its diplomatists with respect to the ecclesiastical affairs of Porto Rico and the Philippines, and has recently sent a high official to confer with the pope himself with respect to the property of the friars in its new possessions.

II. CONTROVERSIES AND MOVEMENTS INSIDE THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

1. *The Jansenist Controversy.*

LITERATURE: Jansen, "*Augustinus seu Doctrina St. Augustini de Humanæ Naturæ Sanitate, Ægritudine, Medicina adv. Pelagianos et Massilienses*," 1640; works of St. Cyran, Arnauld, Pascal, Quesnel, and other Jansenists; Sainte-Beuve, "Port Royal," 1840–1860; Reuchlin, "*Gesch. von Port Royal*," 1839–1844; Bouvier, "*Etude Critique sur le Jansenisme*," 1864; Leydecker, *Historia Jansenismi*," 1695; Vandenpeerenboom, "*Cornelius Jansenius*," 1882; Beard, "Port Royal," 1860, 1861; Schimmelpennick, "Select Memoirs of Port Royal," 1835; Tregelles, "The Jansenists," 1851; Neale, "History of the So-called Jansenist Church in Holland," 1858; Fuzet, "*Les Jansenistes du XVII^e^ Siècle*," 1877; "Princeton Review," 1856, on Jansen and Quesnel; Stephen, "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography," art. "The Port Royalists"; Hunt, "Contemporary Essays," art. "The Jansenists" and "The Old Catholic Church of Utrecht"; art. "The Later Jansenists" in "Quarterly Review," July, 1891; W. R. Williams, "Miscellanies"; art. on Jansen, Jansenism, Port Royal, Duvergier, Arnauld, Pascal, Quesnel, and

other Jansenist leaders, in Hauck-Herzog, Wetzer und Welte, Lichtenberger, and McClintock and Strong; on the Jansenist bishoprics of Holland, see art. in Hauck-Herzog, ed. 3, *Bd.* VIII., *Seit.* 599–606, by Gerth von Wijk.

(1) *Rise of the Controversy.* It has been remarked in an earlier chapter that while Augustine was canonized and continued to be held in high honor, his teachings at an early date lost their hold upon ecclesiastical thought. They made a profound impression on the minds of Dominican thinkers like Thomas Aquinas in the Middle Ages; but they were so completely stripped of their evangelical significance and their power in the alembic of scholasticism that they were scarcely recognizable. It is well known that the writings of Augustine were studied with diligence and good effect by members of the Augustinian Order, Brethren of the Common Life, and evangelical mystics, for some time before the Protestant Revolution, and that Luther and Calvin alike were deeply indebted to the great bishop of Hippo for their doctrinal systems. The Dominicans of the Reformation time were still stanch defenders of Augustinianism and abhorred Pelagianism. The doctrinal canons of the Council of Trent, while they sharply combat the Augustinianism of Luther and Calvin, are very careful to avoid Pelagian or even semi-Pelagian forms of expression, and might with propriety be designated as semi-Augustinian. The Jesuits joined hands with the Franciscans (Scotists) at the council and afterward in seeking to minimize the Augustinian element in the canons and in interpreting the canons in a semi-Pelagian sense. Bajus, professor at Louvain, taught what has been designated a "Pauline-Augustinian theology" in opposition to the then widely prevalent semi-Pelagianism of the Franciscans and Jesuits, who, in turn, secured the condemnation of seventy-six articles drawn from his writings (1567 and 1579). In 1588 the Jesuit Molina, under the pretext of making an effort to harmonize Augustinianism and Pelagianism, set forth views that were far more than half Pelagian and were hardly distinguishable from Pelagianism pure and simple. This type of semi-Pelagianism spread rapidly among the Jesuits and outside their ranks, but was bitterly assailed by the Do-

minicans. To allay the controversy, Clement VIII. summoned a body of theologians (1597) to determine accurately the relation of grace to conversion; ten years later the "congregation" was dismissed by his successor without having reached a decision and the matter was deferred to "a more opportune time."

Cornelius Jansen, born in North Holland (1585), was educated at the University of Louvain, where the Augustinianism of Bajus was still remembered, and in common with his brilliant fellow-student, Duvergier (St. Cyran), conceived an intense hatred for Aristotle and the scholastic theology and an enthusiastic admiration for Plato and Augustine. He is said to have read the anti-Pelagian writings of Augustine thirty times and the rest of his works ten times, and he reached the conviction that, while the great theologian made some mistakes during his earlier career as a theologian, after he became bishop he was kept by special divine grace from error and was "inspired by God's Spirit for this work of expounding the doctrines of grace, whereunto he was predestined by God's grace." He would not have esteemed it a hardship to be left alone on an island with Augustine's works and the Bible as his sole literary diet. In the Arminian controversy, which attracted attention at the time even in Catholic circles, he approved of the teachings of the Gomarists (hyper-Calvinists), while he regarded the Arminians as standing on the same doctrinal platform with the Jesuits. Though he had incurred the hostility of the Jesuits he was appointed professor of biblical literature in the University of Louvain (1630) and in reward for his sharp polemics against Louis XIII. of France and his minister, the Cardinal Richelieu, who were at that time joining forces with the Protestants of Germany and the Netherlands against Spain and Austria, he was appointed bishop of Ypres (1636). Two years later he died (1638) leaving ready for publication his "*Augustinus*," in which he had very carefully arranged the teachings of Augustine bearing on the original, fallen, and regenerated states of man, with special reference to the Pelagian teachings of the Molinists. It included a historical account of the development of semi-Pelagianism in the Roman Catholic

Church. The work was published by his friends two years later (1640). After the historical introduction, the author proceeds to discuss the foundations and the sources of authority in theological matters. He carefully points out the limitations of human reason, repudiates human philosophy as a source of error and confusion, lays much stress on tradition which he supposes Augustine to have gathered up in its most authentic form, and gives little place to Scripture authority, except so far as it is included in tradition (the Scriptures being themselves truths and facts handed down by tradition). In this and in other respects Jansen showed himself radically opposed to Protestantism and to old-evangelicalism alike.

His anthropological teachings (Vol. II.) are Augustinian (Calvinistic). He insists that man and angels were created free from any germ of evil, but with positive holiness, freedom of will, and divine grace, this last being inherent in his nature and not superadded. Every good deed of Adam, as well as his fall, was absolutely free. He is most careful to fix the responsibility of the fall on man himself, and to exclude the possibility that it grew out of defective equipment. Hereditary sin is not a mere imputation of guilt, but is a self-propagating evil un-nature, the flesh contaminated by concupiscence contaminating also the soul; and so our inmost will and our hearts' own desires are in captivity to sin. "Manichæism and Pelagianism place concupiscence before sin, Augustine, after sin." In his fallen state, man has freedom to withhold himself from individual evil acts, but not from sinning. Yet he insisted that inasmuch as man in sinning gives his will up to evil he is responsible and guilty. "For acquiring merit and demerit in the state of fallen nature there is not requisite freedom from all necessity, but freedom from all constraint, *i. e.*, from violence and natural necessity, suffices."

In Vol. III. he treats of the grace of Christ, which he exalts as highly as any evangelical could wish. Every good impulse is divine grace. Grace is not mere revelation, it is "medicinal aid." Divine grace is "actual," irresistibly conquering, and reaching its end. In the Christian life the individual acts and the entire course of

life are matters of divine grace. Yet man is not a dead instrument, but God's grace works through his will.

The Jesuits tried to prevent the publication of the "*Augustinus*" and induced the pope to censure it (in the Bull *In eminenti*, 1642). But the pope deprecated controversy, and the universities, bishops, and provincial authorities were able for some years to prevent the publication of the Bull in the Spanish Netherlands. The Jesuits were feared and hated in the Netherlands and every effort was being made at this time to prevent them from gaining the ascendency. The condemnation of the "*Augustinus*" meant a Jesuit triumph; hence the great interest that was manifested in the fate of this work.

St. Cyran died (October, 1643,) and Dr. Anton Arnauld, who had been won to the support of Augustinianism by St. Cyran and had just become a member of the Sorbonne (he was the twentieth child of the famous jurist of the same name, who had been a member of the parliament of Paris, and was born in 1612), was now the most influential leader of the party. He published in 1643 a treatise on "Frequent Communion," which was permeated with Jansenistic Augustinianism and was aimed against the laxity of the Jesuits in admitting the grossest sinners without proper penance to communion on the supposition that participation was a means of grace even for such. This work, written in the most devout spirit by a man of remarkable ability, produced a profound impression on the religious life of France and the Netherlands and greatly increased the sentiment against the Jesuits.

(2) *Port Royal*. One of the most famous nunneries in France at the beginning of the seventeenth century was that of Port Royal. It was founded in 1204, belonged to the Cistercian Order, and had received from the pope many privileges and immunities, among them that of celebrating the Supper in times of interdict and that of furnishing a place of retirement for those who wished to withdraw from the world for religious exercises without assuming monastic vows. In 1692 Jacqueline (as Mère Angélique), daughter of the famous jurist Anton Arnauld and sister of the great Jansenist leader of the same

name, when only eleven years old, became abbess. Six years later (1608) she had a deep religious experience, and from this time onward carried on the work of the institution with such enthusiasm as to attract a large number of devout and highly educated men and women, among them several of her own brothers and sisters. The work of the institution was at this time transferred from the country to Paris. St. Francis de Sales, a devout ascetic and mystic, had been the spiritual adviser of the Mère Angélique. He was succeeded (1623) by Bishop Zamet of Langres. A devotional (ascetical) book by Agnes Arnauld (1633) was condemned by the Sorbonne and defended by Zamet and St. Cyran. Likemindedness in this matter led Zamet to introduce St. Cyran to Port Royal and his burning zeal and his wonderful spiritual power so increased the number of nuns that the work had to be transferred again to the country (Port Royal des Champs). Attracted by St. Cyran and by the enthusiastic mystical piety of the nunnery, a number of devout and highly educated men, most of them belonging to the nobility and gentry, established themselves as recluses, first in the court-yard of the Paris institution and afterward in the partially demolished buildings in the country seat of the nunnery. Without taking vows, they lived lives of devout ascetics, occupying themselves with religious exercises, study, writing, and the instruction of youth. The first of the Port Royal brethren were Le Maitre and De Sericourt, sons of a sister of Mère Angélique, who herself became a member of the nunnery on the death of her husband (1644). These with d'Andilly and De Saçi, their brothers, were among the bright and shining lights of the community. Among other distinguished members were Palla, the physician, Lancelot, Fontaine, and the Duc de Luynes. At a later date Antoine Arnauld and Blaise Pascal added the lustre of their great names to this brilliant community. Among the later celebrities of the community may be mentioned Nicole, the apologist, Tillemont, the historian, Quesnel, the expositor, and Racine, the poet.

(3) *Papal Condemnation of the Five Alleged Propositions from the "Augustinus."* As early as 1642 one Habert had in Notre Dame, Paris, denounced the followers of Jan-

sen as vipers "that mangle their mother's bosom." Arnauld published "An Apology for Jansen" (1644), which was answered by Habert, and a rejoinder to Habert's reiterated charges. The king, supported by the Archbishop of Paris and the papal nuncio, had required the University of Paris to accept and publish the papal censure of 1642. This the Sorbonne peremptorily refused to do (January, 1644). By 1649 Jesuit influence had so far prevailed in the university that Nicholas Cornet, syndic of the theological faculty, brought forward seven propositions on grace, embodying in a somewhat distorted form the views of Jansen without mentioning his name. He professed not to know whether the propositions were orthodox or heterodox and arranged for their reference to a commission. Against this proceeding sixty Augustinian doctors protested in vain. The commission which was about to condemn the propositions and refer the matter to the pope was broken up by a dispute between two high officials for precedence, and the Jansenist part sought to secure the intervention of the parliament to prevent the reference of the propositions to the pope.

The king and a number of bishops requested the pope to decide as to the orthodoxy of the propositions. In May, 1653, a papal decision came forth condemning as heretical the following five propositions:

1. There are some commandments of God which the just, although willing and anxious to obey them, are unable with the strength they have to fulfill, and the grace by which they might fulfill them is also wanting to them. 2. In the state of fallen nature, inward grace is never resisted. 3. In the fallen state, merit and demerit do not depend on a liberty which excludes necessity, but on a liberty which excludes constraint. 4. The Semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of an inward prevenient grace for the performance of each particular act, and also for the first act of faith, and yet were heretical, since they maintained that this grace was of such a nature that the will of man was able either to resist or obey it. 5. It is Semi-Pelagian to say that Christ died, or shed his blood, for all men without exception.

The pope was glad of this opportunity to assert his authority in France because of the prevailing Gallicanism among the prelates and in the royal court. As Cardinal Retz, who had been supported by the pope, was in prison because of his complicity in the Fronde move-

ment against the government, and it seemed desirable to Cardinal Mazarin, the chief minister of the crown, to show as much regard as possible to the papal Bull, he had the young king issue a proclamation requiring all the bishops of France to receive and publish this condemnation of the "Five Propositions" as heretical in Jansen's sense and as extracted from Jansen's "*Augustinus*."

(4) *Jansenist Resistance and Defense.* Many of the Jansenists declared themselves ready to condemn the articles in their heretical sense, but not as teachings of Jansen. They persistently denied that these articles were to be found in the "*Augustinus*," or that their doctrine was that of Jansen. It is true that the articles are not found in the exact form in which they are condemned in Jansen's work, but their teaching does not seem to differ materially from that of the "*Augustinus*." Arnauld's defense of the principles of the Jansenists and his justification of their refusal to profess belief that the articles in the sense in which they were condemned were from the "*Augustinus*" or to do more than promise a respectful silence regarding the matters in dispute, led to his expulsion from the Sorbonne (January, 1656). Eighty doctors who refused to vote for his expulsion shared his fate. Blaise Pascal, one of the greatest thinkers of his age, had cast in his lot with the Port Royalists, and in his "Letters to a Provincial" (1656 onward), held up to ridicule by an almost unequaled combination of learning, intellectual acuteness, and sarcasm, the Dominicans for professing to be Augustinian in theology and yet joining in the persecution of the Jansenists and the Jesuits for their shockingly immoral teachings and practices. These writings had an extensive circulation and did effective service.

The alleged miraculous healing of a chronic, distressing, and apparently incurable eye trouble in the case of Marguerite Perier, a niece of Pascal (1656), greatly increased the religious enthusiasm of the ascetics of Port Royal, but did not tend to alleviate the persecuting measures that were being launched against them.

(5) *Sharpening of Persecuting Measures.* Urged by the Jesuits and by a majority of the French clergy, who were unsympathetic with the rigorous Calvinism and

the ascetical piety of the Jansenists, Alexander VII., a year after his election (1656), repeated the condemnation of the five articles as being utterances of Jansen and laid increased emphasis on the acceptance of the fact as to Jansen's authorship. The articles, moreover, must be accepted as condemned in Jansen's sense. The French government required all ecclesiastics to sign a most comprehensive and unequivocal acceptance of the papal statement of fact and of the condemnation of the articles within one month of the date of the order. The king decided to require nuns as well as clergy and monks to make the required declaration. The chief end in view was to bring the sisters of Port Royal under condemnation. Mazarin, who was weary of the controversy and reluctant to enter upon exterminating measures against the Jansenists desired by pope, Jesuits, king, and many prelates, kept the matter in abeyance until his death (March, 1661). The young king was now free to do the bidding of his Jesuit confessors. He ordered every bishop to require clergy, monks, nuns, and schoolmasters to sign the declaration regarding the "Five Propositions." Many of the leading Jansenists went into retirement. Those who were apprehended were thrown into prison. De Saçi, one of the ablest and most zealous of the Port Royalists, was sent to the Bastille. The sisters of Port Royal were imprisoned and otherwise cruelly treated. Many of the bishops were Augustinian in their views and sought, in conforming to the papal and royal requirements, to save themselves from condemning the Augustinian truth contained in the five articles. Four would only promise a respectful silence on the matter in dispute. A commission was appointed by the pope, at the request of the king, to try the four bishops. On the death of Alexander VII. and the succession of Clement IX., nineteen French bishops petitioned the new pope on behalf of the four and protested to the king against the invasion of the liberties of the church involved in the proceedings that had been instituted against them. In September, 1668, Clement withdrew the requirement of a declaration that the condemned articles were those of Jansen in their heretical sense and advised that reconciliation with the four bishops be effected. There was a temporary

cessation of persecuting measures and the principles of the Jansenists were rapidly diffused.

It was a matter of surprise and chagrin to Louis XIV. that in his controversy with the pope regarding royal and papal prerogatives, Arnauld and some of the Jansenist bishops supported the papal contention. He was informed, furthermore, that Arnauld and Nicole had furnished material for the sixty-five lax moral propositions of the Jesuits that the pope had been induced to condemn (1679). This he regarded as a personal affront, for he had been availing himself freely of the benignant ethical principles of his confessors. Arnauld fled to the Netherlands, where, to the end of his life (1694), his literary labors on behalf of reformed Roman Catholicism were abundant and effective.

(6) *The Overthrow of the Jansenists in France.* In 1701 a controversy among the Jansenists themselves as to whether a Jansenist could, with a good conscience, subscribe the formulary against the "Five Propositions" and so retain his office, while rejecting the papal decision regarding the Jansenian authorship of the articles in their heretical sense, led Louis XIV., who had long earnestly desired the destruction of the Jansenist party and had been sorely disappointed because of the miscarriage of earlier measures, to seek and secure from Pope Clement XI. a more effective measure. The pope now issued a Bull (*Vineam Domini*, July, 1705), requiring the unconditional condemnation with mouth and heart of the "Five Propositions" as, in their heretical sense, the statements of Jansen. This led to a complete breaking up of the Port Royal establishment (1709–1710) and to a general persecution of Jansenists.

Noailles, Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris, had sought to save the Port Royal sisters from their fate by inducing them to profess a "human faith" in the pope's declaration regarding the articles. He had also encouraged the use of Quesnel's annotated New Testament. The pope, at the instance of the king and the Jesuits, forbade the reading of Quesnel's New Testament. Noailles sought to secure a delay in the execution of the Bull *Vineam Domini* and showed his strong Jansenist sympathies by withdrawing from most of the Jesuits the right to hear

confessions in his diocese. The Roman Curia was led by the controversy regarding Quesnel's New Testament to condemn the Jansenist doctrine that laymen, and even women, have the right and are under obligation to edify themselves and to instruct others through the reading of the Holy Scriptures. In 1713 the pope condemned (Bull *Unigenitus*) one hundred and one propositions from Quesnel's New Testament as heretical. The following are samples:

"The grace of Jesus Christ is necessary to all good works; without it nothing (truly good) can happen." "No grace is imparted otherwise than through faith." "Outside the church no grace is bestowed." "Faith justifies when it works, but it works only through love."

The aged king insisted upon the immediate carrying into effect of this anti-Jansenist measure. Noailles, while he consented to abandon his support of Quesnel's New Testament, wished to delay the attempt to suppress its use until further explanations could be procured from the pope. The Sorbonne was divided in opinion and several distinguished professors of theology were driven from their positions.

(7) *"Appellants" and "Acceptants."* The death of Louis XIV. and the succession to the regency of the Duke of Orleans, who regarded both sides of the controversy as mere foolishness and was indifferent to religious matters, prevented the full execution of the measures contemplated against Jansenism and encouraged a freedom of expression regarding the points at issue that had been for some time impracticable. Those who had been banished for sympathy with Jansenism now returned. The Sorbonne refused to accept the Bull condemning the propositions from Quesnel's New Testament. Papal threats proved unavailing and several bishops, who had earlier accepted the Bull, now joined with the minority in demanding of the pope further explanations. In 1717 a number of bishops appealed from the pope to a future general council, declaring the Bull subversive of Catholic doctrinal and ethical teaching. Noailles and a large number of bishops, as well as several theological Faculties (including that of Paris) and a considerable proportion

of the secular and the monastic clergy, arrayed themselves as "Appellants" against the pope and the "Acceptants." A polemical writing by the Archbishop of Rheims, leader of the "Acceptants," was burnt by the public executioner by order of the Parliament, but the pope gave him soon after a cardinal's hat.

In 1720 the government prohibited further discussion on the matters in dispute. The Bishop of Senez was deposed for expressing approval of Quesnel's New Testament and his chief prosecutor was made cardinal (1727). Appellant Benedictines and Carthusians took refuge in Utrecht, whose archbishop had already severed his diocese from Rome. The Oratorians in convention (1727), refused to accept the papal Bull and suffered severe persecution.

(8) *The Convulsionaires of St. Médard.* Francis of Paris, a Jansenist ascetic, died, it was said, with his appeal against the papal Bull in his hand. His grave in the churchyard of St. Médard, in Paris, became the resort of multitudes of Jansenists rendered fanatical by persecution and all sorts of miracles were supposed to be wrought there. The king had the churchyard walled up and guarded by soldiers (1732). This only increased the fanaticism. The maddened people went into strange convulsions. While in this state ignorant people, and even young children, are said to have delivered the most exalted religious discourses and to have become so immune from pain and bodily injury that they could submit to being pounded with sledges against stone walls until the walls would crumble, lie with iron spikes under their backs and have heavy weights dropped upon their stomachs, and even suffer crucifixion, without pain or permanent harm. These "succors," as the poundings, crucifixions, etc., were called, were begged for by the subjects and seemed to relieve the fearful tension of their nervous systems. It is possible that contemporary descriptions of these phenomena are considerably exaggerated, but the main facts seem well attested. From this time onward the Jansenist movement dwindled in France.

(9) *The Jansenists of Holland.* As Jansenism originated in the Netherlands, so it found there its most abiding dwelling-place. In 1702 Peter Codde, vicar of

the Utrecht chapter, while spending some time in Rome, became suspected of Jansenist heresy. He was detained for some months in the papal capital and his position was filled by De Cock, a Jesuit. The chapter refused to recognize De Cock and the government of Holland deposed and banished him. In 1703 Codde returned to Utrecht and led in the movement for independence from the Roman See. The Utrecht clergy were outraged by the Bull *Unigenitus* against Quesnel's New Testament. In 1723 the Utrecht chapter chose Cornelis Steenoven archbishop, having previously made arrangements with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Babylon, who had spent some time in Holland and sympathized with the Jansenists, for his ordination. Partly to make sure of the perpetuation of their apostolic succession and partly to extend their influence, the Dutch Jansenists constituted two bishoprics, Haarlem (1742) and Deventer (1758). These have survived to the present time and have at present an aggregate membership of about eight thousand. It was from the Jansenist Bishop of Deventer that the Old Catholics received their ordination in 1873.

(10) *Characteristics of the Jansenists.* From what has already appeared it is evident: *a.* That Jansenism was an attempt, on the basis of Augustinian doctrine, to reform the Roman Catholic Church from within. *b.* That, while its doctrinal system had much in common with Calvinism, the spirit of the movement was fundamentally antagonistic to evangelical Christianity. The Jansenists were as bitterly opposed as the Jesuits to the Huguenots of France, and were willing to make capital of their intolerance toward these persecuted people. *c.* That it was a protest against Jesuitical Pelagianism and casuistry, with the laxity of religious practice and of morals practised and fostered by the Jesuits. *d.* That the type of religious life represented was the ascetical, enthusiastic mysticism of the mediæval time. *e.* That owing to circumstances it made common cause with Gallicanism in its protest against papal measures that were distasteful, and asserted the right of private judgment over against the requirement of blind obedience to ecclesiastical and royal authority. *f.* That it did not have in it the elements of true church reformation.

2. *The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.*

LITERATURE: Baird, "The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," 2 vols., 1895. This masterly work meets every requirement of the student. Special phases of the subject may be further traced out with the help of the references given by Baird.

(1) *Attitude of the French Government and the Roman Curia toward the Huguenots at the Beginning of the Present Period.* The Edict of Nantes, granted to his Protestant subjects who had placed him on the throne and whose fellowship he for political reasons had abandoned, by Henry IV., has been fittingly called "the great charter of the Protestant liberties," and declares itself to be "perpetual and irrevocable." The edict did not put Protestantism on a parity with Roman Catholicism, but constituted it a religion tolerated and with well-defined restrictions. In many portions of France the Huguenots were in the ascendency and were in a position to exercise a controlling influence in local affairs. In many others, while they were numerically inferior to the Catholics, their superior intelligence, force of character, wealth, etc., gave them the leadership. Forty-eight cities of refuge, garrisoned by Huguenot troops at the government's expense, had been given them as a guarantee against the well-known persecuting fury of the State religion. A hundred other cities were also virtually under their control. The cities of refuge had been granted by the edict for only eight years, but the time had been afterward extended. The Huguenots were in a position at the beginning of the seventeenth century to put in the field an army of fifty thousand men, and their naval strength was superior to that of the king. They had the privilege of keeping two deputies-general at the royal court to look after the faithful observance of the edict and to safeguard the rights of their brethren. Their religious assemblies, including the national synods, and even their political assemblies, were tolerated. In fact, we have in the great Huguenot body, under the Edict of Nantes, a State within a State. Yet it is remarkable, that side by side with the strenuousness and vigilance of the Huguenots in preserving intact the rights that they enjoyed under the edict, they were among the foremost

in their recognition of the absolute authority of the crown outside of the sphere guarded by the edict, and did much to encourage the growing feeling of irresponsible autocracy that culminated in the claim of Louis XIV. to be himself the State. The French government, under Marie de Medici, Louis XIII., Anne of Austria, and Louis XIV., with Richelieu and Mazarin as chief ministers, was bitterly hostile to the Huguenots and lamented the necessity of allowing them any privileges. The French Catholic clergy, instigated by the Jesuits, did everything in their power to keep alive the hatred and suspicion of the Catholic population and of the court against these enemies of the papacy. The Roman Curia regarded the Edict of Nantes as a calamity, and lost no opportunity for bringing pressure to bear in favor of its abrogation. While each ruler, almost to the time of the revocation of the edict (1685), had been prevailed upon to confirm the arrangement, it soon came to be well understood that they were doing it under protest, and their insistence on insulting the Huguenots by designating them in public documents "the pretended reformed religion," was a perpetual source of irritation.

It will not be practicable here to give a detailed account of the grievances that led to the first Huguenot war (1620), which resulted in a considerable weakening but by no means a complete overthrow of the military power of the Huguenots; of the second Huguenot war (1625) and the peace (1626) on terms more favorable to the Huguenots than would have been possible had it not been for an alliance that had been formed between France, England, the Netherlands, Venice, and Savoy, and the insistence of the foreign powers upon the pacification of France and the continued toleration of the Huguenots; or of the third Huguenot war (1626–1629) that resulted in the fall of La Rochelle, their most important remaining stronghold, and a still further weakening of their power to defend themselves, but not in the revocation of the edict.

Under Richelieu (1629–1643), and Mazarin (1643–1660), France was too much absorbed in foreign wars to carry on to completion the work of religious unification that Bourbon absoluteness and Roman Catholic bigotry

demanded. These have been called halcyon days for the Huguenots. While they had much to suffer at the hands of the government and the hierarchy, they made wonderful progress in many ways. They came to be the chief capitalists and directors of manufacturing and commercial enterprise. The learned professions came more and more under their control. Their schools and colleges greatly flourished. Their pulpit almost equaled in eloquence and greatly surpassed in spiritual power that of the Established Church at its best under Louis XIV. Their great temples were thronged with eager hearers. In the Fronde uprising against the government, supported by the Cardinal of Retz and the pope, the Huguenots stood by the government of Louis XIV. and received therefor the warm commendation of Mazarin and of Louis XIV. himself, who (1649–1650) expressed a determination to execute to the letter every edict favorable to the reformed, and to leave them unmolested in their persons and their worship. In 1652 he expressly ratified and confirmed the Edict of Nantes. In 1659 Mazarin replied in the most friendly language to the address of the last National Synod, and signed himself "Your very affectionate servant, to serve you." Mazarin made Bartholomew Hervart, a Huguenot, controller general of finances, and the treasury department became filled with Huguenots. Not only was the edict confirmed, but all other laws that had been enacted in their favor, some of which had been suspended in their operation under Louis XIII., were revived by the Declaration of St. Germain en Laye (May, 1652), while it repealed all special legislation in favor of the Roman Catholic Church. Encouraged by the tokens of royal favor the Huguenots were exultant, and no doubt in some cases went considerably beyond the prescribed limits and showed an aggressiveness in ministering to persecuted Protestants in foreign lands and in pressing every department of their home work, that alarmed the Roman Catholic authorities and made the king feel that his kingdom was unsafe with such a body of people enjoying such guaranteed privileges in its midst. In 1656 a remonstrance was presented to the king by the Archbishop of Sens on behalf of the Catholic clergy in which the privileges of the Huguenots are

exaggerated, their aggressiveness and insolence spoken of in the spirit of an alarmist, and the Catholic religion itself is represented as in danger. The Bishop of Bordeaux claimed that the royal Declaration of 1652 "ruined the greatness of the church and tended to her destruction." The triumph of Puritanism in Great Britain under Cromwell greatly alarmed the Catholics of France, while the death of Cromwell (1658) and the reactionary spirit that was soon manifest encouraged the government of Louis XIV. to enter upon vigorous repressive measures.

(2) *Repressive Measures (1659 onward).* In the University (*Académie*) of Montauban, a great Huguenot center, the government had compelled the Huguenots to give up a portion of the building for use as a Jesuit college. In 1659 the Jesuits erected a platform in the courtyard for the performance of a play. The Huguenot students demolished it and came into sharp collision with the Catholic students. One of the Huguenot students for the ministry was arrested and locked up in the castle. The Huguenot students rashly broke down the castle door and rescued their fellow. This was the beginning of the Huguenots' woes. Complaint was made by the bishop to the court and the transactions were presented in the most unfavorable light. The institution of learning was taken away from the Huguenots and soon came into the hands of the Jesuits. A public meeting of the Protestant citizens remonstrated against this act of spoliation and requested to be allowed to present the facts correctly for the consideration of the government. Those who took part in the meeting were charged with sedition and an army was quartered upon the city. Of those who had been at all active in the protest some were sentenced to death, some to the galleys, and others to banishment. Most of those on whom the heavier penalties fell were able to escape. Only two were executed at this time. Some were led by the persecution to renounce their faith. The most important Huguenot church buildings were appropriated by the Catholics, and the evangelical cause was brought to ruin.

At the National Synod of 1659 the king's commissioner announced that it was the purpose of the king to allow no more assemblies of this kind. Daillé made a noble

defense of his constituency and encouraged his brethren to steadfastness. The nominations sent to the king for the office of deputy general of the Huguenots was ignored by the government and the position left unfilled. The years 1660–1685 were a time of terrible and increasing sufferings for the Huguenots. Deprivation of churches and colleges, exclusion from public offices, ruinous fines, torture, imprisonment, condemnation to the galleys, forcible separation of Huguenot children from their parents to be educated as Catholics, the dragonnades (the quartering of soldiers on Huguenot families with permission to treat the householders as slaves, and worse, with the understanding that relief could come only from their acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith)—all these things were endured. The wealthy classes were able to leave the country with a considerable part of their means and their business skill. When it was seen that vast numbers were emigrating and that the country was being thereby impoverished, every effort was made to prevent escape by sea and land, and many were seized and returned for fearful punishment. Up to 1685 the persecutions were based ostensibly not on the mere fact of being Protestants, but on supposed violations of the laws or contempt for royal authority. It was easy for their Roman Catholic enemies to trump up specific charges against individuals or communities that had in some way or other treated the established religion or its votaries with disrespect or violated some royal mandate. Entire communities often suffered for the offenses of a few (as at Montauban). But long before the final step was taken, which meant the extermination of the body, the persecution had become well-nigh universal and the provisions of the edict were almost completely ignored. There are in all history few more harrowing narratives than that of the sufferings of the Huguenots during these years.

(3) *The Act of Revocation.* By 1685 a very large number of Huguenots had yielded to the persecuting measures and had professed conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Many of their churches and schools had been broken up. Powerful influences were brought to bear upon Louis by the prelates, the Jesuits, and, prob-

ably, by Madame de Maintenon, who had abandoned the evangelical faith and become first a mistress of the king and then queen (*c.* 1684), to complete the work of destruction that had already gone so far by revoking the Edict of Nantes and putting all non-Catholic Christians under the ban. According to his own statement in his preamble to the Revocation, the fact that after many years of war peace had been made (1684) and the fact that "the better and greater part of our subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion had embraced the Catholic," are given as the motives of his present procedure. As the Huguenots must have numbered at the beginning of the persecutions between a million and a million and a half, and as only fifty thousand conversions had been reported to him,[1] Louis' statement about conversions can hardly be credited.

By a "perpetual and irrevocable edict," Louis XIV. (October, 1685) suppressed and revoked the Edict of Nantes and its accompanying secret articles and letters-patent, together with subsequent laws and grants in favor of the Protestants, and he ordered the immediate demolition of all Protestant temples within his dominions. He next forbade all gatherings for religious services on the part of the Protestants. Noblemen are specially forbidden to hold religious services in their houses or upon their lands. The penalty in these cases is to be confiscation of body and of goods. Protestant ministers are enjoined to leave France within fifteen days and meantime neither to preach nor perform any ministerial function, the penalty being the galleys. If, on the other hand, they become Catholics, they shall enjoy all the privileges and immunities they have hitherto enjoyed and have a third added to their salaries, one half of which shall be continued to their widows in case of death. Special encouragement is given to them to enter the legal profession. Protestant private schools are to be abolished. Children born of Protestant parents are to be baptized by the parish priests and brought up as Catholics. A rigorous prohibition is placed on emigration or the exporting of goods and chattels, the penalty

[1] See letter to James II. of England, quoted by Baird, Vol. II., p. 27.

being for men, galley service; for women, confiscation of body and goods. The document closes: "As for the rest, the said adherents of the Pretended Reformed Religion, while awaiting the time when it may please God to enlighten them as he has enlightened the others, shall be permitted to dwell in the towns and places of the kingdom and regions and lands subject to us, and therein to prosecute their trades and enjoy their property, without let or hindrance on account of their religion, upon the condition, as aforesaid, that they do not hold services nor assemble under pretext of prayers or worship of any kind of the said religion, under penalties above prescribed of confiscation of body and of goods."

The pretended toleration of quiet Huguenots who would refrain from any public manifestation of their religious convictions was deceptive and proved of no avail. The execution of the Edict of Revocation was entered upon at once and carried through to the bitter end with the utmost rigor. Methods that had been applied in particular communities and in the case of particular persons were now generally employed. The galleys became filled with Huguenot slaves, many of them educated ministers of the gospel. The prisons were filled to overflowing. Large numbers were tortured and put to death. The dragonnades were continued with increased barbarity. Multitudes escaped beyond the borders notwithstanding the efforts to guard the avenues of flight. According to the most careful estimates from three hundred to four hundred thousand Huguenots left France shortly before or shortly after the Revocation. Of these, about one hundred thousand found homes in Holland, one hundred thousand in England, Ireland, and America, twenty-five thousand in Switzerland, and seventy-five thousand in Germany. The number destroyed in France cannot be accurately estimated, but, including these who died in prisons and in the galleys, must have been very great. Hundreds of thousands became nominally Catholic and drifted into infidelity, being relatively weak in moral strength and religious conviction and deprived of spiritual nutriment.

(4) *Results of the Revocation.* *a.* It destroyed a vast number of the most conscientious, enterprising, industrious, and intelligent citizens—the wealth-producers of

the nation. *b.* It drove into exile a vastly greater number of the very ablest, wealthiest, most enterprising, and most religious members of the commonwealth, thereby depriving France of a large amount of capital, enterprise, skill in manufacturing and in commerce, and of professional learning and experience, and at the same time and in equal measure enriching the nations that received them and raising up competitors in lines of manufactures and commerce in which France had held the supremacy. *c.* As already suggested, hundreds of thousands, including many of the wealthy and of the educated, were led to violate their consciences and outwardly to conform to a religion that their souls abominated, to become, themselves and their descendants, skeptics and infidels. Much of the freethinking that preceded the French Revolution can be traced back to Huguenot antecedents. *d.* By permitting the French Catholics to triumph by cruelty at a time when spiritual life was at the lowest ebb and shameless immorality everywhere prevailed among the clergy from the highest to the lowest, the arrogance, oppressiveness, and intolerance of the church were so increased as to make the utter revolt of the French people against the Christian religion during the Revolution easily intelligible. *e.* Being a triumph of arbitrary monarchical power over the principles of civil and religious liberty, it encouraged the government to continue to disregard the rights and wishes of the people, to squander the people's money and lives in unprofitable warfare, in the maintenance of a luxurious court, and in the enrichment of favorites, until at last, stimulated by the revolutionary views of the skeptical philosophers and economists referred to and by the example of the American colonists, they rose with volcanic suddenness and destructiveness and swept away for a time every vestige of feudalism and class privilege and the Bourbon monarchy itself.

The following statement attributed to Jules Simon, the French Roman Catholic statesman and philosopher,[1] is well worth requoting here:

> The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, without the slightest pre-

[1] Baird, Vol. II., p. 106, *seq.*

text or the least necessity, as well as the various declarations, or rather proscriptions, that followed, were the fruits of that horrible plot which depopulated a fourth part of the kingdom, ruined its trade, enfeebled it in every quarter, gave it over for so long a time to open and avowed pillage at the hands of the dragoons, and authorized those torments and sufferings by means of which they actually compassed the death of so many thousands of innocent persons of both sexes—a plot that brought ruin on so great a body of people, that tore asunder countless families, arraying relatives against relatives, for the purpose of getting possession of their goods, whereupon they left them to die of hunger—a plot that caused our manufactures to pass over to foreigners, made foreign States flourish and overflow with wealth at the expense of our own, and enabled them to build new cities—that presented to the nations the spectacle of so vast a multitude of people that had committed no crime, proscribed, naked, wandering fugitives, seeking an asylum afar from their country—that consigned the noble, the wealthy, the aged, those highly esteemed, in many cases, for their piety, their learning, their virtue, those accustomed to a life of ease, frail, delicate, to hard labor in the galleys, under the overseer's lash, and for no reason save their religion—a plot that, to crown all other horrors, filled every province in the kingdom with perjury and sacrilege; inasmuch as while the land rang with the cries of these unhappy victims of error, so many others sacrificed their consciences for their property and their ease, purchasing both by means of feigned abjurations; abjurations from which they were dragged, without a moment's interval, to adore what they did not believe in, and to receive what was really the divine body of the Most Holy One, while they still remained convinced that they were eating nothing but bread, bread indeed which they were bound to abhor. Such was the general abomination begotten of flattery and cruelty. Between torture and abjuration, between abjuration and the Communion, there was often not an interval of twenty-four hours, and their torturers were their conductors and their witnesses. Those who subsequently seemed to have made the change with greater deliberation were not slow in giving the lie to their pretended conversions by the tenor of their lives or by flight.

3. *The Banishment of the Salzburgers.*

LITERATURE: Göcking, "*Emigrationsgesch. Salzb. Lutherischen*," 1734; Dannapel, "*Die Liter. d. Salzb. Em.*," 1886; Weitbrecht, "*Die Evangel. Salzb.*," 1888; Bodemann, "*Die Evang. Salzb. und Zillerthaler*," 1889; Strobel, "The Salzburgers and their Descendants," 1855; Clarus, "*Die Ausweisung d. Prot. gesinnten Salzburger*," 1864; art. in encyclopædias.

The mountain regions of the bishopric of Salzburg in upper Austria had been during the mediæval time a dwelling-place of evangelical dissenters from the Roman Catholic Church. Waldenses and related parties had been followed by Hussites. Luther's teachings and

those of the Anabaptists found joyful acceptance there during the early years of the Reformation. Persecution suppressed the public profession of evangelical Christianity (Counter-Reformation); but during the generation preceding the Thirty Years' War, as well as during the war itself, the evangelical Salzburgers, who were now for the most part Lutherans, kept alive their faith, while outwardly conforming to the Roman Catholic Church, by reading the Bible and such writings of Luther, Urban Rhegius, and other reformers, as they possessed, and by meeting secretly for worship. In 1683 a Lutheran congregation was discovered at Tefferegenthal. The leaders were imprisoned and compelled to prepare a statement of their views. It was decreed that all Lutheran books should be burned and that all who would not renounce their faith should be banished and robbed of property and of their children. As the peace of Westphalia had provided for the peaceable emigration of those professing a different faith from their prince, with opportunity to sell immovable property and to take away movable property, Protestant Europe was indignant and an explanation was demanded. The excuse was that the persecuted were neither Lutheran nor Reformed and hence could claim no protection from the provisions of the peace.

The death of the archbishop caused a cessation of persecution before it had become exterminating. Joseph Schlaitberger, one of the ministers who had been imprisoned and had prepared a statement of the views of his party, took refuge in Nuremberg, and devoted his life largely to preparing a devotional literature for his Salzburg brethren. His hymns and devotional books no doubt caused a great revival of zeal among them, so that by 1728 more than twenty thousand were ready to confess themselves Lutherans.

The accession of Leopold Anton, Count of Firmian, to the archbishopric of Salzburg (1728) was followed by the great persecution. He expressed a determination to rid his country of heretics "even though thorns and thistles should grow upon the fields." The Salzburg Lutherans appealed to the evangelical estates at Regensburg for protection. The archbishop, under Jesuit guidance, encouraged the Lutherans to hope that a commission ap-

pointed by him (1731) after gaining all the information as to their numbers, distribution, etc., that was requisite, would recommend such measures as would remedy their grievances. The archbishop and the Lutherans themselves were astonished to find that with such encouragement more than twenty thousand were ready to declare themselves Lutheran. By this means he came into possession of the names and places of residence of the entire body of evangelicals and was in a position to carry out his exterminating measures with completeness and expedition and without tedious inquisitorial proceedings.

When the Lutherans, who had put into the hands of their persecutors all the information that was necessary to the success of their exterminating measures, saw that disaster was imminent, their leaders resolved upon the cementing of the evangelical body for life or death by a covenant. In August, 1731, about three hundred of them, representing their various communities, assembled at Schwarzach. On a round table a vessel of salt was placed. Around the table sat the elders of the congregations. The others stood around the table in a larger circle. One of the elders proposed that all should enter into a salt-covenant. All dipped their fingers in the salt and conveying them to their lips swore with the right hand lifted toward heaven that they would hold fast to the evangelical faith even unto death. As any form of resistance other than moral was out of the question, this procedure seems to have been ill-advised. It removed from their persecutors any scruple that may have remained on account of the provisions of the peace of Westphalia. By covenanting together in this solemn way to hold fast to their faith they had bidden defiance to the authorities. They decided to send a deputation to the emperor at Vienna; but these were not allowed to proceed. They then besought the evangelical princes to intervene for their deliverance.

Frederick William I., of Prussia, heartily espoused their cause and sought to induce the other evangelical rulers to join with him in threatening retaliatory measures against Roman Catholics in their dominions in case the provisions of the peace of Westphalia were not observed by the Archbishop of Salzburg in his dealings with his

evangelical subjects. Failing to secure the necessary co-operation on the part of the evangelical princes and failing to move the emperor to prohibit the measures contemplated by the archbishop, the noble Prussian king had to content himself with an offer to welcome and provide sustenance for the whole body of Salzburg evangelicals.

The salt-covenant was followed immediately by severe persecution. Soldiers were quartered on evangelical families. Evangelical meetings were strictly prohibited, and the celebration of religious rites was interdicted. The decisive blow fell October 31, 1731, when an "Emigration Patent" was published, which commanded all Protestants to leave the country on the ground of having conspired against the Catholic religion in the salt-covenant. Laborers over twelve years of age were required to leave their employment without compensation within eight days. Citizens and artisans were to lose at once their civil and guild rights and all propertied people were allowed from one to three months for selling their immovable goods and houses and required to leave the country promptly at the end of this time.

In the midst of winter, with such horses and wagons and such provisions as they could command, they set out on their long northward journey to Prussia. They went forth full of religious zeal and when they entered into Protestant territory they made known their approach to the towns and cities by singing with enthusiasm Luther's and Schlaitberger's hymns. They were everywhere treated with the utmost kindness and their journey, though full of hardship, was almost a continuous ovation. Many companies were invited to settle at places on the way, but they had been invited to Prussia and felt it their duty to put themselves under the government of their best friend. Nearly twenty thousand of them reached Prussia and a large majority settled in Lithuania. The royal treasury was heavily taxed to provide for them while they were becoming self-supporting; but the king was abundantly repaid by their contribution to the evangelical zeal and to the economic forces of the country. The king of England asked evangelical people everywhere to contribute toward the relief of the emigrants and the sum of nine hundred thou-

sand florins was collected. A small colony of them settled in Georgia, United States, and they were noted for their thrift and their evangelical character.

Hardly any religious event during the eighteenth century drew out the sympathies of the evangelical world to so great an extent or so intensified the zeal of evangelicals against the Roman Catholic Church, whose intolerance was thereby so clearly shown.

4. *The Roman Catholic Church and the French Revolution.*

LITERATURE: Sloan, "The French Revolution and Religious Reform," 1901; Pressensé, "The Church and the French Revolution"; works on the French Revolution by Thiers, Taine, Stephens, Von Sybel, Alison, Carlyle, etc.

(1) *The Religious Condition of France in 1789.* We have seen how Jansenism was prostrated during the early years of the eighteenth century; it long survived, however, as a moral force in the French Catholic Church and made its influence powerfully felt for good in the Parliament of Paris and in the provincial Parliaments, many eminent jurists being of this persuasion. The Parliament of Paris sought in many ways to put a check on royal despotism, which was becoming more and more extravagant under Jesuit influence about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1752 the Parliament by decree forbade, in opposition to the crown, the withholding of the sacraments from those who denied the authority of the papal Bull *Unigenitus* (against the Jansenists). The king responded by banishing the Parliament, but there was such a popular outcry against arbitrary royal measures that he felt obliged to recall these guardians of the people's rights. In 1756 the king sought to secure a recognition of the sovereignty of the Grand Council. Parliament promptly intervened, accurately defining the powers of the Grand Council. Shortly afterward Parliament refused to register a royal edict for new taxes and the tribunal was abolished by royal order. The king found he could not collect taxes without the approval of Parliament and restored the body three months later. The grand remonstrance of the Jansenistic Parliament could not be ignored and it was because of the dissatisfaction of the Ultramontane clergy with their attitude that

the assembling of the States General began to be agitated. The three estates were not called, however, until 1789 and they inaugurated the Revolution. The Parliament of Paris and with it the moral influence of the Jansenists, was abolished in 1771, and thereby revolution was made easier and more certain. There were in France during the second half of the eighteenth century a number of Gallicans, to be distinguished from Jansenists, who opposed Ultramontanism and royal absolutism alike, but who occupied distinctly lower moral and religious ground than did the Jansenists. The Huguenots had never been entirely exterminated. Many had remained faithful even in the cities during the darkest days. In the mountain regions of the southeast of France many heroic ministers had kept alive the torch of gospel truth among congregations that met in sequestered places, braving the persecutions that they were called on to suffer. The war of the Cevennes (1702–1710), in which the *Camisards* carried on a desperate guerilla warfare against their persecutors, proved once more how difficult it is to subdue a mountain people with strong religious convictions. The overthrow of the Cevenols as a militant power was far from putting an end to French Protestantism. "The church of the Desert" persisted with rare heroism until, through the pleas of Voltaire and others, toleration came at last in 1787. At the beginning of the French Revolution French Protestants were not only numerous but they counted among their number men of rare ability and force of character. The Jesuits who had shaped the ecclesiastical administration of Louis XIV. had become generally unpopular in France, as well as in Spain and Portugal, and had lost royal favor. Their meddlesomeness, their use of State secrets for the purposes of the society, and the disastrous results to commerce of some of their wild speculations in Martinique, led to their suppression in France in 1764. A little later Spain and Portugal followed the example of France, and the three powers brought their influence successfully to bear upon the pope for the utter abolition of the Society of Jesus.

Voltaire had not stopped short with assailing the Roman Catholic Church for its intolerance, corruption, and ruinous exploitation of the country and the people, and with

fixing upon it the stigma of infamy (*l'Infame* was the title by which he frequently described the system as it existed); but his writings tended to produce downright infidelity. Rousseau's deism, with his demand for a return to nature and the abolition of conventionalities in Church and State, influenced many minds in favor of a complete revolution of the social, political, and religious order. D'Alembert and Diderot combined with skepticism almost as pronounced as that of Voltaire ideas of social and economic reform that struck at the roots of Church and State alike as they existed in their day. These revolutionary views had profoundly influenced many thousands of educated Frenchmen, and had no doubt filtered down among the masses to the extent of making them conscious of the injustice of existing arrangements and eager to embrace any feasible opportunity for social amelioration.

It is interesting to note that the influence of French liberalism was by no means confined to France. The Emperor Joseph II. became deeply imbued with it, and with the support of a large proportion of the Austrian Catholics treated with contempt the pretensions of the pope. Frederick the Great of Prussia entertained French skeptical philosophers at his court, became himself an adept at their kind of thinking and writing, and wrote his books in the French language. The Swedish court was also dominated by French ideas. In England and America, before, during, and just after the American Revolution, French skepticism and social ideas had a wide currency among educated people, and in a coarser form became widely diffused among the people.

Voltaire's expression, "the infamous one," or "the infamous woman," does not seem to have been intended to designate the Roman Catholic Church as such, but the entire system of ecclesiastico-political exploitation and oppression that had resulted in the destruction of civil and religious liberty, the enormous enrichment of the church, the impoverishment of the masses, and the enslavement of the bodies and souls of men.

The great mass of the higher and lower clergy and the members of the monastic orders were Ultramontane in sentiment as a matter of self-interest if not as a mat-

ter of principle. The higher clergy were for the most part members of the nobility appointed as a matter of royal favoritism and with interests almost purely secular. Their incomes were princely and their lives differed little from those of the nobility. Yet many men of great learning and eloquence and of considerable spiritual power made their way into the higher ranks. The intermediate clergy, drawn largely from the monastic orders, were moderately provided for and embraced many able and learned men. The lower ranks were, for the most part, ill-endowed, ill-equipped, ill-supported, and inefficient. While the clergy as a body professed Ultramontane principles, it can hardly be doubted that large numbers of them had come under the influence of the skeptical modes of thought that so widely prevailed.

One of the most unendurable grievances of the French people and one of the causes of the abolition of the church by the revolutionists was its enormous wealth, which was being steadily and rapidly increased even when financial depression and general misery prevailed. With a priestly and monastic constituency of less than three hundred thousand (about one hundredth of the population) the church appropriated and consumed (or saved) one-fifth of the income of the country. It has been estimated that if the church had paid taxes from the beginning of the century at the same rate as did the non-privileged classes, more than a billion dollars would have been added to the public treasury. As similar exemptions were enjoyed by the nobles, the third estate had borne and was bearing almost the entire expense of a most extravagant and wasteful government. The number of clergy and members of the monastic orders had declined within thirty years from over four hundred thousand to a little over two hundred and fifty thousand, and was steadily diminishing. It was to the interest of those in control to reduce the numbers, as the income would remain the same and the share of each would increase with diminishing numbers. As the great mass of the clergy were poorly provided for the bulk of the income was enjoyed by a comparatively small number. Several rich benefices were often enjoyed by a single individual, and the duties attaching to the offices were

either wholly neglected or performed by cheap substitutes. It is said that at the beginning of the Revolution seventy per cent. of the monasteries were held *in commendam* by those who performed no duties and were not even in residence. While the church was supposed to be the chief organ for the gathering and distribution of charities, little of its vast revenue was applied to the relief of the poor and afflicted. It possessed half of the landed property of France, besides personal property accumulated for ages. Besides enjoying the income of these vast estates it had the privilege of drawing a large revenue from the tax-paying population and its representatives were the frequent recipients of royal gratuities drawn from the same source. The utter worldliness and the shameless immorality of a large proportion of the clergy made the enjoyment of their special privileges even more distasteful to the exploited classes than they would otherwise have been. The wonder is, not that the day of reckoning came at last, but that its coming was so long deferred.

The clergy of the lower ranks, being themselves the objects of oppression, sympathized for the most part with the woes of the people and were zealous for social and economic reform. Many of these cast in their lot with the revolutionists.

(2) *The Church and the National Assembly.* When in his desperation Louis XVI. called together the States General (representatives of the three estates: nobles, clergy, and commons), it was intended that the representatives of each estate should deliberate and vote as a unit, and as the nobles and clergy had many interests in common, there seemed no danger that the representatives of the third estate would be able to exert an overwhelming influence over the body and insist upon the carrying through of revolutionary measures. The demand of the third estate that the body be organized on the basis of one man one vote was sternly resisted by clergy and nobles. The third estate numbered six hundred and sixty-one delegates, while the combined force of clergy (three hundred and eight) and nobles (two hundred and eighty-five) was less than six hundred. To yield the point on the part of the latter two meant to give the con-

trol of the body into the hands of the third estate. The third estate was proceeding to regard itself as the National Assembly because of the refusal of the other estates to co-operate on the terms proposed. The king first attempted to coerce the third estate, but afterward yielded to it and ordered clergy and nobles to concede the demands made by the representatives of the people. The third estate at this time embraced most of the legal talent and much of the commercial, manufacturing, and financial strength and wisdom of the country. It had become evident that its leaders in the Assembly were deeply in earnest, and resolved upon pursuing the demand of the people for thorough-going reform to the bitter end. The scoring of this victory aroused the popular enthusiasm throughout the country to a white heat. The storming and destruction of the Bastille (July 14, 1789), which stood for irresponsible tyranny, was followed by the destruction of castles and other appurtenances of feudalism throughout France, and the organization of troops not subject to the royal command. July 14, 1789, was thenceforth a national anniversary and was regarded as the birthday of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The lower clergy were not slow to denounce the corruptions and oppressions of the higher clergy, and demanded the breaking of the chains with which episcopal despotism had bound them. By August 4, 1789, nobles and prelates alike had come to see the impossibility of preserving their feudal privileges. They graciously joined with the representatives of the people in voting the utter abolition of the feudal system with all its immunities and class distinctions, and only asked the privilege of being admitted on equal terms to the great body of French citizens. The abolition of the tithing system and of contributions levied by the pope followed (August 10). On December 21 complete liberty of worship and full citizenship were given to the Huguenots. A year later these privileges were extended to Lutherans and Swiss Protestants. In the meantime religious privileges had been granted to Jews.

In the debate of August 4, the Bishop of Uzès had declared that the property and privileges of the church having been bestowed by the nation could be reappro-

priated only by the nation. A few days afterward one of the deputies asserted that ecclesiastical property belonged to the nation and should be used for relieving the terrible financial strain that was crushing it. A noble suggested the confiscation and sale of superfluous ecclesiastical and monastic plate, and the suggestion was approved by the Archbishop of Paris. Most of the clericals deprecated such a sacrifice, but the archbishop was able three days later to make the offer, which was promptly accepted by the Assembly. No doubt much was withheld that might have been contributed, but the result was about twenty-eight million dollars. This throwing of a sop to Cerberus did not suffice. A deputy called attention to the hundreds of millions of dollars that had accrued to the church from its exemptions and privileges. If the church had contributed even on the same scale as the nobles during the past eighty-three years the State would have five hundred and forty million dollars as a reserve capital. He insisted that the church property belonged to the State and should be used for State purposes. The value of the property wrongfully held by the church he estimated at about twelve hundred million dollars. After much discussion Mirabeau proposed the confiscation of the property of the church and the assumption by the State of the support, on a moderate scale, of public worship. This measure was strenuously opposed by a large proportion of the prelates. On October 31 the prelates offered eighty million dollars toward the national deficit and promised reforms in financial administration. The motion for placing church property "at the disposal of the nation" was carried (November 2) by a very large majority. The process of appropriation and sale aroused bitterly hostile feelings among the clergy which prepared the way for their complete overthrow. The appropriation by the State of the property of the church did much toward precipitating the Reign of Terror. On March 10, 1790, Rabaud St. Etienne, a Protestant, became chairman of the Assembly, which had shortly before declined to vote that Roman Catholicism was the religion of the State. A violent speech by Dom Gerle, a Carthusian monk (March 13), in favor of the recognition of Roman Ca-

tholicism as the religion of the State almost caused a riot. The protest of the prelates was in vain, and nothing was left to the clergy but to become the hirelings of the State or to withdraw from all relations therewith.

On February 14, 1790, the monastic orders were abolished, on the ground that the monasteries were the abodes of tyranny, the prisons of sorrowing hearts suffering in silence, and the scenes of disorderly festivities and every sort of crime, and a small allowance was made to each monk and nun for support.

An ecclesiastical committee, whose most influential member was the eminent Jansenist jurist, Camus, had been appointed by the Assembly for the drafting of a new constitution for the church now deprived of its sources of income and entirely dependent on the State. "The Civil Constitution of the Church" was duly presented (May, 1790) by the committee and adopted by the Assembly (July 12, 1790). It provided for the abolition of the existing hierarchy (archbishoprics, bishoprics, etc.) and in its place created ten metropolitan districts, corresponding with the *arrondissements*, and eighty-three dioceses, coinciding with the departments, thus reducing the number of bishops (one hundred and thirty-six) nearly one-half; for the suppression of chapters as superfluous; for the appointment of bishops and parish priests by the electoral assemblies of the departments, which might be made up of Protestants, Jews, and atheists, and the installation of bishops by the metropolitan without the co-operation of the pope; that before being inducted into their offices they should take the oath of allegiance to the nation, the laws, and the king; that the bishop should have charge of the spiritual work in the cathedral churches, the other clergy of the diocese constituting a council for him, whose advice he was bound to follow; and it prohibited any intermeddling of foreign bishops in French ecclesiastical affairs. Parish priests were to be chosen by the district assemblies and inducted by the bishops. A theological seminary in every department (diocese) was provided for and the director was entitled to a seat along with the parish priests (*curés*) on the bishop's council. The remuneration of metropolitans, bishops, priests, seminary directors,

etc., was fixed on a moderate but adequate scale. The number of parish clergy was greatly reduced. Camus and his associates on the ecclesiastical committee professed a desire to restore the French church to primitive simplicity and purity, but it is difficult to see how they could have persuaded themselves that their handiwork bore the slightest resemblance to the apostolic norm.

The distracted king hesitated, conferred with pope and prelates, and at last (August 24) consented to the arrangement. His hesitation was unsatisfactory to the Ultramontanes, who had hoped for his prompt rejection of the measure, and to Jansenists, Protestants, and freethinkers, who saw that he simply yielded to the inevitable and was not at heart in sympathy with the radical proceedings of the Assembly. If the pope had been as courageous as some of his predecessors and successors, he could have greatly embarrassed the Assembly in its efforts to put the Civil Constitution in operation. As it was, a large number of bishops, canons, chapters, and priests refused to recognize the authority of the Assembly and sought to continue in the old way. The Assembly (November 27, 1790), after a heated debate, voted that all priests without exception should swear to obey the laws, the constitution, and the king, on pain of deposition, loss of salary, and loss of citizenship. On January 4, 1791, a majority of the Assembly voted, amid great excitement and under strong pressure from the Paris commune, that every clerical member of the Assembly, as well as every priest in the country, whether in office or not, should take the oath. Of the three hundred ecclesiastical deputies only eighty would take the oath, and of the one hundred and thirty-six bishops only four, and these not the most reputable. Of the sixty thousand parish priests and vicars only about ten thousand could be induced to swear. The newly created metropolitans were appointed more with reference to the heartiness with which they had accepted the revolution and the Civil Constitution than with reference to their moral and spiritual qualifications. The first of the new bishops were consecrated by Talleyrand. These in turn consecrated others.

Pius VI., after months of hesitation, declared against

the Civil Constitution (April, 1791) and prohibited the newly consecrated bishops from exercising episcopal functions. The Assembly retaliated by appropriating the counties of Avignon and Venaissin, which belonged to the pope. The attempt of the priests and their lay supporters, under papal encouragement, to resist the decrees of the Assembly led to much riot and bloodshed. In Paris a grotesque image of the pope, sitting on an ass and holding the figure of a bull, was paraded through the streets amid the jeers of the multitude and afterward burnt.

(3) *The Roman Catholic Church and the Legislative Assembly* (*1791–1792*). The Legislative Assembly was far more violently antagonistic to the Roman Catholic Church and to Christianity itself than the National (Constituent) Assembly had been. The resistance of the French clergy to the Civil Constitution and the oath of allegiance was met with wholesale massacre. Six hundred priests are said to have been slain at Avignon. The king's imprisonment and the order to clear Paris of priests fell on the same day (August 13, 1792). Several hundreds were thrown into prison, and when it was rumored (September 2) that a Prussian army was on its way to Paris to liberate the king, about three hundred of the clergy, including an archbishop and two bishops, were slaughtered in prison. Large numbers were slain at Meaux, Châlons, Rennes, and Lyons. About eight thousand suspects were massacred in Paris at this time. Priests and nobles in vast numbers fled from France (*emigrés*). Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, bitter opponents of Christianity, were now the leaders. The Reign of Terror may be said to have been inaugurated with this massacre.

(4) *The Roman Catholic Church and the National Convention* (*1792–1795*). A European coalition had been formed against the Revolution. The declaration of the Republic and the execution of the king were followed by the Reign of Terror, in which the leaders, whose hands were already red with blood, felt themselves justified, in the interest of the nation, in executing all suspects, clericals included, with the merest pretense of legal trial and conviction. The Committee of Public Safety, appointed by the Convention, was assisted in its bloody

work by forty-four thousand minor tribunals scattered throughout France. The popular hatred of Christianity kept pace with the barbarity of the revolutionary proceedings. In 1791 the remains of Voltaire were exhumed and he was given a public funeral in which the unbelieving philosopher was almost apotheosized. In April, 1793, the banishment of all non-juring clergy was decreed and constitutional clergy were permitted to marry. A new decimal calendar, with a complete change of the names of month and days and the substitution of a tenth day of rest and sport for the Christian Lord's Day, was introduced September 22, 1792. In November, 1793, Christianity was abolished, the existence of God publicly denied, and the worship of the Goddess of Reason was inaugurated with great pomp. Christian churches were desecrated throughout France, and many of them, including Notre Dame Cathedral, were used for the celebration of the worship of the goddess with worse than pagan lasciviousness and shamelessness.

By 1794 the reaction had gone so far that Robespierre could procure the adoption of a decree by the Convention in favor of the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. Robespierre officiated with much ceremony as high priest of the Supreme Being and was treated like a demigod. The fall and execution of Robespierre (July, 1794) was followed by a marked reaction in favor of Christianity. The excesses of the Terror had wrought their own cure. In 1795 Catholic worship, as well as Protestant and other, was permitted.

Under the Directory and the Consulate there was a gradual improvement in the condition and relations of the Roman Catholic Church in France. In Italy, Napoleon had deprived the pope of his temporal power and had set up republics in disregard of his wishes. For Napoleon's dealings with different popes, see sketches in an earlier section. The Concordat of 1801 and Napoleon's subsequent harsh dealing with popes have been sufficiently described above, as has been also the reaction in favor of the papacy as a friend of monarchical government and an enemy of revolution, which, under the guidance of the restored Jesuits, the popes knew how to utilize to the full.

5. *Recent Ultramontane Proceedings, and Reactions Thereby Provoked.*

(1) *The Proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, the Mother of Our Lord.*[1] From earlier sections of the present work it has been seen how important a place the mother of our Lord came to occupy in the thought and the worship of Christians. A large proportion of the Christians of the fourth and following centuries unreservedly applied to her the title "Mother of God," refusing to be satisfied with the statement that she was the mother of the humanity of Christ that was united indissolubly with deity, and insisting on paying her a devotion little short of that due to God. The tendency of this type of theology (the Alexandrian), by maintaining such a union of the divine and the human in the person of Christ as to make the resultant being absolutely divine and to obliterate the humanity, is to exalt the divine-human Saviour above the reach of all but the priestly intercessors, to destroy the sense of his infinite human sympathy, and to create and foster a demand, natural in any case among those whose antecedents had been pagan, involving devotion to female as well as male deities, for a motherly deity approachable by the humblest Christian, full of sympathy for all our weaknesses and woes, and able and willing to use her motherly influence with her exalted Son on our behalf. After her cult had become thoroughly established and almost universal in the Eastern and Western churches alike, theologians began to ask themselves how they could justify the paying of an adoration almost divine to a mere woman, even though she had been divinely chosen to be the mother of the Christ. Many of the patristic writers (including Augustine) went so far as to exempt Mary from actual trangression, but no one asserted her sinless conception. When the canons of Lyons (1139) introduced a festival in honor of the conception of the immaculate Mary, the leading guardians of orthodoxy (like Bernard) rebuked them, claiming that it would be

[1] See Schaff, "Creeds of Christendom," and art. "Immaculate Conception" in Johnson's "Cyclopædia" and in the Schaff-Herzog "Encyclopædia"; Preuss, "The Romish Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception," 1865; Perrone, "*De Immaculato B. V. M. Conceptu*," 1853; and H. B. Smith in "Methodist Quar. Rev." for 1855.

just as reasonable to do the same thing in the case of our Lord's grandmother, great-grandmother, etc. Anselm, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas agreed with the mediæval popes in denying the immaculate conception of Mary. Duns Scotus and his followers insisted on the doctrine, which gradually made its way to acceptance as a church dogma. The Council of Trent was non-committal. The Jesuits espoused the Scotist side, and industriously propagated the doctrine in opposition to Dominicans and Jansenists. With their restoration to leadership they began to scheme for the enforcement of the doctrine on the consciences of the entire church.

In 1849 Pope Pius IX. sent an encyclical to the bishops requesting them to express their opinions on the matter and their wishes as to an authoritative definition, making clear his own conviction as to the supreme importance of the doctrine and its definition. The encyclical contained the following remarkable utterance: "Ye know full well, venerable brethren, that the whole ground of our confidence is placed in the most holy Virgin," since "God has vested in her the plenitude of all good, so that henceforth, if there be in us any hope, if there be any grace, if there be any salvation, we must receive it solely from her, according to the will of him who would have us possess all things through Mary." More than six hundred prelates responded, all but four approving the doctrine itself and the papal definition of it as a dogma of the church.

On the occasion of the Feast of the Conception (December 8, 1854), in the presence of more than two hundred cardinals, bishops, and other dignitaries, Pius IX. solemnly defined and promulgated the dogma as follows: "That the most blessed Virgin Mary, in the first instant of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, by the intuitive perception (*intuitu*) of the merits of Christ Jesus the Saviour of the human race, was kept immune from any contamination of original sin." This dogma, it is added, "has been revealed by God, and therefore must be firmly and constantly believed by all the faithful."

The promulgation of this dogma without the calling of

a general council, and amid the enthusiasm of a jubilee in honor of the Virgin, was no doubt shrewdly designed to prepare the way for the dogma of papal infallibility, the definition and recognition of which formed an integral part of the Jesuit programme which Pius IX. was systematically striving to carry out.

From the Roman standpoint this dogma completes the Mariology and Mariolatry, which, step by step, proceeded from the perpetual virginity of Mary to her freedom from actual sin after the conception of the Saviour, then to freedom from sin after her birth, and at last to her freedom from original or hereditary sin. The only thing now left is to proclaim the dogma of her assumption to heaven, which has long been a pious opinion in the Roman Church. To this corresponds the progress in the worship of Mary, and the multiplication of her festivals. Her worship even overshadows the worship of Christ. She, the tender, compassionate, lovely woman, is invoked for her powerful intercession, rather than her divine Son. She is made the fountain of all grace, the mediatrix between Christ and the believer, and is virtually put in the place of the Holy Ghost. There is scarcely an epithet of Christ which devout Roman Catholics do not apply to the Virgin; and Pope Pius IX. sanctioned the false interpretation of Gen. 3 : 15, that she (not Christ) crushed the head of the serpent.—*Schaff.*

(2) *The Canonization of the Japanese Martyrs and the Public Declaration of the Necessity of Preserving Intact the Temporal Sovereignty of the Church.*[1] At Pentecost, 1862, Pius IX. called the prelates together to participate in the canonization of the Japanese martyrs of 1597, but really to join with him in a protest against the past and imminent spoliation of the Patrimony of Peter. The prelates expressed their conviction that the civil power was necessary to the Holy See, to which it had been annexed by a special and visible providence of God; that in the actual order of things the civil power was an indispensable requisite to the free government of the church; that the head of the church of God could not be the subject of any prince; that he must enjoy the fullest independence in his own territory and in his own States, as in no other way could he protect and defend the Catholic faith and guide and govern the whole Christian commonwealth. The pope presented each prelate

[1] See Wiseman, "Rome and the Catholic Episcopate at the Feast of Pentecost," 1862; Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," 1862; Alzog, "Univ. Ch. Hist.," § 412; and Nippold, "*Handbuch d. neuesten Kirchengeschichte,*" *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 120 *seq.*

with a copy of a great work on "The Temporal Sovereignty of the Roman Pontiffs" (in six folio volumes), containing protests from all parts of the world against the actual and imminent spoliation of the Patrimony of Peter.

(3) *The Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864.*[1] By 1864 Ultramontanism had a multitude of enemies inside of the Roman Catholic Church as well as outside of the body. In France Gallicanism was represented by men of high estate and great repute. In Germany, especially in the Catholic faculties of the Universities of Munich, Tübingen, and Bonn, a large number of Roman Catholic scholars had been under the influence of the current Protestant liberalism, had come to be advocates of the application of the scientific method to the study of theology, church history, the Bible, civil government, etc., and did not regard with favor the claim of the pope and the Roman Curia to determine what every Catholic must believe and how the facts of history should be interpreted. The bitter opposition that had been encountered by Pius IX. and the Jesuits in their efforts to foist upon the church the doctrine of papal infallibility, and the utter repudiation of the pope's claim to dictate the policy of civil governments, led to the sending forth at this time of an Encyclical and a Syllabus of eighty errors, which Catholics everywhere must join with the pope in anathematizing. In the Encyclical, Pius states that scarcely had he assumed his office "when We, to the extreme grief of Our soul, beheld a horrible tempest stirred up by so many erroneous opinions, and the dreadful and never-enough-to-be-lamented mischiefs which redound to Christian people from such errors." He feels it now incumbent upon him in the exercise of his apostolic authority to condemn these errors in detail. He also comes to the defense of the Religious Orders that have been so bitterly attacked by the naturalism and unbelief of the time.

The eighty errors specified and condemned in the Syllabus are arranged in ten sections: Pantheism, Nat-

[1] See Schaff, "The Creeds of Christendom"; Badenoch (editor), "Ultramontanism: England's Sympathy with Germany," 1874; Janus (Döllinger and Friedrich), "The Pope and the Council," 1869.

uralism, and Absolute Rationalism; Moderate Rationalism; Indifferentism, Latitudinarianism (Toleration); Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, Clerico-liberal Societies; Errors about Civil Society considered in itself as well as in its Relations to the Church; Errors concerning Natural and Christian Ethics; Errors concerning Christian Matrimony; Errors concerning the Civil Principality of the Roman Pontiff; Errors that are referred to the Liberalism of the Day, all these were opposed and condemned by him. Only a few specimen articles can be here given.

The Syllabus anathematizes the proposition that "the decrees of the Apostolic See and of the Roman Congregations impede the free progress of science" (art. 12); that "Every man is free to embrace and profess that religion which, guided by the light of reason, he shall have thought to be true" (art. 15); that "Protestantism is nothing else than a different form of the same Christian religion, in which, just as well as in the Catholic Church, it is possible to please God" (art. 18); that "The church is not a true, perfect, and entirely free association" (art. 19); that "The church has not the power of defining dogmatically that the religion of the Catholic Church is the only true religion" (art. 21); that "The Roman Pontiffs and Ecumenical Councils have exceeded the limits of their power, have usurped the rights of Princes, and have even committed errors in defining matters of faith and morals" (art. 23); that "The church has not the power of availing herself of force, nor any temporal power direct or indirect" (art. 24); that "The Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church" (art. 55); that "The Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself to and agree with progress, with liberalism, and with recent State polity" (art. 80).

These extracts are sufficient to show that the papacy of the nineteenth century is fully prepared to defend every act of intolerance and of interference with civil matters, including the burning of heretics, the preaching of crusades against heretics, and the deposition and the setting up of kings, and makes it a matter of disloyalty for any one to call in question a past or present papal act.

It is distinctly asserted that the church has the power to use force and to employ temporal power for the enforcement of its decrees. It is expressly denied that popes have ever exceeded the proper bounds of their power or usurped the rights of princes. Modern civilization in all its forms, except so far as it accords with the ideas of the pope, is utterly repudiated. These teachings are in complete accord with contemporary utterances of the Jesuits (see "The Pope and the Council," by Janus, Chap. I.). The repudiation of Magna Charta, condemned by Innocent III., and of all modern European and American constitutions, is involved.

Pope Leo XIII., the infallible successor of Pius IX., declared (April 21, 1878) that the utterances of the Syllabus have the authority of papal infallibility.

(4) *Celebration of the Eighteenth Centenary of the Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29, 1867).*[1] This occasion was utilized for bringing to Rome a vast concourse of Ultramontane Catholics and to further the Jesuit scheme of papal absolutism with Jesuits as the power behind the throne. About ten thousand priests, gathered from far and near, listened in the great Hall of Consistory to the exhortations of the venerable pontiff as if to an oracle of God. Fifteen hundred representatives of one hundred Italian cities presented the pope with an album containing the signatures of those who were loyal to him, and deprecated the spoliation of the church by Victor Emmanuel. The pope's response was full of bitterness toward the enemies of the church. He spoke of the date (July 2) as coincident with the termination of a pestilence some years before, and he sees indications that "to-day marks the beginning of a season of mercy." It is the anniversary of the liberation of Rome by a friendly army (1849). "This day has been regarded as fatal to Rome; but I say that the hour of triumph has already dawned. It has been said that I hate Italy. No, I do not hate her. I have always loved her, always blessed her, always sought her happiness, and God alone knows, how long and ardently I have prayed for her." Yet he regards the present striv-

[1] See good account of this celebration in Alzog, "Univ. Ch. Hist.," § 412, and the literature there referred to.

ing for unity as based upon selfishness and injustice, and predicts that "the whole world will cry out against such infamy." "The hour of triumph gives tokens of its presence, and cannot be long delayed." Five hundred bishops were present "to honor his great virtues, to comfort him in the midst of the trials which afflicted the church, and to renew the strength of their own hearts by gazing upon his fatherly countenance." They declare that the Chair of St. Peter is "still the organ of truth, the center of unity, the bulwark of liberty." They give their full assent to the Syllabus, stating that their "most pleasing, as well as most sacred, duty would be to believe and teach what he taught and believed; to reject the errors that he rejected; to follow whither he led; to combat at his side; to be ready, like him, to encounter dangers and trials and contradictions." The occasion was utilized all over the Catholic world for arousing enthusiasm on behalf of the supposed successor of Peter.

(5) *The Vatican Council (December 8, 1869–July 18, 1870).*[1] *a. Antecedents of the Council.* In the Jesuit "Voices of Maria Laach" (1869), it is remarked: "The intrinsic and essential connection between the Encyclical of December 8, 1864, and the Ecumenical Council, convoked by Pius IX. and to be opened this year, is self-evident. The council will complete the structure, the foundations of which were laid in the Encyclical." Two days before the publication of the Encyclical and Syllabus, the pope had made known his purpose to call such a council. In March, 1865, he appointed a commission to consider the advisability and opportuneness of holding an Ecumenical Council at an early date. A favorable report was followed by the appointment of a Congrega-

[1] See official "*Acta et Decreta Sacrosancti et Œcumenici Concilii Vaticani*," 1872; Friedrich, "*Documenta ad illustrandum Conc. Vat.*," 1871; Janus (Döllinger *et al.*), "The Pope and the Council," 1869; Quirinus (*pseudonymous*), "Letters from Rome on the Council," 1870; Pomponius Leto (*pseudonymous*), "Eight Months at Rome during the Vatican Council. Impressions of a Contemporary," 1876 (the most realistic and interesting account yet published, evidently based upon close observation and access to inside sources of information. The Appendix contains a large body of important documents in the languages in which they were written); Friedberg, "*Sammlung der Actenstücke zum ersten Vat. Concil*," 1872; Pressensé, "*Le Concile du Vatican*," 1872; Manning, "The True Story of the Vat. Council," 1877; Gladstone, "The Vatican Decrees" and "Vaticanism"; Bacon, "An Inside View of the Vat. Council," 1872; Schaff, "Creeds of Christendom," Vol. I., pp. 134–188; Vol. II., pp. 234–271 (Schaff gives the literature very fully up to 1878).

tion of Direction, composed of five cardinals, eight bishops, and a secretary, whose business it should be to ascertain fully the needs of the church and to prepare materials for the action of the future council. Secret letters were sent to many prelates in Europe and the East asking them to state frankly what questions in their opinion ought to be treated by the council. There was a general agreement that the action of the council should be along the line of the Syllabus of 1864. The attitude of the bishops was still further tested by a circular sent out June, 1867, by the Prefect of the Congregation of the Council (Trent), asking their opinions on seventeen matters of morals and discipline, and intimating the intention of the pope to call a council for the settlement of such questions. Their response was again accordant with the Syllabus, and heartily favorable to the proposed council. On the occasion of the centenary of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, the pope definitely announced the convocation of an Ecumenical Council to be held in the Vatican on December 8, 1869, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. In September, 1868, the pope addressed letters couched in deeply devout language, but full of arrogance, to the Oriental and Protestant communions, bewailing the schisms which he attributed to Satanic agency and inviting them to return to the one church founded upon Peter whose successor he is, and to participate in the coming council.

During the intervening months many prelates from different parts of the world were summoned to Rome for consultation regarding the matters to be presented and the methods of procedure. As a result of such consultations it was determined that all prelates, titular as well as those in actual authority, should without distinction sit and vote in the council, and that "the right of regulating the council belonged to the authority which convened it . . . the Head not only of the Council but of the Church." The liberals of Germany, France, Belgium, etc., had become fully apprised of the Jesuit programme, and vigorous protests were published against the injustice involved in arranging beforehand the entire business to be transacted by the council, and the pro-

posed stifling of the convictions of an honest and intelligent minority by the readiness of a prearranged majority to carry through with unbounded enthusiasm the prearranged programme of pope and Jesuits. It is surprising how accurately their prognostications corresponded with the facts.

b. The Council in Session. It would be interesting, if space permitted, to give some of the picturesque details of the assembling of the council, its pompous ceremonial, its proceedings, and its prorogation. Suffice it to say that the Jesuit programme was remorselessly carried out, no consideration having been given to the earnest remonstrances of the minority. On July 17, 1870, a memorial signed by fifty-five bishops, urged the abandonment of the scheme for the declaration of the infallibility of the pope. The memorial states that in the vote on the dogma regarding the church of Christ a few days before, eighty-eight members of the council had voted in the negative, sixty-two had voted with reservations (*placet juxta modum*), and seventy had remained away to avoid voting. They expressed a determination to be absent on July 18, when the vote on infallibility had been arranged for. When the vote was taken only five hundred and thirty-five of the more than seven hundred members of the council were present, and of these only two voted in the negative. Many of the opponents of the measure, when they found that nothing could be done to prevent its going through, had departed for their homes.

c. Decrees of the Council. The only important action of the council was the constitution concerning the church, in four chapters.

Chapter I. asserts the Petrine primacy with the usual scriptural proof and ends as follows: "If any one, therefore, shall have said that Blessed Peter the Apostle was not constituted by the Lord Christ Prince of all the Apostles and visible Head of the whole church militant, or that the same (Peter) directly and immediately received from the same Jesus Christ our Lord a primacy only of honor and not of true and proper jurisdiction, let him be anathema." Chapter II. asserts the perpetuity of the primacy of Peter in the Roman pontiffs, and ends as follows: "If, then, any one shall have said that it is not by the institution of the Lord Christ himself, or by divine right, that the blessed Peter has perpetual successors in his primacy over the universal church; or that the Roman Pontiff is not the successor

of the Blessed Peter in the aforesaid primacy, let him be anathema." The third chapter, on the power and the nature of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, after asserting with scriptural proofs that he has a "primacy over the whole world" and that the Roman Church "possesses a sovereignty of ordinary power over all other churches," and condemning and reprobating "the opinions of those who hold that communication between the supreme Head and the pastors and their flocks can lawfully be impeded, or who make this communication subject to the will of the secular power," ends: "If, then, any shall have said that the Roman Pontiff has the office only of inspection or direction, but has not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the universal church, not only in things that pertain to faith and morals, but also in those that pertain to the discipline and government of the church diffused throughout the whole world; or that he has only the more important parts but not the whole plenitude of this supreme power; or that this power is not ordinary and immediate, whether over all and each of the churches or over all and each of the pastors and faithful; let him be anathema." The fourth chapter, for which the three first have prepared the way, is on the infallible teaching function (*magisterium*) of the Roman Pontiff. An attempt is made to prove from Scripture and history that this infallibility was included in the primacy given by Christ to Peter ("Feed my sheep," "Feed my lambs," "Thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren," etc.). It is claimed that "all the venerable Fathers have embraced and the holy orthodox Doctors have venerated and followed" the "apostolic doctrine" of the bishops of Rome, "knowing most fully that this See of St. Peter remains ever free from all blemish of error, according to the divine promise of our Saviour Lord made to the Prince of his disciples" (Luke 22 : 32). "Therefore, by faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian peoples, with the approbation of the sacred Council, we (Pius IX.) teach and define as a dogma revealed by God that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks from the Chair (*ex Cathedra*), that is, when performing the function of pastor and teacher of all Christians by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals as to be held by the universal church, through the divine assistance promised to him in the Blessed Peter, possesses that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer wished his church to be equipped in defining doctrine concerning faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not from the consent of the church. But if any one should presume—which may God avert—to contradict this our definition: let him be anathema."

It will be noticed that this definition is somewhat ambiguous, and it was no doubt designedly made so. Considerable discussion has occurred among Roman Catholic prelates as to what is involved in the infallibility claimed. It can be interpreted to mean much or little, according to

the purpose to be subserved. Its chief aim was to place the pope entirely above councils and to give him the undisputed right to decide all doctrinal questions that might arise without the consent of the church assembled representatively in general councils. There is apparently only one farther step left to be taken by the Roman Pontiff. He has long claimed to be the vicar of Christ, having a right to all the authority that Christ would have if he were on earth. The last conceivable step is that he should declare himself to be an incarnation of Christ or of God.

(6) *Some Results of the Successful Carrying Out of the Jesuit Scheme Culminating in the Decree of the Dogma of Papal Infallibility. a. Loss of the Temporal Power.* The declaration of war between Prussia and France, immediately after the dogma of papal infallibility had been proclaimed, that led to the withdrawal of the French troops from Italy and permitted Victor Emmanuel to take possession of Rome and to make it the capital of united Italy, was not in the strict sense of the term a result of the decree of papal infallibility, though the well-known determination of the Ultramontane party may have indirectly contributed to the irritation that brought about the declaration of war. At any rate it was a striking coincidence that at the moment when the papacy had reached the very height of its pretensions to absolute civil as well as spiritual authority, it should have been deprived of the last of its territorial possessions. The Italian government sought to conciliate the pope and his supporters for the appropriation of the States of the Church and of the city of Rome by guaranteeing to him sovereignty and immunity in his possession of the Vatican and Lateran palaces, and the castle of Gandolfo, a yearly income of three and a half million francs, a bodyguard, and a post office and telegraph bureau. In general, the king sought to carry into effect the maxim of Cavour, "A free Church in a free State." He soon felt obliged, however, because of the irreconcilable hostility of the pope, to subject the Italian clergy to civil control.

b. The Culture Conflict (Kulturkampf) in Germany.[1]

[1] See English translation of the German laws that occasioned the conflict of 1870–1880 in Badenoch's "Ultramontanism: England's Sympathy with Germany," pp. 186-

Among the direct results of the declaration of papal infallibility was the precipitation of the struggle that had long been impending between Germany and the pope. Legislation of the most stringent character (1871–1874), intended to protect the German government from the machinations of the pope and the Jesuits, was enacted. The latter were banished and utterly prohibited from teaching in Roman Catholic schools. The laws facilitated the withdrawal of individuals from the Roman Catholic Church, limited the use of ecclesiastical penalties and discipline, and placed them under government inspection. Appeal from ecclesiastical sentences to the State magistracy was provided for. A royal tribunal for ecclesiastical affairs was constituted. Foreign church officers were absolutely prohibited. The qualifications for teaching in ecclesiastical schools and for the priesthood were definitely fixed, and the Roman Catholic schools were placed under government inspection. The founding of additional boys' seminaries and retreats was prohibited. Candidates for ecclesiastical offices nominated by ecclesiastical authorities must secure the approval of the government. Roman Catholic bishops were required to swear fealty to the king and obedience to the laws of the State. Violation of these requirements involved heavy fines and imprisonment. The laws were for some years remorselessly enforced, but were resisted with the utmost determination by the bishops and priests. The persecution to which they were subjected awakened public sympathy to such an extent that Bismarck, who had been the chief mover in the anti-Roman Catholic legislation, found that the struggle was a useless one, and the legislation was gradually relaxed and finally abolished. Says a distinguished English writer: "Bismarck has succeeded in morally rehabilitating Ultramontanism by persecuting it."

c. The Old Catholic Movement.[1] The extreme anti-

211 and 587–602. See also Nippold, "*Handbuch d. neu. Kirchengesch.*," *Bd.* II., *Sect.* 729–737; Hahn, "*Gesch. d. Kulturkampf.*" 1881; Wiermann, "*Gesch. d. Kulturkampf.*" 1886; Fechenbach-Lautenbach, "*Papst, Centrum, und Bismarck, oder d Kernpunkte der Situation*"; and Troxler, "*Der Kulturkampf von 1863–1888.*"

[1] See "The New Reformation: A Narrative of the Old Catholic Movement," 1875; Loyson (Hyacinth), "Catholic Reform." 1874; Merrick, "The Old Catholic Movement," 1877; Reinkens, "*Ursprung, Wesen, und Ziel des Altkatholicismus*," 1882; Scarth, "Story of the Old Catholic and Kindred Movements," 1883; Schulte, "*Der*

infallibilist party, including a number of the ablest scholars of Germany, such as Döllinger, Reinkens, Friedrich, Huber, Michelis, Reusch, Langen, Schulte, etc., led in the organization of a new religious party under the name of the Old Catholic Church.

The organization took place, after several preliminary conferences, in 1873. Reinkens was appointed bishop, and was ordained by the Jansenist bishop of Deventer. Efforts were made to secure the recognition and co-operation of the Anglican and Greek churches. Conferences to which these churches were invited, and in which they participated, were held in 1874, 1875, and on several subsequent occasions. No organic union was secured, but friendly relations were established. The Old Catholics profess "to strive for the restoration of the unity of the Christian church." "We frankly acknowledge that no branch of it has exclusively the truth. We hold fast to the ultimate view that upon the foundation of the gospel and the doctrines of the church grounded upon it, and upon the foundation of the ancient undivided church, a union of all Christian confessions will be possible through a really ecumenical council."

They claim to adhere to the Council of Trent *versus* Vaticanism, to Scripture *versus* Tradition, except so far as tradition is equivalent to the unanimous consent of the orthodox Christians of the first five centuries, and insist on freedom in reading the Bible, on communion under both kinds, and on the right of the clergy to marry. They have simplified the mass, which they regard as a memorial of the atoning sacrifice of Christ and celebrate in the vernacular. They give to the laity an equal share with the clergy in church government.

The Old Catholic movement met with considerable encouragement during the first few years, and many hoped that it would make a serious break in the ranks of the Roman Catholic Church. It was hoped that so large a number of German Catholics would cast in their lot with the new party as to justify the governments in giving them control of considerable church property. This

Altkatholicismus," 1887, and art. in Hauck-Herzog, ed. 3; Braasch, "*Altkatholicismus und Romanismus in Oesterreich*," 1890; Hunt, "Contemporary Essays"; Beyschlag, "Origin and Development of the Old Catholic Movement," in "Am. Jour. of Theol.," 1898; Nippold, "*Handbuch d. neuesten Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* II., *Sect.* 737–749.

expectation has been disappointed, and in spite of the government patronage that could safely be bestowed, the churches that have been organized have had a struggle for existence, and have had to appeal to England and America for help. In 1873 the number of congregations in the German Empire was estimated at one hundred, with a membership of seventy thousand. At present there are probably less than fifty thousand. "Thousands who in their first zeal had signed the anti-Vatican protest were lost to the movement when it became clear that unless they withdrew they must suffer a lifelong martyrdom; the papal church, ceaseless in its efforts, reduced many to subjection; there are, perhaps, still more who, wearied of their material and moral sacrifices, have quietly taken refuge in the Protestant church" (Beyschlag, 1898). In Switzerland the movement has met with more encouragement. In Bohemia and other parts of the Austrian Empire several thousands have become Old Catholics within the past few years; but at present the secession from Rome is Lutheran rather than Old Catholic.

How are we to account for the failure of this movement to win the German masses to its support?

1. The movement was based upon rationalistic revolt against papal dogma and intolerance, and not on religious aversion to the moral corruption of the papal church or a conviction that the multitudes of its deluded members would fail of eternal salvation. The spirit of enthusiastic evangelism seems to have been almost completely wanting. 2. The spirit of self-sacrifice that would have made them superior to the persecutions that they needs must suffer was almost completely wanting in the Old Catholics. There was not in most of them that religious enthusiasm that has animated martyrs and reformers in the past. 3. Their position is an illogical one. The Roman Catholic church has been for so many centuries essentially what it is to-day that it is absurd for them to declare that they are the true Catholic church and that Ultramontanism is an apostasy. They should have taken their stand with the Lutherans or Reformed of Germany and Switzerland, if in their view these Christians approached sufficiently near to the apostolic standard, or should have taken the Scriptures rather than the tradition of the first five centuries as their standard, and have sought to bring their individual and organized life into conformity with this standard, which alone is sure and steadfast. 4. It appears that while Old Catholicism may be serving a useful purpose as a stepping-stone for those who cling to the name Catholic, but are out of sympathy with Rome, to something higher, it has no permanent reason for existing, and cannot be expected

to take its place among the great Christian denominations. 5. Its expressed hope of securing a union of Anglican, Greek, and Old Catholic Christians around the few principles that it professes is futile. While High Church Anglicans have taken considerable interest in the movement, there is really almost nothing in common between the two parties. High Churchmen are Romanizing (ascetical, ritualistic, sacerdotal, and withal enthusiastic), Old Catholics are anti-Romanizing and rationalistic, and are wanting in ascetical enthusiasm. They have far more in common with English Broad Churchmen.

(7) *The Current Free-from-Rome Movement.* Not so closely connected with the Vatican Council, but intimately related to the Old Catholic movement, is the rapidly progressing secession of Austrian German Catholics to become Lutherans. The precise significance of this movement it is not possible at present to determine. To-day it is stirring the life of German-speaking Austria to its foundations. Great Roman Catholic conventions have been held of late in many centers to take measures against the movement. These are usually followed by more largely attended and more enthusiastic Protestant conventions. Within the past three years more than seventeen thousand Austrian Catholics have become Protestant, and more than seven thousand have become Old Catholic. Romanists declare that their losses to Protestantism are due to agitation in favor of the union of the German-speaking provinces with Germany. The Lutherans claim that the movement, so far as they are concerned, is a purely religious one. It is well known that for years the relations between the German, Slavic, and Magyar populations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire have been seriously strained, and it would be no wonder if many Austrian Germans were led by the splendor and prosperity of the German Empire and by their strong race feeling to wish to change their allegiance. That the Roman Catholic priesthood should seek to discourage such aspirations and should thereby become unpopular, and that aspirations after German unity should carry with them loss of interest in Roman Catholicism and increase of interest in the national religion of Germany, is certainly quite easy to be believed. The Catholics even claim that money from Germany is being used to promote disloyalty to the Austrian government and seces-

sion from the Catholic church, and it would not be surprising if German Lutherans should be found using their money for the promotion of the Loose-from-Rome movement. The Romanists are seeking at present (July, 1902) to induce the Austrian government to put forth its hand against the Lutheran propaganda.

CHAPTER III

LUTHERANISM SINCE THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

I. IN EUROPEAN LANDS

1. *Economic, Social, and Religious Condition of Lutheran Lands at the Close of the Thirty Years' War.*

(1) *Economic.* It is difficult to conceive of the extent of the economic ruin wrought by the war. The absorption of so large a part of the male population for so long a time in military life; the breaking up of so many homes and the prevention of the establishment of so many more; the enormous loss of life involved in camp-following; the destruction of such multitudes of soldiers in battle and from disease, could not have failed to impoverish the countries involved and to decimate their productive populations, even if warfare had been conducted in the least wasteful manner that was possible. But when we consider that many of the armies were supported by plunder and pillage, it is easy to see that the very sources of supply would be to a great extent destroyed, and that the agriculturists and townsmen alike would be left without the means of supporting themselves or continuing their industries. It was many years after the close of the war before the rank and file of the population that remained had attained to a state of comfort, and many years more before the cities had attained to anything like their former prosperity.

(2) *Social.* The social effects of continuous and all-pervasive war could not fail to be of the most baneful character. Extreme poverty is itself a fruitful source of vice, and the license of military life combined with the utterly impoverished condition of a large part of the population and the diminution of opportunities for the establishment and maintenance of family life must have played havoc with right social relations and so with morality.

(3) *Religious.* We cannot conceive of pure religion

as flourishing under the conditions that existed during the later years of the war. Along with economic, social, and moral ruin, religious deterioration proceeded to a shocking extent. Even before the war the energies of Lutheran ministers had become so absorbed in controversy with Roman Catholics and Calvinists, and in internal strife, as greatly to detract from their interest in the spiritual needs of the people, and the churches had little vitality. To a remarkable extent the theological faculties of the universities, with meager support and depleted classes, persevered in their teaching and in their literary activity; but they were dominated by the polemical and the scholastic spirit of the time, and their self-sacrificing efforts were by no means so fruitful as they might otherwise have been.

2. *Syncretism and Ultra-Lutheranism: Calixtus and Calovius.*

LITERATURE: Dorner, "Hist. of Prot. Theol." (Eng. Tr., 1871), Vol. II., pp. 185, *seq.*; Henke, "*Geo. Calixt und seine Zeit*," 1853–1856; Gass, "*Gesch. d. prot. Dogmatik*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 67 *seq.*; Frank, "*Gesch. d. prot. Theol.*," 1885, *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 4 *seq.*; writings of Calixtus and Calovius; pertinent sections in the histories of doctrine and articles "Syncretism," "Calixtus," and "Calovius," in the encyclopædias.

(1) *George Calixtus.* Calixtus has been designated by a recent writer (Tschackert, in Hauck-Herzog, ed. 3, art. "Calixtus") as "the most independent and the most influential among the Lutheran theologians who still in the seventeenth century may be regarded as successors of Melanchthon." A native of Schleswig (b. 1586), son of a pastor who had studied under Melanchthon, when sixteen years of age he was sent to the University of Helmstädt, where Joh. Caselius, the venerable humanist and a personal friend of Melanchthon, Casaubon, and Scaliger, still gave lectures. Among his most influential teachers was Martini, the Aristotelian, whose predilection for ancient philosophy may have led the young student to inquire whether ancient theology were not preferable to the dry dogmatism and the biting polemics of his own time. Interest in ancient theology stimulated his taste for church history, especially the history of doctrine, in which he became pre-eminent among his contemporaries.

From 1607 onward he applied himself to theological studies. The years 1609–1613 he devoted to scientific journeys, which embraced Germany, Belgium, England, and France. He came in close touch with leading Reformed, Anglican, and even Roman Catholic theologians, wishing to have as complete an understanding as possible of the various modes of theological thought with which he would have to deal and to gather for himself whatever of truth they might contain. Thus equipped he returned to Helmstädt as a professor of theology, where he labored for forty-two years, and was generally regarded as one of the two or three foremost theologians of his time. It will not be practicable here to give an account of his contributions to theological literature or to better methods of theological study. These were very great and far-reaching in their influence. No man of his age did so much to promote the application of the historical method to the study of the Scriptures and of Christianity.

Converse with the leading representatives of other communions, the study of the church Fathers, and reaction against the narrow dogmatism and the harsh polemical spirit that dominated Lutheran theology, led him to go to extremes in minimizing the importance of the distinctive views of Lutherans, Reformed, and Romanists, and in magnifying and exalting the elements of truth that are of essential importance and are common to all. As early as 1629 he expressed the conviction that in the Apostles' Creed and in the tradition of the first five centuries everything of essential importance is contained. His view was sharply attacked as "Cryptopopery" by Buscher (1640), and from this time onward the Helmstädt theology was a target for the darts of Lutheran polemicists. It should be observed that Calixtus gave the first place to Scripture, which has the power of giving divine certainty concerning its own contents. It is with him the ultimate principle which has of itself certainty, authenticity, and authority. Nothing, he maintains, can be placed beside Holy Scripture with respect to certainty and infallibility, because it is full of divine power effectually to move the heart and constrain it to acquiescence. He accepted the Apostles' Creed because it was a simple, definite statement of Scripture truth, in

which all true Christians could easily agree. The tradition of the first five centuries was valuable to him simply because it represented the way in which the Christians of the time immediately succeeding the apostolic age understood the Scriptures. He insisted that no tradition has any standing that is not in complete conformity with Scripture. The chief value of early tradition is to show us how the early Christians understood the teachings of Scripture and where they put the emphasis. He adopted the maxim of Vincentius of Lerins, maintaining that what has been believed always, everywhere, and by all, is alone essential. He maintained that Christ's infallible church on earth still exists, but has lost much of its capability of being known. The boundaries of truth and error have been obliterated by additions and ecclesiastical divisions that have resulted therefrom. Romanists had gone astray by making such innovations as papal infallibility, enforced celibacy of the clergy, denial of the cup to the laity, the sacrificial view of the mass, and transubstantiation. The apostasy of Rome called forth Lutheranism and Calvinism with their strong tendency toward undue dogmatism. He was not disposed to find fault with differences of view among various communions so much as with the spirit of dogmatism which led each party to claim exclusive validity for its own set of views or its own method of interpreting Scripture and to revile and persecute those who differ. If Lutherans, Reformed, and Roman Catholics would accept the Scriptures as understood by the church of the first five centuries and the doctrinal formularies of that age and tolerate each other in distinctive views, he thought an end might be made to partisan strife, and that the spirit of Christian love and fellowship and proper emphasis on Christian life would supervene.

The conciliatory tone of his writings, and his depreciation of the distinctive doctrines of Lutheranism, early gave offense to the strict Lutherans, and especially his (correct) representation of the Lutheran doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's human body and of the communication of all attributes of the divine nature to the human in the person of Christ as Eutychian. His successive works were severely criticised, and efforts were made to

bring about his dismissal from the Helmstädt faculty. In 1645, influenced by Calixtus' writings, King Wladislaus of Poland arranged a conference at Thorn to which Lutherans, Reformed, and Catholics were invited, with a view to securing union along the lines indicated by Calixtus. Calixtus was present and had for his Lutheran opponent the young and brilliant Abraham Calovius, who represented extreme and uncompromising Lutheranism, and who was for years to be the champion of this type of Lutheranism over against Syncretism and Pietism.

(2) *Abraham Calovius.* Born in 1612, Calovius entered the University of Königsberg in 1626, where his career as a student was one of remarkable brilliancy. At twenty he became master of philosophy and was made a member of the philosophical faculty. While teaching mathematics and philsophy he pursued his theological studies, and when only twenty-one distinguished himself by a polemical writing in defense of the substantial presence and the perception of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper. In 1637, after a period of ministerial activity in Rostock, he received his doctor's degree and accepted a position in the theological faculty at Königsberg. In 1650 he was called to Wittenberg, which had become a bulwark of Lutheran orthodoxy. Here, surrounded by like-minded colleagues, as professor and pastor he exerted an almost unrivaled influence till his death (1686), often having five hundred auditors. Among his most distinguished colleagues in the university was Quenstedt.

(3) *Syncretism.* This term was applied to Calixtus' views on Christian union by his opponents in the sense of a conglomeration and confusion of divergent views in which matters judged by themselves to be of primary importance were treated as of slight consequence (*adiaphora*). It had often been used in earlier times in the sense in which Calixtus and his associates would have admitted its application to their views to designate an earnest effort to secure union in matters of essential importance and neutral toleration of differences in matters regarded as of secondary importance. After the conference at Thorn (1645) the assaults on Calixtus and

his associates became fiercer and fiercer, Calovius soon coming to be regarded as the great champion of orthodoxy. The University of Leipzig stood side by side with Wittenberg in support of strict Lutheranism. The House of Brunswick and several other princes favored and protected the advocates of peace and conciliation. The strict party drew up and attempted to foist upon the Lutheran States, and especially upon the universities, a new confessional document (*Consensus Repititus Fidei Lutheranæ*, drawn up in 1655, first published in 1663), in which eighty errors were enumerated and condemned. The scheme failed, notwithstanding the most determined efforts of its advocates, chiefly because of the opposition of the University of Jena under the leadership of the great Joh. Gerhard, who from being an opponent of Calixtus had come to occupy an intermediate position between the two factions. The controversy continued for many years after the death of Calixtus.

(4) *Results of the Syncretistic Controversy.* Whatever may be one's opinion as to the merits of Calixtus' scheme of Christian union, it is highly significant that the best equipped theologian of his time should have been willing to take an independent position in favor of peace and harmony among Christians in the face of the narrow and bitter dogmatism of the Lutheran body as a whole. That he secured a considerable following and sufficient support to protect him and his followers from the persecuting fury of the majority is equally significant. It has been justly remarked that this controversy led the extremely controversial element in Lutheranism to exhaust its polemical energies. The controversy was followed by a marked indifference in relation to the scholastic definitions of Lutheran orthodoxy. The extreme dogmatism, formalism, and polemical bitterness of Lutheran orthodoxy, involving a neglect of the spiritual side of Christianity, co-operated powerfully with the syncretistic indifference to dogma and laying of stress upon Christian life and primitive types of Christian teaching in bringing about a revival of evangelical mysticism (Pietism). The breaking down of the old orthodoxy by the syncretism of the Helmstädt theologians prepared the way also for the later rationalism.

3. *Pietism and the Pietistic Controversies.*

LITERATURE: Dörner, "Hist. of Prot. Theol.," Vol. II., pp. 203 *seq.*; Baur, "*Kirchengesch. d. neueren Zeit*," 1863, *Seit.* 343 *seq.*, and 572 *seq.*; Göbel, "*Gesch. d. chr. Lebens in der Rhenisch-westphalischen Evang. Kirche*," 1852–1862, *Bd.* II.; Schmidt, "*Gesch. d. Pietismus*," 1863; Hurst, "Hist. of Rationalism," 1866, Chap. I.–III.; Ritschl, "*Gesch. d. Pietismus*," 1880–1886; Lives of Spener, by Hossbach (1828 and 1861), Wildenhahn (1858, Eng. Tr. by Wenzel, 1881), Horning (1883), Waldron (1893), and Grünberg (1896); pertinent sections in works on church history and history of doctrine, and art. "Pietism," "Spener," "Francke," "Bengel," in encyclopædias.

(1) *Antecedents of the Pietistic Movement.* The utterly depressed condition of religious life in Germany, the almost universal immorality in the universities, the almost complete destitution of edificatory preaching, and the almost complete lack of other means of awakening and stimulating spiritual life, remaining unchanged, Spener attempted to bring about a reformation (1666 onward). Personal conversion, even in the case of ministers of the gospel, seems not to have been expected. Baptism, administered in infancy, was supposed to have magical efficacy in procuring salvation; and the partaking of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper was supposed to be a means of grace even in the cases of the most immoral and irreligious. Exclusion from communion was almost the only discipline employed, and this was resorted to only in the case of outbreaking transgression. In the Protestant Netherlands and in England and Scotland more earnest types of Christian life had arisen and were being widely disseminated (Puritans, Independents, Baptists, etc.). The spiritual forces that were involved in the great Anabaptist movement had been crushed out in Germany, whereas in the Netherlands and in England they were having free course and bringing forth fruit abundantly. Some mystics of the extreme (pantheistic) type, such as Val. Weigel (d. 1588), Jacob Böhme (d. 1624), Val. Andraeæ, *et al.*, had influenced considerable circles, and rationalistic-mystical societies had been formed in many communities for the promotion of greater freedom and inwardness in religious thought (Rosicrucians, Alchemists, Caballists, Paracelcists, etc.); but the contribution of these to pure religion was very slight, and it is probable that they ministered

rather to downright skepticism and unbelief. Calixtus, while he had advocated the placing of emphasis on religion rather than on doctrine, had done little or nothing for the quickening of spiritual life. It was left for Spener to lead in a great religious movement, whose consequences were to be far-reaching and beneficent.

(2) *Philip Jacob Spener.* A native of Alsace (b. 1635), he was religiously brought up in close association with the nobility of his neighborhood, the Countess Agatha of Rappoltsweiler, a lady of strong ascetic and quietistic piety, being his godmother, and the court preacher, Joach. Stoll, a man of excellent character, being his teacher and spiritual director. He early showed a taste for devotional reading and became acquainted not only with German works of the earlier time, but also with translations of the English devotional books of Bayly, Dyke, and Baxter. As a student in the University of Strasburg he was noted for the rigor of his moral life and for the devoutness of his demeanor. On the completion of his university course he spent some months in Switzerland in close association with leading Reformed ministers and professors, studying carefully the methods of work and the church life of the Swiss. He also visited Lyons in France and a number of German universities. He was pastor in Strasburg and lecturer in the university during the years 1663–1666. His lectures on the possibility of the loss of the grace of regeneration and the necessity of renewing the process attracted considerable attention. His preaching was strongly practical and deeply devout. He sought to impress on those having the ministry in view the responsibility of the pastoral office and the importance of preaching for the conversion and edification of the people rather than for the defense of dogma and the combating of adverse forms of belief. He began at this time to inquire into the causes of poverty with a view to the betterment of the temporal condition of the masses. As pastor in Frankfort-on-the-Main (1666–1674) his preaching became still more intensely practical and spiritual. He began to insist that laymen should assist the pastor in spiritual work. He now began to discredit merely intellectual belief as a means of salvation and to insist that saving faith involves a complete

transformation of the whole being by the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit. In 1670 some of those who had been led into a new life by his preaching complained of the lack of means for spiritual culture and expressed a desire for social meetings for mutual edification. The result was the formation of devotional meetings (*collegia pietatis*), which under his influence soon became widespread and highly influential in promoting spiritual life. The meeting conducted by himself in his own house began with the devout study of devotional literature. From 1675 onward the Bible alone was used as a basis for the edificatory exercises. His "Pious Desires" (*Pia Desederia*), published in 1675, had a wide circution and was highly influential. It consisted in a devout expression of a wish for the thorough reformation of the Lutheran Church and of suggestions for the accomplishment of this desirable end. His chief reliance was on a better knowledge of the Bible to be gained in private assemblies for its study; on a more extensive and systematic employment of church-members in carrying forward the multiform work of the churches; on a general recognition of the fact that Christianity is not a matter of knowledge solely, but of life, and that Christian life should be an exemplification of the principle of love; on a more adequate education of ministers, having reference to piety as much as to scholarship; and on a type of preaching that should eschew rhetorical display and pedantry and make edification its chief aim.

These suggestions seem to us so thoroughly Christian and common sense that it is hard for us to realize the extent of the innovation involved and the bitterness of the opposition aroused. Spener was accused of leaning too much toward the Reformed theology and of not putting sufficient emphasis on the distinguishing features of Lutheranism. The devotional meetings were criticised as tending to separatism and as hotbeds of heresy. This criticism was supposed to be fully justified by the separation of several of these meetings from the churches that treated them with suspicion and contempt. Spener had no desire to found a new denomination. He was a devout Lutheran, and his sole aim seems to have been the reformation of the evangelical (Lutheran) church.

(3) *August Hermann Francke.* Born in Lübeck (1663), but brought up in Thuringia, and early the subject of strong religious influences, he decided while still a boy to devote his life to the gospel ministry. As a student at Kiel he was a member of the household of Professor Kortholt, who had come under Spener's influence. As a student his life was exemplary, but was possibly more ascetical than was wholesome. At the end of his course of study he was still profoundly dissatisfied with his own spiritual condition, regarding himself as "a mere natural man who had much in his head, but was far enough removed from the beneficent life that is in Christ Jesus." In 1684 he continued his studies in the University of Leipzig. He gained his master's degree the next year with Hebrew as his chief subject, and became a docent in the university. In association with Paul Anton and others Francke formed a Bible club (*Collegium Philobiblicum*) for the exegetical and devotional study of the Scriptures. Heretofore he had been dealing with the husks of Scripture truth, now first he came into the enjoyment of its very kernel. The Bible club met with considerable opposition ; but it flourished and became a center of strong religious influence in the university and throughout Germany. Yet in 1687, when he left Leipzig, he was still deeply dissatisfied with his own spiritual attainments, being at peace with the world, suffering no persecution for Christ's sake, and making no earnest and thoroughgoing effort at amendment. After spending some time in private biblical study under devout ministers and in reading the writings of Molinos and other mystics, in which he took great delight, and two months' joyful intercourse with Spener, he returned to Leipzig (February, 1689), and with greater confidence and more definite reformatory aims resumed his work as a teacher. Here his biblical lectures and his sermons attracted great audiences, and religious agencies were established which deeply affected the life of the university and of the city. Francke and his followers did not escape criticism. They were accused of spiritual pride, contempt for science, discouragement of earnest philosophical study, and laying undue stress on piety and Bible study as the only things really worth while. Through the unfriendly representa-

tions of Professor Carpzov the university authorities prohibited the Bible clubs and instituted proceedings against him as a teacher of unsettling and dangerous doctrines. It was determined that henceforth his teaching must be limited to secular subjects. A call to the position of chief pastor in Erfurt (1690) was accepted. Many students from Leipzig and Jena who had come under his influence betook themselves to the University of Erfurt, and became active in disseminating pietistic life and thought in the university and throughout the city. Here again opposition became so sharp as to lead to his removal (September, 1691).

Spener, now in Berlin, invited him thither, gave him an opportunity during six weeks of coming in contact with the religious life of the city, and procured for him an appointment to a pastorate and professorship in Halle. Here with the like-minded Breithaupt and Anton as colleagues, and under the patronage of the Elector of Brandenburg, who was sympathetic with this type of religious life and work, he was able to carry forward, with slight opposition, his great beneficent activities. Halle greatly flourished and became the center of religious influence for the whole of Germany. Under Francke's direction a great orphanage was established, that set the example to evangelical Christians everywhere of practical philanthropy, which had been much neglected. The instruction of neglected poor children was begun in 1695. Soon a few orphans had to be provided with a home. In 1698 a hotel with grounds was placed at his disposal for an orphans' home, and it was filled with over a hundred children, who were nurtured and trained in the most careful manner. Through the liberality of Francke's friends additional land was secured and a great building for the various departments of his institutional work was erected. At his death (1727) twenty-two hundred children were receiving training in this institute (one hundred and thirty-four orphans) under one hundred and sixty-seven male and seven female teachers, and two hundred and fifty university students were supplied with their dinners there. The pedagogical work was organized under eight inspectors, and this children's school was a valuable object-lesson for the Christian world.

The missionary enterprise under Frederick IV. of Denmark early came into close relations with Francke's work, and the orphanage supplied many helpers and teachers for work in India. The famous missionaries Ziegenbalg, Plutschau, and Schwartz were trained in Francke's school.

Under Francke's influence a Bible society was founded by Baron von Canstein (1710), which was to have a highly useful career.

(4) *Results of the Pietistic Movement.* *a.* As might have been expected the introduction of changes so radical in methods of preaching and teaching, in conceptions of the Christian ministry, and in the relative importance given to Bible study as compared with church dogma, provoked much violent antagonism. The leaders were stigmatized as heretical innovators, who made little of the distinctive principles of Lutheranism and treated with contempt the great mass of Lutheran professors and pastors as unconverted men unfit to be religious guides of the people, and as sectarian in their tendency. Some of the opponents of the movement were led to declare that the church is so holy and perfect as to be above the possibility of reformation. "It is not the church, but the ungodly in the church that must be reformed." Some went so far as to identify the Lutheran symbolical books in the most absolute way with divine truth, and regarded it as disloyalty to suggest that there might be error therein. Spener's demand that every one should test the symbolical books before subscribing them was regarded as an impertinence. Some of the opponents of pietism came dangerously near to sacerdotalism in their exaltation of the ministerial office, holding that the decisions of the Lutheran clergy were equally authoritative with the word of God. Some were led to insist that with baptism the gift of the Holy Spirit is imparted once for all; so that the person baptized in infancy needs no special work of the Spirit to make of him a true Christian. That men need to be specially illuminated by the Spirit in order to be good theologians and ministers, as claimed by Spener and Francke, was utterly repudiated. Plato and Aristotle might have become good theologians, even though they had regarded the mysteries of the faith as fables. The church was regarded as the self-

centered possessor of divine authority, endowed, once for all, with divine powers and privileges, as if the Holy Spirit had relinquished his direct relation to souls, nay, had abdicated his power and energies in favor of the church and her means of grace. "Faith in the continued agency of the Holy Ghost, in illumination and regeneration, was branded as fanaticism and enthusiasm" (Dorner).

b. Pietism, on the other hand, brought out with great emphasis the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit as the regenerating and illuminating power in every Christian life.

c. Reference has already been made to the stress laid by Spener and Francke upon the study of the Bible under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The effect of this devout attention to biblical study upon subsequent Christian history has been of fundamental importance.

d. The stress and importance attached by the pietists not only to individual conversion by the power of the Spirit, but to the living of separated and consecrated lives, and so to practical Christian morality and beneficent activity, has already been made sufficiently manifest. Sanctification by the indwelling power of the Spirit progressing throughout life was a fundamental feature of pietism.

e. A refined and spiritual type of millenarianism (represented by Spener, Bengel, *et al.*), has exerted a profound influence upon later evangelical movements and is having a great career to-day. Spener's "Hope of Better Times in the Future" (1693) does not look forward to a catastrophic destruction of the present order and the sudden dawning of an age of triumphant righteousness under the rule of the reappearing Christ, but only to the diminution of sin and evil. He does not regard Christ's millennial government as visible, but regards the Saviour's reign as chiefly the result of the labors of regenerate men for their own sanctification and that of others (Dorner). The hope of a better time in the future was to him a trumpet call to holy living and to earnest endeavor for the salvation of men. Bengel's eschatology was far more objectionable, as he indulged in efforts which had long before his time proved futile

to determine by computations from biblical data the temporal metes and bounds of the kingdom of God.

f. The influence of pietism was perpetuated in the Moravian Brethren. The Count von Zinzendorf, a disciple of Francke, was influential in gathering and inspiring with missionary zeal the remnants of the Bohemian Brethren, whose organized life had been almost destroyed in the Thirty Years' War, in establishing for these and other likeminded evangelical Christians a great religious and educational center at Herrnhut on his own estates, where he had allowed them to settle before he decided to cast in his lot with them, and in setting on foot one of the greatest missionary agencies of modern times (1727 onward).

g. As syncretism had provoked orthodox Lutheranism to the expression of views so extreme and the display of a spirit so unamiable as to call forth pietism as a protest and by way of reaction, so pietism led the current orthodoxy, by this time still less evangelical, into statements so rash as to promote the rise and spread of rationalism. The intense religious enthusiasm and the high moral requirements of pietism, and the stress that it laid on the supernatural as not merely a thing of the past but as a present-day reality, may have directly promoted the spread of rationalism among those who held aloof from its religious influence. The banishment of Wolff, the philosopher, from the University of Halle, with the approval of Francke and his followers, no doubt tended to intensify the zeal of those inclined toward rationalism.

4. *The Wolffian Philosophy and Lutheran Theology.*

LITERATURE: Hurst, "Hist. of Rationalism," 1866, pp. 199–220; Tholuck, "*Vorgesch. d. Rationalismus*," 1853–1854; Hagenbach, "German Rationalism," 1865; Lecky, "Hist. of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe"; Baur, "*Kirchengesch. d. neueren Zeit*," *Seit.* 586, *seq.*; pertinent sections in works on the history of philosophy, and encyclopædia art. on "Wolff."

(1) *Christian Wolff.* Born at Breslau (1679), educated at Jena, where he became imbued with the philosophy of Leibnitz, he was appointed professor of philosophy in the University of Halle in 1706. His popularity as a teacher gradually increased, and his lecture

room was thronged somewhat at the expense of those of the theological professors. In 1719 he published his book entitled "Rational Thoughts on God, the World, and the Soul." This was followed by a work on ethics (1720), and one on politics (1721). Though not a great originator of thought, following essentially in the footsteps of Leibnitz, he far surpassed his master in the power of popular presentation. To the thought of his great master he added the mathematical method of Pythagoras and Spinoza. It was his aim to make philosophical truth as self-evident and incontrovertible as mathematical. He even ventured into the theological realm, claiming that either the doctrines and claims of Christianity (miracles, trinity, etc.) are capable of demonstration, or they are not worthy of belief. He thought he could demonstrate them, and claimed that by doing so he was setting up a mighty barrier to the influx of English deism and French skepticism. But the principle that nothing in religion is to be accepted that cannot be rationally demonstrated was perceived by pietists and orthodox Lutherans alike to be a highly dangerous one. His high commendation of the ethical system of Confucius precipitated a crisis. The Halle theologians felt themselves justified in petitioning the king for Wolff's dismissal. The character of Wolff's teaching was presented to the king in so unfavorable a light that he ordered him to leave Prussia in forty-eight hours or forfeit his life. The reading of his books was strictly prohibited, the penalty being one hundred ducats for each offense.

Wolff was called almost immediately to a chair in the University of Marburg, where his fame and popularity grew so rapidly that ignorance of his teachings came to be regarded as inexcusable, and his methods were applied to every department of study. A new translation of the Bible (the Wertheim Bible), embodying his principles and thoroughly skeptical in its tendency, was published (1735–1737). By 1740 his teachings had virtually mastered the religious thought of Germany. Soon after his accession Frederick II. invited the aged philosopher to resume his chair in the University of Halle, and he was received like a king by professors and students.

(2) *Natural versus Revealed Theology.* Wolff's influ-

ence was manifest in the breaking down of the dogmatic orthodoxy of the Lutheranism of the preceding generation, with its scholastic method based upon the philosophy of Aristotle, and especially in the widespread interest that arose in natural theology. The study of the symbolical books and the refutation of heresy had lost their charm, and the study of nature as illustrative of the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of God occupied the minds and filled the discourses of pastors and professors. Canz illustrated the superiority of natural to revealed religion by that of pure, living, cold spring water to warm, stagnant cistern water. A rationalistic work by Reinbeck on the Augsburg Confession (in nine volumes) was sent at the public expense to every Lutheran church in Prussia.

(3) *Frederick the Great as a Promoter of Theological Liberalism.* Frederick's sympathy with religious free-thinking was manifest in his restoration of Wolff to the chair from which he had been expelled. He had become himself thoroughly imbued with French skeptical philosophy, was in constant correspondence with its chief representatives, entertained them at his court, and himself adopted the French language as the vehicle for his thoughts. He introduced into Prussia a measure of religious toleration that was unexampled in Germany, and he contributed more than any other man to the progress of the type of thought and life known in history as "The Illumination" (*Aufklärung*). This term is used to indicate the general disappearance from men's minds of the sense of the supernatural in religion, with widespread interest in philosophy and science. It was in an important sense a second edition of the Renaissance, like the latter involving repudiation of everything traditional and an effort to get at the essence and ground of things by the application of the mind to nature and history and insistence on freedom of thought. Among the agencies for the spread of liberal thought were the lodges of Free Masons in such centers as Hamburg, Braunschweig, Berlin, Leipzig, and Altenberg. Societies of Truth-lovers (Alethophiles) were organized among the young preachers through the efforts of Manteuffel and Reinbeck for the dissemination of Wolff's philosophy.

Edelmann, a coarse and sheer opponent and reviler of the supernatural in religion and vaunter of the power and dignity of reason, after a checkered career as a disseminator of blasphemous teaching was permitted by Frederick II. to settle in Berlin (1749), with the understanding that he would cease publishing his views. He devoted himself during the remainder of his life (d. 1767) to controversies with Christians and Jews (Mendelssohn) and to the private circulation of his scurrilous manuscripts. Considerable commotion was caused (1750) by the publication (pseudonymously) of a work by Loen entitled "The Only True Religion," inculcating a kind of eudæmonism, and claiming to furnish the solution of all religious problems. It was attacked by the Giessen faculty. Semler (b. 1725) studied at Halle where he became professor of theology (1757) and aroused much opposition by reason of his rationalistic treatment of the Bible. He sought to discredit the canon as a fortuitous collection of books of very different values, and denied that the Scriptures were intended to be a standard of faith for all men during all ages. He laid the foundation for the later subjective criticism of the Tübingen school by asserting that Paul alone of the New Testament writers taught that Christianity was the universal religion and that the catholic Epistles were written with a view to harmonizing Paulinism with Judaizing Christianity. He taught that the New Testament writers accommodated themselves to the popular notions of their day and so are not to be implicitly followed.

Reimarus, professor at Hamburg 1728 onward (d. 1768), left unpublished a number of blatantly skeptical essays, which were published by Lessing (1774 onward) as "The Wolffenbüttel Fragments." The most objectionable of these was probably that on "The Purpose of Jesus and his Disciples." His idea is that Jesus desired to appear as a reformer of Judaism and to proclaim himself an earthly king. When he failed in his purpose his disciples pretended that he came to establish a spiritual kingdom and invented the story of his resurrection. The publication of these weakly irreverent writings was unworthy of Lessing, and involved him in controversy.

Among the learned and moderate men of this time

were J. L. von Mosheim (d. 1755), the foremost church historian of his age, who combined some of the elements of Syncretism, Pietism, and Wolffianism, cared nothing for orthodox Lutheranism, was fair-minded in his dealing with other forms of Christianity, and was free from the grosser forms of skepticism; J. A. Fabricius, the eminent text critic, editor of patristic writings, and bibliographer (d. 1736); and J. G. Walch, author of many learned works bearing on the history of doctrine (d. 1775). Noteworthy was the great literary revival that formed part of the age of "Illumination" in Germany. Klopstock, the "German Milton," produced the great religious epic of the time, "The Messiah," which though not theologically or artistically perfect, did much toward rescuing the person of Christ from the unworthy conceptions and treatment that characterized the age. Hamann, a noble philosophical spirit, with a strong pantheistic tendency ("all things are divine, all things are human"), was yet an enthusiast for Christianity and a believer in divine revelation. Lavater, the religious poet, belonged to the same school. By way of reaction against the current deism they laid such stress upon the immanence of God as almost to lose sight of his transcendence; but they did much toward promoting worthier views of God, Christ, and religion. Lessing was more daring in his skepticism, and can hardly be said to have been positively Christian; but he seems to have been an earnest seeker after truth, who loved the process of seeking even more than the truth itself. His influence, while it may have been intellectually elevating, was distinctly against faith in historical Christianity. Goethe, the greatest poet of Germany, also a product of the "Illumination," was still more remote from Christian sentiment and Christian morals, and still more pagan in spirit. Schiller had a firmer grasp on Christian principles than Lessing or Goethe, but was distinctly a product of the skeptical "Illumination." Herder, like Hamann, narrowly escaped pantheism. His philosophy of history is not the truly Christian philosophy. Yet he had a keen appreciation of the literary form and the religious thought of the Bible, and he gave to the poetry and the prophecy of the Old Testament a new place in men's thoughts.

5. *Zinzendorf and the Moravian Brethren.*

LITERATURE: See Spangenberg, "*Leben des . . . Grafen u. Herrn von Zinzendorf*," 1772–1775 (English tr., 1838); Bovet, "*Le Comte de Zinzendorf*," 1860 (Eng. tr., 1865 and 1896); Becker, "*Zinzendorf im Verhältniss zu Philosophie u. Kirchenthum*," 1886; Thompson, "Moravian Missions," 1882; Zinzendorf, Works, mostly in German; Hamilton, "A Hist. of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian Church, in the United States of America," 1895 (in the "Am. Ch. Hist. Series," Vol. VIII.); fuller bibliography in Hamilton.

The Moravian Brethren were in an important sense a product of Lutheranism in its pietistic phase, and in an equally important sense a perpetuation of the old evangelical spirit as embodied in the remnants of the Bohemian Brethren, or *Unitas Fratrum*.

Scion of an ancient Austrian noble family (b. 1700), and brought up by his grandmother, the Baroness von Gersdorf, an ardent pietist, Zinzendorf displayed from his earliest childhood a religious enthusiasm that abode with him through life. The love of Jesus and ambition to serve him by bringing salvation to his fellow-men occupied the foremost place in his thoughts and aspirations. When ten years old he was sent to Francke's school at Halle. Here he soon became a leader in religious things, and organized among the boys the "Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed," for the promotion of personal piety and the evangelization of the world. It was from the beginning his desire and aim to devote his life to the dissemination of the gospel; but even his grandmother could not bear the idea of his choosing such a career, and in obedience to the wishes of his guardian and friends he studied law at the University of Wittenberg with reference to public service. Yet he continued to devote his leisure to theological studies and to cherish the thought of devoting his life to Christian work. After traveling in Holland and France, where he came in contact with Jansenistic mystical piety, especially in the person of the Cardinal-Archbishop Noailles, he returned to Saxony (1721), and reluctantly declining a position offered him by Francke as director of the Bible Society, accepted a judicial position under the Saxon government. The following year he purchased of his grandmother an estate in Upper Lusatia, and at the solicitation of Chris-

tian David, who had been converted to their views a few years before and was devoting his life to the gathering and preservation of the remnants of the party, permitted two families of Bohemian Brethren to settle there, with as many more as might be inclined to come. He knew little about the history of the Brethren, but was willing to lend a helping hand to persecuted believers, and probably thought they would make desirable settlers on his undeveloped estate. In 1723 he formed with another nobleman and two Lutheran pastors the "Covenant of the Four Brethren," for the propagation of the gospel throughout the world. By 1727 several hundred of the Brethren had gathered on his estates and had founded a community which they named Herrnhut (Lodge of the Lord). At this time Zinzendorf resigned his office and settled on his estate. The reading of Comenius' *Ratio Disciplinæ* (account of the principles and practices of the Brethren) greatly interested him, and led him to the conviction that his life-work was to consist in reorganizing this ancient brotherhood and leading it in a great missionary enterprise.

It was not his aim to separate from the Lutheran fellowship, but rather to follow the example of Spener in forming little churches within the church (*ecclesiolæ in ecclesia*). Yet he looked after the perpetuation of the episcopacy of the Brethren, and himself received episcopal ordination (1737). To avoid even the appearance of a separation from Lutheranism he also submitted to an examination by the Tübingen faculty, and received ordination as a Lutheran minister. Some time before he had cast in his lot with the Brethren he had established a school at Herrnhut on the model of Francke's, and soon after the reorganization of the Brethren he was able to send forth a considerable number of trained evangelists. It so happened that one of the surviving bishops of the Bohemian Brethren (Jablonski) was court preacher in Berlin, in fellowship with the Lutherans, while the other (Sitkovius) was superintendent of the Reformed churches in Poland. Both of these cheerfully consented to cooperate in giving episcopal succession to the new organization. Thus, old evangelical, Lutheran, and Reformed life and thought were blended in Zinzendorf's new broth-

erhood, which it was his earnest desire not to constitute a new denomination, but rather a great evangelizing agency which should transcend the limits of denominationalism and be simply Christian. Above all things else Zinzendorf was dominated by love to Christ, whose vicarious sufferings were constantly before his mind in such a way as to produce the most exalted enthusiasm for his person, and a passionate desire to follow in his footsteps. His sentimental and realistic representations of the atonement, in which he dwelt upon the details of the passion, were offensive to the Christian taste of that time and to some extent to that of the present, and led to some fanaticism, much obloquy, and considerable persecution.

The organization of the body, like that of the Waldenses, Bohemian Brethren, and Moravian Anabaptists, was of a semi-monastic type, and was very elaborate and complete. The aim was not so much to foster individual liberty as united effort in the great work of world-evangelization. While the organization continued the episcopal office with the principle of general superintendency, the government of the body was really committed to a Board of twelve elders, at whose head Zinzendorf himself stood during his lifetime. At Herrnhut the members of the community were divided into sections for devotional purposes, and times for prayer were so arranged for each that no intermission of petitions to the throne of grace might occur.

As early as 1728 plans for missions to Mohammedans and heathen were being laid, and visits were made by members of the organization to Turkey and Africa. In 1732 Dober and Nitschmann, having learned from Zinzendorf of the sufferings and needs of the Negro slaves on the island of St. Thomas, went thither, and after enduring much persecution accomplished a remarkable work. In 1733 Christian David, with two companions, left Herrnhut for Greenland. In 1734 Lapland was visited by Moravian missionaries, and contingents were sent to Georgia and Surinam. Pennsylvania was entered by Spangenberg and some fellow-laborers in 1735.

In 1736 Zinzendorf was banished from Saxony because of the disturbance that was being caused by his propa-

ganda. After three years of evangelistic labors on the continent, in England, and in the West Indies, he made his way to Pennsylvania (1741), where a large German population, representing nearly every phase of religious life and thought, had settled, and where great spiritual destitution prevailed. Neither Lutherans nor Reformed had any completeness of organization or any adequate supply of pastors, and most of the pastors of both parties were lacking in evangelistic zeal. Many thousands were without religious privileges of any kind. Besides, there was a large Indian population within reach that greatly interested the zealous count. A result of Spangenberg's early activity in Pennsylvania was the gathering of a number of earnest men of various communions into a society known as "The Associated Brethren of Skippach." Zinzendorf was encouraged by the great eagerness of the people for evangelistic preaching and the evident lack of ability on the part of Lutherans and Reformed to cope with the need, to hope to be instrumental in forming a German evangelical union. Being not only a Moravian, but also a Lutheran, and having the approval of a Reformed superintendent, he felt especially conditioned to lead in the work of unification. To facilitate his work he resigned temporarily (1741) his Moravian bishopric and laid aside his titled name, adopting a secondary family name, Louis Türnstein. It does not appear that he designed to make Moravian Brethren of the whole German population; but his zeal for Christian unity and for the evangelization of the entire people was such as to make him indifferent to denominational peculiarities. A number of synods were held in the interest of evangelical union; but contentions finally arose and nothing important was accomplished. Yet the year spent in Pennsylvania was far from being unfruitful; for besides visiting many Indian settlements and organizing a congregation in one of them, congregations were formed at Bethlehem, Hebron, Heidelberg, Lancaster, Philadelphia, and York, in New York City, and on Staten Island, as a result of his efforts, and schools were established at Germantown, Fredericktown, Oley, and Heidelberg.

In Germany considerable scandal was caused (1745–

1749) by fanatical proceedings on the part of some congregations of the Brethren. The fanaticism "did not lead them into gross sins, but gave rise to the most extravagant conceptions, especially as regarded the atonement in general, and Christ's wounded side in particular; to the most sensuous, puerile, and objectionable phraseology and hymns; and to religious services of the most reprehensible character. Such fanaticism Zinzendorf himself unwittingly originated by the fanciful and unwarranted ways in which he expressed the believer's joy and the love which the pardoned sinner bears to the Saviour" (De Schweinitz, a present-day bishop of the Brethren). Zinzendorf saw his mistake, and was afterward influential in eliminating fanaticism from the body. In 1749 the Saxon government rescinded its act of banishment and invited Zinzendorf to establish other communities like Herrnhut.

The Moravian Brethren subserved a highly useful purpose in keeping alive a warm, evangelical piety during a period of great spiritual darkness, in setting an example to other Christian bodies of consecration of life and property to the work of world-evangelization, and especially in transforming the life and views of John Wesley, who was to be instrumental not simply in founding the great Wesleyan bodies, but also in imparting evangelical zeal to other denominations and in preparing the way for the modern missionary movement.

The brotherhood at present is divided into three home provinces: Germany, England, and America. Herrnhut remains the center of administration, and a general convention is held there every ten years. The membership of the three provinces does not much exceed thirty thousand. It sustains missions in Greenland, Labrador, Alaska, the West Indies, Demerara, the Mosquito Coast, Surinam, Cape Colony, Kaffraria, German East Africa, Victoria, Queensland, Cashmere, Little Tibet, and among the North American Indians; sustains a leper hospital in Jerusalem; and carries on evangelistic work in Bohemia and Moravia, at an expense of about $400,000 a year. Its converts in the heathen missions number about eighty thousand. Its educational work has been from the beginning extensive and important as a means of training

workers and of bringing its religious influence to bear upon vast numbers who have not united with the body.

6. *Emanuel Swedenborg and the New Jerusalem Church.*

LITERATURE: Swedenborg's works, in English; Lives of Swedenborg by Wilkinson, White, Tafel, and Worcester, all Swedenborgians.

One of the most remarkable products of the age of "Illumination" in Lutheran lands is the elaborate gnostic system of Emanuel Swedenborg. Son of a distinguished Swedish clergyman who had been highly honored by his king (b. 1688), he took a precocious interest in religious matters, but devoted himself during his early and middle life chiefly to physics, engineering, and psychology. In the mathematical sciences he was an enthusiast and apparently a genius. After completing his university course and spending some years in travel and study in foreign lands, he became a government inspector of mines, and applied his mathematical and mechanical knowledge in promoting the mining industries of his country. The following autobiographical statement shows how he wished the theosophical speculations of his later years to be regarded. After giving an account of his earlier studies and achievements, he continues:

> But all that I have thus far related I consider of little importance, for it is far transcended by the circumstance that I have been called to a holy office by the Lord himself, who most mercifully appeared before me, his servant, in the year 1743, when he opened my sight into the spiritual world, and enabled me to converse with spirits and angels, in which state I have continued up to the present day. From that time I began to print and publish the various arcana that were seen by me or revealed to me concerning heaven and hell, the state of man after death, the true worship of God, the spiritual sense of the word, and many other important matters conducive to salvation and wisdom.

It is not necessary, or perhaps reasonable, to regard Swedenborg as an impostor. It seems probable that his constant poring over the great problems of physics and psychology that pressed themselves upon his unusually active mind during this age of unsettlement and inquiry, and his attempt to find a place for religion in connection with his scheme of the physical and spiritual universe

may have wrought in him a morbid psychological state in which he really conceived his own crude speculations and phantasies to be divinely vouchsafed visions and revelations. As his physical, psychological, and philosophical ideas were crude, so the theosophy derived therefrom might have been expected to be without value.

It will not be practicable to present here even an outline of Swedenborg's speculations. It may be said in general, that on a pantheistic basis he sensualizes and materializes the spiritual rather than spiritualizes the things that are temporal and visible. Most characteristic of his system is his doctrine of correspondences. There is a perfect correspondence between every natural object, even the most minute, and the great facts of the spiritual world. The application of the doctrine of correspondences to the interpretation of Scripture gives opportunity for the wildest allegorizing, and completely destroys the value of Scripture as an objective standard of truth.

Swedenborg taught that Scripture is not merely from the Lord, but is itself the Lord. As the whole godhead assumed humanity in Christ, so God embodies himself in Scripture. The Scripture writers were only instruments in the hands of God. Every sentence and word has a spiritual meaning which the natural idea represents. The revelation to Swedenborg of the correspondence between natural and spiritual things, and of the spiritual meaning of the word, constituted, in his view, the second coming of the Lord. He regarded himself as commissioned by God to introduce a new dispensation, in which men should attain to blessedness by gaining a perfect insight into the correspondence between the natural and the spiritual, lost in the fall and not fully restored in the earlier dispensations. Every Christian doctrine is so transformed in Swedenborg's theosophy as to be scarcely recognizable.

Swedenborg was so highly esteemed by the king for his services to science and for the excellence of his character, that attempts to punish him for heresy failed. He died in London in 1772, professing to the last full confidence in what he had taught. In 1783 a few of his English disciples organized themselves as a church and entered upon the task of disseminating his teachings. A year later the propagandism was extended to America. The New Jerusalem Church is to-day disseminating its teachings with considerable vigor in Great Britain, the

United States, Canada, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden. Vast numbers of volumes of Swedenborg's writings are annually distributed to ministers of evangelical denominations and others.

7. *A New Philosophy and a New Theology.*

LITERATURE: See Dorner, "Hist. of Prot. Theol., Vol. II., pp. 321 *seq.*; Lichtenberger, "Hist. of German Theol. in the Nineteenth Century" (Eng. tr., 1889); Pfleiderer, "Developm. of Theol. in Germany since Kant, and its Progress in Great Britain since 1825" (Eng. tr., 1893); Hurst, "Hist. of Rationalism," 1866 and 1875; Hagenbach, "Germ. Rationalism," 1865; Tholuck, "*Gesch. d. Rationalismus*," 1853–1854; Farrar, "Critical Hist. of Free Thought," 1863.

(1) *Immanuel Kant* (b. 1724, professor in the University of Königsberg 1755–1804), was in a sense a product of the "Illumination," and was the first to subject its results to a searching criticism and to establish a new basis for further investigation of the great problems that had been raised. While his method was thoroughly rationalistic and he may be regarded as the father of the rationalistic theology of modern Germany, he struck a deathblow at the sentimentalism and the eudæmonism that were sapping the intellectual and moral life of the nation. The immediate effect of his teaching was more directly antagonistic to historical Christianity than that of Herder and Lessing had been; but he could build up as well as tear down, and much of the apparent damage that was done to the Christian faith by his "Critique of Pure Reason" was remedied by his "Critique of Practical Reason," his "Ethics," etc.

Kant was led by Hume's expression of doubt regarding the antecedent certainty of human knowledge to a critical examination of the human understanding, the instrument of knowledge. Wolff's method of attaining to truth by means of clear ideas he declared to be utterly vain. He strictly limited our knowledge to phenomena. We do not know things in themselves, but only such appearances as are possible to us under the conditions of knowledge to which we are limited. While reason gives us the ideas of God, the universe, and ourselves, this furnishes no sufficient evidence of the existence of either. While he regards God as the regulative principle of reason, he holds that he may exist only in the reason. Of his objective being we can have no knowledge. He would not allow that God, supposing him to exist, exerts influence on the human mind. This would be to destroy human freedom and the possibility of virtue. And yet this

philosophy "contained a germ which shows an internal affinity with the principle of the Reformation" (Dorner). "He has the merit of having fixed, by means of his categorical imperative, and with a lucidity never before attained, the specific peculiarity of morality in opposition to eudæmonism, and of having again proclaimed, like a philosophical Moses, the supernatural majesty and holiness of the moral law. Everything is, however, resolved into this certainly not lax morality. Religion is only a means thereto, and a means which it did not necessarily stand in need of, for autonomy, as well as autarchy, befits the reason as such" (*ibid.*). The categorical imperative, or the inner prompting to "act from a maxim at all times fit for a law universal," implies an ideal of moral excellence in the mind, and is treated by Kant as a grand certainty in human knowledge and the imperative requirement of human life. "Thou shalt" implies "thou canst." Thus a man is raised above necessitarianism and duty is placed at the very center of his being (cf. Calderwood, art. "Kant" in Schaff-Herzog). It would seem easy from Kant's categorical imperative to infer a moral government of the universe and a Moral Governor. Conformity of the contents of the categorical imperative with that which is central in Scripture would furnish a presumption in favor of the reality of divine revelation. It must be said that Kant did not deny divine revelation. But he was never weary of insisting that pure moral belief is all that is of any value in religion, and that Scripture and creeds have a moral interpretation applied to them, even though it introduces an entirely new sense.

(2) *J. G. Fichte* (1762–1814) sought to bring Kant's teachings into closer relations with theology and Christianity, but the result was an idealism that is hardly distinguishable from pantheism. He was not satisfied with Kant's distinction between pure and practical reason. He made the ego (human personality) to be everything and absolute. Nay, the ego is God. On the other hand, he could affirm that the ego has no substantial existence, and that there is nothing but God. He recognized in a measure the historical Christ as a man in whom God came fully to consciousness. He admitted that Christ is unique through his originality, and that all who enter the kingdom of heaven attain it only through him, in the sense of following his example, and thus becoming perfect organs of the divine. Jesus he called absolute reason, or religion become direct self-consciousness, the perfect sensible manifestation of the eternal Word. When we, like him, have God living in us, the historical Christ loses his importance for us. This is sheer pantheism, and is practically identical with the mysticism of Eckhardt and Suso.

(3) *Jacobi* (1743–1819) insisted that religion is a matter of the heart, and that each individual has a direct heart perception of God. This he considered just as original a perception as Kant's categorical imperative in the sphere of will. Accepting Spinoza's maxim that "all determination (definition) is negation," he maintained that any attempt to give God attributes is anthropomorphic or anthropopathic. External revelation finds no place in his system. He regarded the incarnation of the infinite as a contradiction in terms and as superstitious folly. Yet he affected to believe in the personality of God. His idea of the direct heart perception of God was to bear fruit in Schleiermacher's theology. His negative views were to contribute powerfully to the current of irreverent skepticism.

(4) *Schelling* (1775–1854) was even more pronounced in his pantheism than Fichte or Jacobi, teaching the absolute identity of God and the world, of the ideal and the real, of the soul and the body. God is absolutely immanent in the world, the determining principle of all that is produced in it. He finds divine ideas expressed poetically and symbolically in Christianity, and seeks by a forced method to show the conformity of Christian teaching with his own philosophical ideas. He seeks to combine Spinoza's substance with Fichte's subjectivity, maintaining that these interpenetrate each other and are in fact absolutely identical.

Thus the idea of God becomes animate (in contrast with the immovable God of Spinoza and the Deists), and he is the ideal of knowledge, because in him thought and being are combined into absolute knowledge. He is also the ideal of the ethical and the reconciliation of all the antagonisms of existence, even those of nature and mind. Truth and certainty are rendered possible to mind by this power, which fills it with its presence and obtains it as the organ to which it testifies of itself and makes itself evident (Dorner, p. 357, *seq.*). It is Dorner's opinion that, despite the sheer pantheism that lies at the basis of Schelling's speculations, the work of the Reformation was first continued by him and that science animated by a new breath found again in his thinking a new center. Schelling wrought out a cosmology and a philosophy of history that reminds one of those of the early Gnostics, showing how the Infinite One evolved himself in creation and in the history of mankind. Derived existence he accounts for by the supposition that the infinite put forth a potency of boundless being and permitted its independent agency. Primitive man becomes the embodiment of

the potency of a boundless sovereignty, which he abused, and thereby brought confusion into the universe. In Jesus of Nazareth a divine potency reappears for the restoration of harmony as the God-man, and from him proceeds the Holy Ghost, who leads back to God the rest of mankind. It was something to have philosophy seriously attempt to give to Christ and the Holy Spirit their proper place in the universe and in the work of redemption.

(5) *Hegel* (1770–1831) exerted more influence on theological and other thinking, it is probable, than any of his recent predecessors. Learned, methodical, impressive in his presentation, ambitious, aggressive, enjoying the support of the Prussian government as professor in the University of Berlin, he sought to mold the political, historical, pedagogical, and religious thought of the nation and of the world. He was as decided in his pantheism as Schelling, maintaining the unity of all things and the identity of subject and object. Instead of beginning with the Absolute, like Schelling, he makes the Idea his starting-point, from which by logical methods he seeks to deduce all things.

The Idea includes the Absolute, which is the pure Idea considered in itself abstractly. Nature is the Idea manifested and objectified. Spirit is the Idea turning back upon itself and beholding itself as soul, as society, and as God. God is the concrete unity, the Idea determining itself, the generating principle of immanence. Religion is the consciousness which God has of himself in finite being, or the spirit which is conscious of its essence. He regards religion as a matter of thought rather than of feeling. It is only a lower phase of thought, which should ascend to philosophy. The maxim: "All that is rational is real, and all that is real is rational," strikes at the root of a stable and eternally valid morality, which constitutes the valuable feature in Kant's philosophy, and it tends to justify everything that is and has been. The idea of development, not wholly wanting in the earlier systems, is the most characteristic feature of the Hegelian philosophy. The existing world-order and civilization are the result of infinitely active and impelling mind rising step by step to ever higher and more perfect attainment. Mind is will, and therefore development and differentiation; but as logically enlightened will it strives after unity and necessity, which are indistinguishable from freedom. In the process of development nothing is lost and nothing has a merely transitory importance. Each nation has made its contribution to the progress of civilization. Each system of philosophy and of religion has had its place in the building of the great structure. He was thoroughly optimistic, and regarded the attainments of his own age not only as the highest yet known, but as the highest possible. The idea of the State as exemplified in reconstituted Prussia, the poetical art of Goethe and Schiller, Chris-

tianity rightly apprehended with its conception of divine unity and free personality, and the Hegelian philosophy he regarded as ultimate. All that was wanted was to secure the general recognition and complete utilization of these products of past development.

It was worth much that Christianity should be recognized by the most influential philosopher of his age as the absolute religion, and that the minutest facts of history, religious as well as secular, should have been regarded as of fundamental importance as marking steps in the evolution of the Idea. Hegel's philosophy contributed more than any other influence to set the Germans, and through their example, other peoples, enthusiastically to work seeking to discover everything that can be known in nature, human history, and religion.

(6) It would be inexcusable even in so brief an outline of the religious and theological life of the Germans during the present age, not to mention the *religious awakening caused by the misfortunes of Germany during the Napoleonic wars.* German statesmen like Stein and Scharnhorst sought to encourage the people by promising more of political freedom. Multitudes who had been negligent of religious duties, and even doubters of God's existence, were led now to pray for deliverance from the foreign tyrant. Bibles, hymn books, and other devotional works long disused, were now in demand and were eagerly used. The failure of Napoleon's Russian campaign was looked upon as a divine interposition, and thanksgiving was the order of the day. The national enthusiasm that followed the final overthrow of the tyrant made the Germans comparatively indifferent to constitutional liberty, and was utilized by the sovereigns for further riveting the people's bonds. The religious awakening was utilized by the governments in this interest. The reaction against the French Revolution led in Germany, as well as in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, to romanticism, involving an enthusiasm for the Middle Ages, which manifested itself in literature, art, architecture, politics, and religion. Feudalism, which had been so effectually destroyed in France, received a new lease of life in Germany. An attempt was made to revive mediæval philosophy and theology. As has already appeared, the Roman Catholic Church

profited greatly by this reactionary spirit. The philosophical systems that have been described did much to counteract the influence of romanticism and filled with new enthusiasm multitudes of earnest souls that were searching for truth. It is hard to realize at the present day the extent to which students and educated men were absorbed in the speculations of philosophers like Kant, Schelling, and Hegel. They regarded philosophy as the matter of supreme importance, and hailed with delight and enthusiasm every new point of view that struck their fancy.

(7) Out of this philosophical ferment *an endless variety of theological systems* might have been expected to come forth. Many of the early disciples of Kant became extreme rationalists. Eminent among these was J. F. Rohr, from 1820 onward court preacher and superintendent at Weimar. He was exceedingly fierce in his polemics against supernaturalism in religion, denied that Christianity was a positive religion or had any value apart from its morality, and utterly repudiated its Christology, holding the historical accounts of Christ to be legendary and the gospel method of salvation absurd. He was exceedingly intolerant and bitter toward opponents, and was commonly called the "pope of Weimar." His "Literary Journal for Preachers" was a means of widely disseminating his irreverent and ill-tempered utterances.

J. A. L. Wegscheider (1771–1849), as professor at Halle (1810 onward) and author of "Institutes of Dogmatic Theology" (1815), was a chief promoter of extreme rationalism. J. E. G. Paulus (1761–1851), "the true patriarch of rationalism," as professor at Heidelberg (1811 onward), wrote voluminously in support of rationalism and applied his principles to the interpretation of the Bible. His method was to find for every miraculous narrative a natural explanation. He was an enthusiast in support of this type of thought, but courteous toward opponents.

(8) *Supranaturalistic theology* was not without its supporters even during the darkest period of the age of skepticism. Tübingen was the chief center of this type of thought till after 1840, and the "Tübingen Review"

was its chief literary organ. Among the leaders of this school of thought may be mentioned Reinhard, the eloquent preacher and apologist; Steudel, the Orientalist and biblical interpreter; and Plank, the eminent writer on doctrine history and church government. Midway between extreme rationalism and uncompromising supranaturalism were Bretschneider, the New Testament scholar; Tzschirner, author of an important treatise on "Dogmatic Theology" and of works on the history of doctrine; and De Wette, the eminent biblical interpreter.

(9) *F. D. E. Schleiermacher* (1768–1834), "one of the most beautiful individualities and one of the grandest sons of genius of modern Germany" (Lichtenberger), was a descendant of the Salzburgers and had several Reformed ministers among his ancestors. Four years in the school of the Moravian Brethren at Niesky (1783–1787) produced a profound impression for good on his highly susceptible nature. For a time the doubts which he had entertained before entering the school were in abeyance and he found the utmost satisfaction in a life of trust in Jesus. But to his great sorrow they afterward thrust themselves upon him with a persistence and force that he did not find means to resist. His orthodox father was shocked and pained when he made known to him his doubts, but his uncle treated him sympathetically and persuaded him not to expect absolute certitude, but to trust in God for guidance in the way of truth. In 1787 he entered the University of Halle with its eleven hundred students, eight hundred of whom were studying theology. Rationalism was at this time dominant in the university, but Schleiermacher was little attracted or influenced thereby. His favorite studies were Greek literature and philosophy. About 1789 he became deeply interested in the philosophy of Kant and came in personal contact with him at Königsberg.

After spending some years in pastoral work in the country, he was called to Berlin (1796) as chaplain to a hospital. An intimate acquaintance with Schlegel had considerable to do with his intellectual and spiritual development, and he was led by him to believe that science and religion are not antagonistic but helpful to

each other, and that theology might be rejuvenated by the application to it of the scientific method. During these years he was closely associated, through Schlegel, with a circle of intelligent Jews and became for a time somewhat imbued with romanticism. In fact, he imbibed from Schlegel ideas of love and marriage that greatly disturbed those who had his well-being at heart. In 1799 he published his "Discourses on Religion," which gave him at once a place among the foremost thinkers of his time and which sought to mediate between rationalism and supranaturalism. This was followed by the "Monologues," "Life of Jesus," "The Christian Faith," etc.

He made of religion chiefly a matter of inner experience in which the feelings have more place than the intellect. Faith in the Lord Jesus brings with it an inner assurance that is superior to any external authority. True faith he regarded as a divinely originated restoration of direct vital communion between God and man, brought about by a mental contemplation of the historical image of Christ and by its attractive power. This faith submitting to the Redeemer, participates by means of his continuous agency in his Spirit and life, and attains at one and the same time to the consciousness of personal salvation and of the power of redemption which dwells in Christ. This process is, from the human point of view, supernatural, miraculous; but regarded as the expansion of the Christ-life embodied in his church it is natural. He laid great stress on regeneration as a supernatural process, the carnal mind being utterly incapable of transforming itself into the spiritual. The essence of Christianity consists in redemption through Jesus of Nazareth, which is destined to be the ever-present, all-ruling power in the life of the Christian, and is capable of being implanted in every element of the consciousness as the purest form of the consciousness of God, which again is, on its part, the highest stage of self-consciousness.

In seeking to arrive at the very essence of Christianity, Schleiermacher sought not only to make the way of salvation plain to individuals and to overcome the difficulties that prevented hosts of rationalists from accepting Christ as their Saviour and his religion as supernatural, but he was as earnestly desirous of promoting Christian unity as Calixtus had been, and far more deeply conscious of the supreme importance of Christianity. Brought up in the Reformed communion, educated under Moravian influence, in which Lutheran elements inhered, deeply imbued with the Platonic and the

Hegelian (idealistic) philosophies, which had more affinity for Lutheran than for Reformed theology, he was peculiarly fitted to be a mediator among contending parties, and was able to recognize and appreciate the really Christian elements in Roman Catholic theology.

As professor, preacher, and church official in Berlin (1810 onward), he was the most potent religious force in Germany, and while he fell very far short of our standard as regards the authority of Scripture, giving free scope to subjective criticism and disparaging the Old Testament, he represents an almost infinite advance upon the rationalism of the time. When dying, he desired to partake with his family of the Lord's Supper. After pronouncing the words of consecration, he remarked: "I have never been the slave of the letter, but I press these words of Scripture to my heart; they are the foundation of my faith. We are, and will remain, united in the love and communion of our God."

(10) Among the most distinguished of *Schleiermacher's disciples* may be mentioned Neander, the famous church historian (1789–1850), a converted Jew, who, as professor in the University of Berlin (1812 onward), exerted an influence in favor of devout living and reverent study of the Scriptures and of the history of the Christian church, more wholesome, in some respects, than that of his great master. His defense of the gospel narratives of the life of Christ, whom he considered absolutely divine, against the skepticism of Strauss and others, and of the integrity of the Acts of the Apostles and the New Testament Epistles against Baur and his school ("Life of Christ" and "History of the Apostolic Age"), placed him in the front rank of the defenders of the faith. His motto, "The heart (*pectus*) makes the theologian," involves an earnest protest against mere intellectualism and a determination to make religious experience fundamental. We can only mention, in addition, Nitzsch, author of the "System of Christian Doctrine"; Twesten, author of "Lectures on Dogmatic Theology," and from 1835 to 1876 professor in the University of Berlin; Julius Müller, author of "The Christian Doctrine of Sin"; and Ullmann, author of "The Sinlessness of Jesus" and "Reformers Before the Reformation."

8. *The Evangelical Union of 1817.*

Schleiermacher had long been laboring for a union of Lutheran and Reformed in Prussia and the other Protestant States of Germany. It was not his aim to abolish distinctions of creed and of worship so much as to secure mutual recognition of each other's Christianity, intercommunion, and a free interchange of gifts.

(1) The desire on the part of Frederick William III., of Prussia, after the country had been delivered from French oppression, to strengthen the things that remained, led him, in 1817, acting under the advice of Schleiermacher and many other leading clergymen and statesmen, to celebrate the third centenary of the publication of Luther's theses by an effort to unite the evangelical life of the nation in one evangelical national church. In August, 1817, Lutherans and Reformed had united in Nassau. On September 27 the King of Prussia sent a mandate to the ecclesiastical officials throughout Prussia to take measures at once for bringing about such a union. The king's proposal was very cordially adopted by a large majority of those concerned. In many communities the Reformation Jubilee (October 31) was celebrated by the joint participation of Lutherans and Reformed in the Lord's Supper. The union proposal met with so much favor in Prussia that the government felt justified in omitting the names Lutheran and Reformed from public documents and employing the word Evangelical alone. Much dissatisfaction arose when congregations of the two parties were united against their wishes and when Reformed were expected to participate in the Supper with Lutheran ceremonies. Some thousands of Lutherans of the stricter type felt it a desecration to join in the Supper with the Reformed, who denied the real presence. In Silesia several thousand Lutherans, under the leadership of Doctor Scheibel and Professors Huschke and Steffens, refused to conform. In many localities the strict Lutherans established independent congregations and for a time defied the authorities. Severe persecution drove many of the non-conforming Lutherans to America, where they were able freely to perpetuate their traditional views.

(2) Closely connected with this effort to effect evangelical union by royal authority was King Frederick William's attempt to foist a new liturgy of his own composition on the evangelical churches. He first introduced it in the court church in Berlin and the military church at Potsdam. In a somewhat modified form it was afterward forced upon all the evangelical churches of the State system. The new liturgy was more elaborate than the old and was thought to be far more Romanizing. The second recension was even more objectionable than the first. It was the king's aim to put so much religious teaching in the service that even if the ministers were rationalistic the people would be kept true to the faith. The time for congregational singing and for the sermon was greatly shortened. Many Lutherans and Reformed denied the right of the king without the co-operation of the church authorities to impose new forms of worship on the churches; but Augusti, of Bonn, went so far as to maintain that the sultan of Turkey had a right to impose a liturgy on his Christian subjects. Opposition was so determined that the king was induced (1828) to permit some changes by the ecclesiastical authorities in the various provinces.

(3) The consummation of the union led to discussions on polity as well; but no important changes have as yet been effected. It was in accord with the spirit of liberty in civil as well as in religious matters that followed the French Revolution that the churches should desire to have a certain measure of autonomy; but the reaction in favor of absolute monarchy was unfavorable to the realization of such aspirations. The territorial system, in accordance with which the king has sole authority in determining the form of religion to be tolerated and supported, still prevailed. Except in some of the minor provinces there was no synodal organization whereby the churches could take united action on matters of doctrine, worship, and discipline; but ecclesiastical matters were transacted by consistories, made up of clerical and lay members appointed by the sovereigns and responsible to them alone. In Prussia bishops were appointed (1816) and an archbishop (1829) to act on behalf of the king as general superintendents. In 1828 a superintend-

ent was appointed over each province. But the term "bishop" has for the most part been laid aside. Where synods are permitted, the authority possessed by them is so small as to make them inefficient. Cæsaro-papacy is, under the empire, as it was before, the order of the day in Germany. Catholics alone have succeeded in securing a measure of autonomy, while enjoying government support. A limited toleration is now given to dissenting bodies of Christians who receive no support from the State.

(4) Other German States followed the example of Nassau and Prussia in uniting the Lutheran and Reformed Churches: the Palatinate (1818), Baden (1821), Hesse (1818–1823), Anhalt–Bernburg (1820), Waldeck and Pyrmont (1821), and Anhalt–Dessau (1827).

(5) In 1834 the Prussian cabinet announced that in the evangelical union measure the government had no design to interfere with the authority of the Augsburg Confession, but only to promote a spirit of moderation. The aim of this explanation was to pacify the ultra-Lutherans. It only exasperated them still further.

9. *Lutheran Orthodoxy after the Union.*

(1) On the date of the promulgation of the union measure (tercentenary of the Reformation, 1817) Claus Harms, who afterward opposed the union, published ninety-five theses (in imitation of Luther's) in which rationalism, which he supposed had been erected into a pope, takes the place of Luther's pope. These theses embody a most drastic arraignment of current unbelief and created a great sensation.

"The pope of our time, our antichrist, is in relation to the faith, reason, and in relation to action, conscience, to which has been assigned, as a triple crown, the right of legislating, of rewarding, and of punishing" (Art. 9). "The process by the result of which God is deposed from his judgment-seat in order to put man's conscience upon it, was accomplished whilst there was no sentinel in our church" (Art. 14). "We read in an old hymn 'Two places hast thou, man, before thee.' In our days they have put an end to the devil and plugged up hell" (Art. 24). "We record the very words of our revealed religion as holy; we do not consider them as a dress which can be taken off religion, but as its body. It is owing to them that it has life" (Art. 51). "Some men wish to enrich the Lutheran Church to-day, as if she were a poor servant, by a mar-

riage union. For God's sake, do not consummate the act over the bones of Luther. They might revive, and then woe betide you" (Art. 75).

(2) The effect of this somewhat dramatic declaration of war against rationalism, indifferentism, and union of faiths by royal decree, was to awaken enthusiasm among those who still believed in Lutheranism as a final form of Christianity and to create a determination to wage uncompromising warfare against innovation and neologism. It is worthy of remark that the new Lutheran orthodoxy proceeded largely from pietistic circles, where earnest religious life and profound reverence for the Holy Scriptures had been fostered amid the wreck and ruin of the "Illumination" and of rationalism. A number of earnest spirits who had been converted from Roman Catholicism by way of reaction against restored Jesuitism became zealous missionaries of the new orthodoxy (Boos, Gossner, and Henhöfer may here be mentioned). Judaism also made a noble contribution to the cause of Bible orthodoxy in the persons of Stahl and Philippi in Germany and Da Costa and Capadose in Holland. The influence of the Moravian Brethren on reviving orthodoxy was also very marked. Thus the new Lutheran orthodoxy was not a reproduction of the narrow, formal, scholastic confessionalism of the preceding century, but a profoundly religious movement whose leaders were zealous for the authority and integrity of the Bible and deeply imbued with the missionary spirit. As a persecuted minority the members of this party had abundant opportunity to manifest a spirit of self-sacrifice and to reproduce many of the Christian graces of the Waldenses, the Anabaptists, the Moravian Brethren, and the Pietists.

(3) *Hengstenberg* (1802–69) became by far the most influential leader of the new orthodoxy. Brought up in the Reformed communion, and as a student in the University of Bonn subject to strong rationalistic influences, he experienced a marked change in his views and entered the missionary school at Basel (1823). In 1824 he began his career as *privat-docent* in the University of Berlin, already deeply pious, full of zeal for orthodoxy, and ready to smite with a heavy hand every form of

error. Pietism was in favor at the royal court, and on this account his promotion was rapid and easy. Soon his influence surpassed that of Schleiermacher or Neander. In 1827 he began the publication of his "Evangelical Church Review," which was conducted in a highly popular and politic way and exerted an immense influence upon theological thinking and ecclesiastical politics.

If Harms sought to perpetuate Luther's influence by publishing a new set of theses, it was Hengstenberg that really reproduced the character and the career of the great Reformer. Learned, self-confident, politic, unwearied in availing himself of every possible means of exerting influence, attaching multitudes to himself by his powerful personality, violently denunciatory against his opponents and their teachings, full of inconsistencies by reason of his habit of using strong language in efforts to accomplish immediate results, he stands out for more than forty years as the most powerful religious and ecclesiastical personality in Germany.

The Bible and especially the Old Testament (the latter almost entirely neglected by Schleiermacher and Neander) he made the subject of his lectures and of his voluminous publications. Maintaining as he did the literal inspiration and the absolute infallibility of the Bible, he regarded rationalists of every type as born and sworn enemies of Christ, soul-murderers, and blasphemers. He recognized as properly belonging to the evangelical church only true believers, and these included only such as accepted the Augustinian (Pauline) doctrine of hereditary sin and the vicarious (satisfaction) theory of the atonement, and were ready with Tertullian to believe what to human reason seems absurd (*Credo quia absurdum*). He did not, like Harms, antagonize the union, but on the contrary regarded those who fought against it as fighting against God (1835). Later he expressed dissatisfaction with it, but accepted it as a necessary evil (1844). Still later (1847) he boldly denounced it.

The following unfriendly criticism of his "Evangelical Church Review," while it does injustice to Hengstenberg's spirit and motives, sufficiently attests his power: "A veritable inquisitorial

tribunal, this paper with indefatigable perseverance practised the use of denunciation, of suspicion, and of espionage. Uniting the tone of the prophet with that of the persecutor, and sprinkling his odious attacks with passages from the Bible, Hengstenberg breaks root and branch with all modern culture. He scoffs at the classical literature (Goethe, Schiller, etc.), which he accuses of paganism. He passionately denounces the progress of the democratic movement, in which he sees the realization of the prediction relating to Gog and Magog. . . . He puts upon the same line and confounds in the same anathema the pantheistic philosophy and the advances of the cholera. . . . All this was interspersed with edifying articles on the development of the religious life, on missions, on tours of inspection among the churches, and on religious conferences and assemblies" (Lichtenberger).

His hatred of democracy and of constitutional government and his glorification of royal absolutism (disloyalty to the king he declared to be a sin against the fifth commandment) ensured him the support of the crown. It may be interesting to note that he was an ardent supporter of the Southern States in their defense of slavery and bitterly denounced President Lincoln. In his later years he did not hesitate to criticise sharply the more liberal measures of the government, yet in such a way as not to offend his sovereign. That he had a multitude of faithful followers goes without saying. Among the most eminent were Hahn, the Krummachers, Harless, Guericke, Rudelbach, and Sartorius.

10. *The New Rationalism.*

By 1835 it looked as if the mediating theology of Schleiermacher and the new orthodoxy of Hengstenberg and Stahl had triumphed. The old rationalism had ceased to attract attention.

(1) At this time appeared Strauss' "Life of Jesus" and opened up the strife over the life of the Saviour and the authenticity of the New Testament books that has not yet completely subsided. Of a brilliant but erratic mind, Strauss had been occupied from early youth with speculative doubts. Among his early teachers was F. C. Baur, under whose influence he came again at the University of Tübingen. A study of the mystical writings of Jacob Böhme and of Hegel's philosophy left him with all their pantheism and none of their mysticism. Even the study of Schleiermacher's "Dogmatics" did

not free him from the sheer, dry, irreligious pantheism into which he had fallen. His mind was undoubtedly penetrating and logical, but he was completely lacking in spirituality and had no sense for the religious. Insisting that the gospel narratives are based upon myths that grew up in the church which in some way had come to idealize a man named Jesus, he utterly denied the historical character of the Gospels and discredited Christianity as a supernatural religion. Equally destructive in its tendency was his "Christian Dogmatics" (1840), in which he sought to explain the origin of each dogma and to show its utter inadequacy. Nothing but pure pantheism could hold its ground before his criticism. His attractive personality and his brilliant literary gifts ensured him a considerable following and a great literature, made up of refutations and defenses of his teachings, poured from the press. In his last work, "The Old Faith and the New," he set forth with less reserve than ever his disbelief in God as a person and in human immortality, and exhibited his immoral and irreligious pantheism in all its poverty and nakedness.

Even more irreverent was the unbelief of Feuerbach, Stirner, and Ruge, the young Hegelians who followed Strauss in their attacks upon the central principles of religion.

(2) Of a far more serious nature was the biblical criticism of which F. C. Baur, of the University of Tübingen (1826–1860), was, for a time, the leading exponent. Strauss had thrown doubt upon the credibility of the Gospel narratives, but had given no adequate explanation of the origin of Christianity and of the New Testament canon. Baur's chief reliance was his tendency theory, by which he sought to account for the rise and peculiarities of each of the New Testament writings. The supposed results of the criticism of the Tübingen school were to disprove the apostolic authorship of the Gospels and to place their date much later than had commonly been supposed, and especially to deny the historical character of the Johannean Gospel and to place the date of its composition toward the middle of the second century; to ascribe the Acts of the Apostles to an effort to harmonize the Pauline and Petrine parties,

whose bitter antagonism is presupposed, from the Pauline point of view; and to deny the authenticity of most of the Epistles (Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans alone being accepted as Pauline). Other members of the party have advanced other theories and have used their ingenuity in analyzing the various books into their composite parts and accounting for the origin and character of each. This work is still going on and, as subjectivity has full play and originality is highly prized among the Germans, it may continue indefinitely. The disadvantages of all irreverent criticism of the Scriptures are manifest. Among the good results that have followed have been the confirmation of the historical character of the New Testament writings, a minuteness in the study of their contents that might not otherwise have found place, and concentration of attention on the life of Christ to an extent unexampled in past ages.

The school of Ritschl, of which Harnack and Kaftan are among the most eminent contemporary representatives, is a lineal descendant of the Tübingen school. Interest in the determination of the exact facts about the New Testament literature has led to the most painstaking investigation of the Jewish literature immediately preceding and contemporary with the New Testament age, and with the Jewish and Christian literature of the post-apostolic times.

Outside of the immediate circle of Baur's disciples and approaching more closely to orthodoxy, yet impelled by the same spirit of exhaustive research and freedom from dogmatic prepossession, might be mentioned such biblical interpreters as Lücke, Stier, Olshausen, Meyer, Ewald, Bleek, and Weiss.

(3) Closely related to the Tübingen school is the modern school of Old Testament criticism, of which Wellhausen is the most eminent German representative, but in which Kuenen, the Dutch scholar, was more original, and which has had eminent promoters in Scotland (W. Robertson Smith), in England (Cheyne and Driver), and in the United States (Briggs and Toy). This school of criticism has occupied itself chiefly with the Pentateuch (Hexateuch), which it analyzes with the utmost confidence into its constituent elements, ascribes each of

these to its supposed date and circumstances of origin, and determines how and when each book was brought into its present form. Proceeding upon the supposition that the religion of the Old Testament was gradually developed from a crude polytheism to the monotheistic and ethical system represented in the Old Testament, it seeks to rearrange the historical materials of the Old Testament in such a manner as to accord with the theory.

11. *The Neo-Lutheran Party.*

Dissatisfied with the theology of Hengstenberg, who had too much sympathy with Reformed doctrine and too little regard for the magical efficacy of the sacraments, called forth (*c.* 1845 onward) a highly influential school of what may be called High Church Lutherans.

(1) The founder of this school was Stahl, a converted Jew, who as professor of law in the University of Berlin (1840 onward) became greatly distinguished as an ecclesiastical statesman and as a writer on church polity, philosophy, ethics, the relation of Church and State, etc. Up to 1848 he labored side by side with Hengstenberg. From that time onward his predominance in ecclesiastical politics was manifest in his promotion to the leadership of the feudal party in the Upper House, in his high position as a royal councilor, and in the deference that was paid him in all kinds of ecclesiastical meetings. He was undoubtedly a statesman of the first rank and it was part of his policy to base royal absolutism, with its feudalistic accompaniments, on religious sanctions. He may be compared with Archbishop Laud in his devotion to the divine right of kings and in his high-churchism. Of course he greatly surpassed Laud in learning, in philosophical insight, and in statesmanship. He has not inaptly been compared to Guizot, of France; to Lord Beaconsfield, of England; and to Bismarck. He classed rationalism and revolution together as the two inseparable scourges of modern times. Individual liberty, whether in religious thinking and acting, or in political thinking and acting, was an abomination to him.

(2) The purely ecclesiastical side of High Church Lutheranism was represented by Pastor William Löhe (1808–

1872), who maintained that the relation of the individual to God depends on his relation to the church, outside of which there is no salvation; that the saving part of truth does not reside in Scripture, but in baptism; that one church alone has the truth in its fullness, namely, the Lutheran, which possesses in its Confessions of Faith a doctrine that is perfectly pure and in which there is not an iota to be changed.

(3) Franz Delitzsch, the famous biblical scholar, aligned himself with the high churchmen. He refused to admit a distinction between the visible and the invisible church, insisted that the sacraments are the source of life which nourishes the church, and explicitly placed the sacraments above the word, on the ground that the word acts only on those who believe, while the sacraments act invariably and irresistibly on all who receive them for salvation or perdition.

(4) Münchmeyer regarded the church as a spiritual mother entrusted with bringing forth children to the Lord by the holy act of baptism. He held that baptism alone begets members in the body of Christ and that the church is founded on baptism. Kleifoth put the matter somewhat differently. In the Scripture God speaks to man, in the sacrament God acts with man, concentrating in a visible act the sum total of the divine graces in order to confer them upon us. The sacrament is a creative act, the arm of God which fashions the human soul in the image of Christ. He insisted upon the indelibility of the priesthood as a counterpart to the doctrine of the magical efficacy of the sacraments. Vilmar also explicitly placed the sacraments above the word and added penance, confirmation, and ordination to baptism and the Supper. He wished to see the mass re-established and to have every service terminate with the Supper. He regarded prayer at the altar as peculiarly efficacious and would have every pastor kneeling before the altar every day at noon intercede for the people. Of course this type of Lutheranism made much of genuflections and other ritualistic forms.

Among Neo-Lutherans may be classed Leo, Scheele, Philippi, Höfling, Thomasius, Hofmann, Kahnis, Luhardt, and Baumgarten

12. *The Modern Mediating School.*

The spirit of Schleiermacher has been perpetuated in a line of theologians, embracing some of the most eminent names in German theology, who have occupied ground intermediate between Lutheran orthodoxy and the radical types of theological thought that have been described. It will be sufficient to mention some of the better known names. Here belong Tholuck, Dorner, Rothe, Lange, Liebner, Martensen, Bunsen, Beck, Auberlen, Hagenbach, Hundeshagen, and Beyschlag.

13. *Lutheranism in America.*

LITERATURE: See Jacobs, "A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States," 1893, and the full bibliography there given.

(1) A considerable number of Swedish, Dutch, and German Lutherans had settled in the middle colonies of British North America before the beginning of the present period. After the close of the Thirty Years' War, and especially after the opening up of the Quaker colonies with their welcome to continental peoples and their freedom of worship, many thousands from different parts of Germany made their homes in this goodly land. Mention has already been made of the settlement of a colony of the banished Salzburgers in Georgia. The demoralized condition of the German congregations and the spiritual destitution of multitudes of Germans in Pennsylvania when Zinzendorf visited the colony in 1741 have been referred to already.

(2) Soon after Zinzendorf's departure there arrived a man (1742) whose character and training fitted him to lead, instruct, discipline, provide with institutions, and consolidate this vast body of raw material, and to lay the foundation for what was to become a great and influential denomination. H. M. Muhlenberg (b. 1711) early came under the influence of Spener's pietistic teaching. As a student in the University of Göttingen (1735 onward) he was active in philanthropic work and on intimate terms with several devout noblemen. After his graduation at Göttingen and a short stay at the University of Jena, he spent a year as a teacher in Francke's Orphan

House at Halle. He engaged at this time to go to India as a missionary, but could not be sent out for lack of means. After ministering for over two years to a congregation in the neighborhood of Herrnhut, on Francke's motion he was sent to Pennsylvania, where Zinzendorf's labors were emphasizing the need for wise leadership. His career, ending with his death in 1787, shows him to have been a Christian leader of the first rank and he may with propriety be regarded as the apostle of Lutheranism in America. He was soon reinforced by a number of able assistants from Germany and he was able to organize German and Scandinavian Lutheran work, to draw the lines clearly between Lutherans and Reformed, to infuse into the churches more of spirituality, and in many ways to improve the position of Lutheranism in America. The last years of his career coincided with the war of independence and the disorganized political life that succeeded it. American Lutheranism suffered, as did other forms of Christianity, from the disturbed political conditions and the spread of infidelity that marked this time.

(3) During the thirty years succeeding Muhlenberg's death rationalism swept over the Lutheran churches in America and played sad havoc with the religious life and thought of the body, as it did in Europe. In fact, much opposition to Muhlenberg's pietistic type of Lutheran teaching had arisen before his death.

(4) The tercentenary of the Reformation (1817) was celebrated by American Lutherans in such a way as to prove highly invigorating and a sturdier and more aggressive type of Lutheranism was called forth thereby. Immigration brought large reinforcement in numbers and resources. The rapidly increasing wealth of the country made possible rapid progress in the establishing of educational institutions, the strengthening of synodal organization, the formation of home and foreign missionary societies, the founding of a publication society, the establishment of religious periodicals, etc.

(5) Various types of Lutheranism, in sympathy with those that were current in Germany, appeared in the American body and caused considerable friction; but a stanch type of old Lutheran teaching seems to have

prevailed and liberalistic types seem to have been frowned down by the conservative majority.

The last forty years have been marked by a vast increase of Lutheran membership through the immigration to this country of over a million Scandinavians and over four million Germans, mostly Lutherans; and by serious disruptions, resulting from differences in doctrine, polity, and discipline. The various Scandinavian peoples have organized separate synods and established separate institutions.

(6) The first general synodical body established by the Lutherans in the United States was the "The General Synod" (1820). It embraces twenty-three synods, mostly in the Atlantic States, and has a constituency of nearly two hundred thousand, of whom nearly one-half are in Pennsylvania. This body represents a moderate form of Lutheranism and affiliates to some extent with Christians of other denominations. "The United Synod of the South" (1865), a small body formed by way of secession from the "General Synod" on account of issues involved in the Civil War, has a constituency of about forty thousand. "The General Council" (1866) was formed by way of protest against the laxity of the "General Synod" in tolerating millenarianism, in admitting non-Lutherans to the Supper, in allowing exchange of pulpits with "sectarians," and in refusing to make membership in secret societies a ground for exclusion. It was a part of the policy of the "General Council" to hold the various nationalities together. It embraced eight synods, with congregations in over thirty States, and a constituency of about three hundred and fifty thousand, of whom over a third are in Pennsylvania. "The Synodical Conference" ("Missourians," 1872) was formed under the influence of the Lutheran separatists who left Germany because of persecution after the union measure of 1817, and has drawn to itself much of the radical Lutheranism that abhors Calvinism and any sort of variation from what is regarded as strict Lutheran teaching. It is even more pronounced than the "General Council" in its hostility to union services, open communion, exchange of pulpits with ministers of other denominations, secret societies, millenarianism, etc. Its

constituency of nearly four hundred thousand is scattered over more than thirty States and is composed of four synods, of which by far the largest is the "Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States," with its three hundred thousand communicants.

Besides these great non-affiliating bodies there are several minor independent synods, including Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic bodies, and a large number of independent Lutheran churches not associated with any general organization. It is estimated that the total number of communicants in Lutheran churches in the United States and Canada does not fall much short of a million and a half. The differences that separate some of the non-affiliating bodies are so slight that wise diplomacy may be expected in time to bring about greater consolidation. Lutheranism in America has for the most part been chiefly concerned to hold the German and Scandinavian populations and has done little to attract to itself people of other nationalities. In the older States a large part of its constituency is at present English-speaking and its literature, preaching, and teaching are chiefly in English. But a very large percentage of its members are of German and Scandinavian extraction. It is evident that, while Lutheranism has done much in holding and providing for the vast immigrant Lutheran population, it has lost an immense number to other denominations and to the unchurched mass. A comparison of the present Lutheran membership with an estimate of the present number of Lutheran immigrants and their descendants would show a marked disparity.

(7) In sympathy with the union movement in Germany (1817 onward) and under the leadership of missionaries sent to America during the third decade of the nineteenth century by the missionary societies of Basel and Bremen many union evangelical churches were formed, which effected a general organization in Missouri in 1840. Other organizations were formed in the same interest in Ohio and the East. These united in 1872 to form the German Evangelical Synod of North America. This body accepts the Augsburg Confession, Luther's Catechisms, and the Heidelberg Confession (Reformed), "so far as they agree," as rightly interpreting the Holy

Scriptures; "but in points of difference . . . it adheres solely to the passages of Holy Scripture alluding to them, observing that liberty of conscience existing in the Evangelical Church." The Synod has a constituency of about two hundred thousand in twenty-two States, considerably more than half being in Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, and New York.

CHAPTER IV

THE REFORMED CHURCHES

AS Calvin's doctrinal system was more self-consistent and free from obscurities and ambiguities than that of Luther, and as during the preceding period there was little internal strife among the Calvinistic churches except by way of sheer contradiction of its recognized principles (as in Socinianism and Arminianism), so in the present period the Reformed churches have suffered less from internal disturbance than the Lutheran.

1. *The Swiss Reformed Church.*

LITERATURE: Hagenbach, "Hist. of the Ch. in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"; Hurst, "Hist. of Rationalism"; Nippold, "*Neueste Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* I.; Gieseler, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. IV.; Baur, "*Kirchengeschichte d. Neueren Zeit*," and "*Kirchengesch. d. 19. Jahrh.*"; biographical articles in Hauck-Herzog, and works on the history of doctrines.

The work of Calvin had been perpetuated in Geneva by Theodore Beza (d. 1605), who went beyond his master in the rigor of his teaching (Supralapsarianism), and was, if possible, even more intolerant. Grynæus (d. 1617) had earnestly combated any approach to sympathy with Lutheranism in the University of Basel, and exerted a commanding influence throughout Protestant Switzerland and beyond. Switzerland suffered less than most parts of Europe from the ravages of the Thirty Years' War. The beginning of the present period finds the Swiss Reformed churches thoroughly and aggressively orthodox and almost entirely under the control of the civil magistracy. An indication of the rigor of the orthodoxy that prevailed during the early years of the present period is the uncompromising position taken by Joh. Buxtorf, and maintained in a bitter controversy with Cappel (1645–1653), in favor of the antiquity and the divine authority of the Hebrew vowel points and

accents, and the applause that the defense of this dogma brought him. This view was given symbolical authority in a new confession of faith (*Formula Consensus Helvetica*), adopted by the Swiss Reformed churches (1675). This creed, which also emphasized the antagonism of Reformed and Lutherans, called forth a protest from friends of the Reformed faith in other lands. It was abolished by the canton of Basel in 1685, but continued in use in Geneva until 1706, and in Bern until 1722. One of the authors of this confession was François Turretin, professor of theology at Geneva, and one of the ablest dogmatic writers of the time. He was a stanch defender of strict Calvinism against the liberal views advanced in the theological school at Saumur (denial of reprobation, of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, etc.), and successfully combated his more liberal colleagues, Mestrezat and Tronchin. In his great work (*Institutio Theologiæ Elencticæ*) the scholastic method was more completely applied to the Reformed theology than by any other author.

J. A. Turretin (1674–1737), son of François, as pastor and professor in Geneva, became even more distinguished than his father. It was through his influence that the Helvetic Consensus was abolished in Geneva. He became greatly interested in the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. He was willing to commune with the Lutherans in the Lord's Supper, and sought to distinguish between the fundamental and the non-fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Only those are fundamental that are necessary to salvation, and only such should be insisted on as terms of communion. A Jesuit pointed out that there was no sufficient reason for his remaining outside of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as he admitted that truths necessary to salvation were taught by papists. Werenfels (d. 1740), as professor in the University of Basel, practised and taught the grammatico-historical method of biblical interpretation, insisting that it was not sufficient to derive a possible meaning from a passage of Scripture, but that the one actual meaning must be sought for. Osterwald (d. 1747), as pastor in Neuchâtel, exerted great influence as an advocate of moderation and of devout Christian living as even

more important than rigorous orthodoxy. The latitudinarianism that prevailed in England and in Holland before and after the English Revolution (1688) was influential in Switzerland, the younger Turretin having associated in England with men like Bishop Gilbert Burnet. It was the Scotchman, John Cameron, who had introduced liberal teaching at Saumur, whence also, through the teaching and writings of Amyraut, Placæus, and Cappel, they were disseminated among the Swiss.

Another shining example of learning, piety, and Christian moderation belonging to this time is Benedict Pictet (professor at Geneva 1702–1724), whose voluminous writings cover almost every department of theological science, but in which the dogmatic, the ethical, and the edificatory prevail. He was intimately acquainted with leading churchmen in England, Holland, and Germany, and on the most cordial terms with representatives of other denominations; yet engaged freely in controversy when truth seemed to demand it.

Switzerland was powerfully influenced by French and German skepticism from the middle of the eighteenth century onward, and the religious condition there became almost as deplorable as in Germany. Basel became a center of German pietistic influence, and contributed much to the awakening of religious life. Bern remained relatively orthodox, holding fast to the doctrinal standards of the past. Zürich became rationalistic. Through the influence of De Wette, who was called to Basel in 1822, a moderate form of rationalism became prevalent. By 1839 the Zürich authorities had become so pronounced in their unbelief as to call David Frederick Strauss to a professorship in the university. The popular outcry made it necessary for them to recede in this matter, and the controversy that arose invigorated the conservative forces of the country. The union measures in Germany met with much favor in Switzerland, where the importance of Confessions of Faith and doctrinal differences was no longer generally appreciated.

The influence of German philosophy (Leibnitz and Wolff) is seen in the dogmatic and ethical writings of J. F. Stapfer (d. 1775), educated at Bern and Marburg.

The religious condition of Switzerland during the early

years of the present century may be illustrated by the career of Cæsar Malan (d. 1787), son of a Genevese disciple of Voltaire and Rousseau (Geneva had long been a chief center of French skepticism). He was gifted in music, painting, and poetry, brilliant in intellect, and eloquent. Strong-willed, aggressive, enthusiastic, he early took an interest in religious matters, and after studying theology in Geneva and teaching for some years in the Latin school, he was ordained to the ministry (1810). Through the influence of Moravian Brethren, who were laboring in Geneva, he was led to feel his need of regeneration, and in 1816 assurance regarding the great truths of divine grace and a realization that he was saved came suddenly upon him. A few months later the Haldane brothers (Scotch Baptists) visited Geneva and made it a center of their evangelistic labors. By his intercourse with them Malan became convinced that it was his duty to devote his life to proclamation of the pure gospel to his benighted people. In May, 1817, he preached two remarkable sermons on justification by faith alone, which awakened much interest and opposition. His theology had become Calvinism of the most pronounced and uncompromising character, but Calvinism made vital by deep conviction and set on fire by religious enthusiasm for Christ and the salvation of men. The Genevese clergy, with the co-operation of the civil authorities, issued a prohibition against preaching on the union of the two natures in the person of Christ, on hereditary sin, on the manner in which grace works, and on divine foreordination. Malan found it impossible to keep his preaching within the prescribed limits, and after some months he was deposed from the ministry. Reluctantly he established an independent chapel. While making Geneva his headquarters, he made frequent and prolonged evangelistic tours in various parts of Switzerland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland. He was exceedingly averse to separation from the established church, but his numerous followers were forced into this position by the refusal of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Calvinistic Switzerland to tolerate Calvinistic preaching.

The case of Alexander Vinet (1797–1847) likewise il-

lustrates the sad lapse of Switzerland in religious matters. Educated at Lausanne, he became teacher of the French language and literature in Basel and afterward professor in the university. In 1823 he came under the influence of Malan's Calvinistic evangelism and was either now first converted or experienced such a change in his religious conceptions and experiences as made a great revolution in his life. The persecution of Malan's followers (called contemptuously "Momiers," or "Mummers," practically equivalent to hypocrites) deeply enlisted his sympathy and interest and led him to write his "Memoir in Favor of Liberty of Cults," which was published in Paris as a prize essay (1826). This essay made him famous. For practical efforts on behalf of liberty of conscience in Switzerland he was arraigned before the courts, fined, and suspended from his ministerial functions (1829). His popularity in Basel increased steadily, and the freedom of the city was given him the same year because of his services as professor, preacher, and writer, and his refusal of an attractive call to labor elsewhere. In 1837 he felt constrained to accept the chair of practical theology at Lausanne. Here he soon found himself at variance with the civil authorities because of the undue interference of the latter in church affairs. As a protest against the abject subservience required of the ministers by the civil authorities, he withdrew from the Vaud Association of ministers (1840). In 1845 there was a violent uprising against "fanatics" and "dissenters." Vinet sought to induce the authorities to grant liberty of conscience. They refused, and he resigned his professorship. He accepted a literary chair in the Lausanne Academy, and soon afterward cast in his lot with the Free Church, that had just been organized. The next year the academic teachers were required to submit to the church law against which he had protested, and he was obliged to retire. He died the following year (1847). His writings on practical theology have had a wide circulation in English as well as in French. He ranks among the ablest and noblest of modern French-Swiss religious leaders.

Of similar spirit and gifts, but more sympathetic with German theological thought, yet relatively evangelical

and conservative, was F. Godet, the eminent New Testament interpreter.

In the most recent times Swiss theology has developed in very close sympathy with German, and apart from the ultra-Lutheran factions, nearly every phase of German thought has had its Swiss representatives. There is to-day little prospect of the restoration of Calvinistic orthodoxy.

The new federal constitution of Switzerland (1874) provides for absolute freedom of conscience, freedom in exercising religion within limits compatible with order and morality, and exemption from taxation for the support of churches to which one does not belong. Much more autonomy is given to the synods of the established church than they formerly enjoyed. Final jurisdiction in ecclesiastical disputes rests with the federal authorities.

Of the three million inhabitants of Switzerland, considerably more than half are classed as Protestants. The free churches have a membership of about ten thousand.

2. *The Dutch Reformed Church.*

LITERATURE: Blok, "Hist. of the People of the Netherlands," Eng. tr., 1898; Hansen, "The Reformed Church in the Netherlands," 1884; Demarest, "Hist. and Characteristics of the Protestant Dutch Church," 4th ed., 1889; Corwin, "The Dutch Reformed Church in the United States" (extensive bibliography); articles on leaders in Hauck-Herzog and Schaff-Herzog.

At the beginning of the present period just thirty years had elapsed since the Synod of Dort, with its uncompromising maintenance of high-Calvinistic doctrine, had excluded men like Episcopius, Uitenbogaert, and Grotius from the pale of toleration. The silenced and banished Remonstrants had been permitted to return after the death of Maurice of Nassau (1625), and twelve years before the beginning of the present period they had established in Amsterdam a theological seminary, which had become now one of the most famous in the world. Grotius escaped the fate of Barneveld only to be thrown into prison under a life sentence. After some years of confinement, which were nobly employed in theological

and legal study and literary production, he managed to escape. He found protection first in France, whose king granted him a pension, and then in the Swedish court. He was sent by Queen Christina as ambassador to France, where he remained for ten years. Recalled at his own request, he died on the journey, three years before the beginning of our period (1645). Uitenbogaert, who with Episcopius had been a champion of the Remonstrant cause, had been dead four years. He had been allowed to resume his ministry at the Hague for a time, but had afterward been silenced on political grounds. Two important works from his pen were published posthumously, a "Church History" (1646) and a treatise on "The Authority of the Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Matters" (1647). Bogerman, who had been one of the fiercest opponents of the Remonstrants and had translated Beza's work on the execution of heretics (1601), had been dead nine years. Gomar, Arminius' chief opponent and the leader of the extremists in the Synod of Dort, had passed away in 1641. The rigorous Calvinists had seemed overwhelmingly victorious at the Synod of Dort and for some time afterward. As a matter of fact, the harsh and repulsive way in which they presented the truths of Calvinism, and the tyrannical way in which they were willing to employ the civil power for the suppression of their opponents, reacted mightily against themselves, and from the beginning of this period onward strict Calvinistic views came more and more into disfavor. Arminians (Remonstrants) and moderate Calvinists were popular, and Socinians, banished from Poland, found in Holland not only toleration, but a readiness to buy their books and to give sympathetic attention to their teaching. If the Remonstrants did not take the field, it was because the successors of their persecutors had adopted the views of the persecuted. The fact that the Netherlands were not actively engaged in the Thirty Years' War and were not much devastated by friendly or hostile armies had left educational and religious work in a much more prosperous condition than in Germany.

(1) *Some Leaders of the Reformed Church during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* Among the most eminent of the Reformed leaders was Cocceius. German

by birth (b. 1603), but educated at Franeker, in Holland, he studied Greek with a Greek and Hebrew with a Hebrew and became easily the most accomplished biblical scholar of his time. His voluminous writings (ten folio volumes) cover almost every department of theology, but dogmatical and exegetical writings predominate. He was pre-eminently a scriptural theologian. He taught Hebrew at Franeker from 1636 to 1650, when he was called to Leyden to succeed Spanheim. Here he labored until his death, in 1669. He was noted for the kindly and conciliatory character of his polemics, and he sought to refute error not so much by scholastic hair-splitting as by confronting it with Scripture. Such notably was his dealing with the theological views of Grotius and of the Socinians. The dominating thought in his theology, as in his interpetation of Scripture, was the divine covenant. This was not a wholly new thought, but he developed it with such richness of scriptural citation, with such logical acumen, and with such an insight into historical relations, that he may properly be regarded as the father of the federal theology. His great work, "Summary of Doctrine Concerning the Covenant and Testament of God," was first published in 1648 and may be regarded as the first serious attempt at the working out of a biblical theology.

The Bible he regarded as the history of redemption in the form of a covenant between God and man. This led him to suppose that the original relation between God and man was a covenant also. Of course the covenant was proposed and imposed by God and man was the mere recipient. But man, as being free, rational, and holy, was capable of receiving it and securing eternal blessedness by observing his side of it. This first covenant was a covenant of works. Man's failure to keep the covenant of works involved him in the fall and the curse. Having fallen, man was still bound to perfect obedience and faith. God now in his mercy substituted for the covenant of works a covenant of grace, the divine side of the covenant being the promise and the actual sending of Jesus Christ as a redeemer, the human obligation being to appropriate by faith God's gracious provision. In the second covenant he distinguished three dispensations (economies): the ante-legal (promise in the protevangelium, conscience, the patriarchal family), the legal (written law, ceremonies, theocracy), and the post-legal (Christ incarnate, establishment of visible kingdom, etc.). He treats of the doctrine of redemption through Christ under nine divisions: its purpose (promised grace), its founder (a mediator), its means (faith), its

recipients (believers), its cause (God's good pleasure), its revelation (the Bible), its application (by the Holy Spirit), its end (the glory of God).

It is noticeable that the doctrine of predestination does not figure in this system and the entire doctrine of divine decrees is kept in the background. The aim of Cocceius was evidently to show that man was so endowed and conditioned that he need not have fallen, that he was responsible for his fall, and that after the fall God placed salvation within the reach of all by covenant and actually provided redemption in Christ for all who would believe.

Cocceius was sharply attacked by Voetius of Utrecht, a disciple of Gomar and a representative of scholastic Calvinism, who denounced him as a heretic and sought to compass his ruin. Universities and political factions were arrayed against each other in favor of or in opposition to this new theological scheme.

It was Cocceius' application of his theory to the Sabbath that more than anything else aroused opposition. Placing the Sabbath commandment in the covenant of grace, he regarded it as a "demonstration of hope in Christ and a means of leading up to the denial of self-righteousness and dead works," and, so, as fulfilled in Christ. The New Testament requires the sanctification of the whole lifetime. The Sabbath controversy thereby precipitated was carried on for years with much bitterness.

After Cocceius' death (1669) the conflict of his defenders and opponents waxed fiercer and fiercer. Maresius and Voetius assailed Cocceius' view with special emphasis on the demoralizing consequences of his teaching regarding the Sabbath. The Cocceians, in some cases, did not refrain from putting in practice their anti-Sabbatarian views. For a time the tide seemed to be turning against the Cocceians, and several of their leaders were deposed; but the controversy was finally settled by a compromise: In each of the universities the professor of systematic theology should be a Voetian, the professor of exegetical theology, a Cocceian, and the professor of practical theology, a Lampean. The king had ordered that pastorates and professorships be filled without reference to the party affiliations of the candidates (1694).

Mention should be made of F. A. Lampe, who, early in the eighteenth century, became the leader of a party that could claim recognition in the universities side by side with the Voetian and the Cocceian. Lampe has been recently designated as "the most influentiai theologian of the German Reformed Church" (Karl Müller). Born in Germany (1683), he had his early training in Bremen, where he came under the influence of an early form of pietism that prevailed there (Theodore Unterreyck). In 1702 he entered the University of Franeker, where Vitringa, the eminent biblical scholar, and other disciples of Cocceius, were teaching side by side with disciples of Voetius and in friendly relations with them. Labadiean mysticism was also gaining a place in the thought of the Cocceians. Lampe contributed much to the spiritual life of the university and the good fellowship already existing between representatives of the two factions. After several fruitful years in pastoral work in the duchy of Cleve, he accepted a theological chair at Utrecht, where for seven years, trusting in Jesus for help and protection and putting aside all consideration of human fear or favor, he labored with consuming zeal for a spiritual ministry.

(2) *Some Remonstrant Theologians.* Among the foremost scholars of his age was Philip Limborch (1633–1712), best known as the author of a "History of the Inquisition," but a voluminous writer on dogmatic and exegetical themes as well. A nephew of Episcopius and brought up under Remonstrant influences, he decided, when nineteen years old, to devote his life to the Christian ministry. After completing his studies in the Remonstrant seminary under Vossius, Barlæus, and Curcellæus, he betook himself to Utrecht to attend the lectures of Voetius, the famous representative of rigorous Calvinism. After several years of pastoral labor, he was called (1668) to a professorship in the Remonstrant seminary, where, for forty-five years, he labored with remarkable industry and zeal, covering with his teaching and writings the whole field of theological science. Under his administration the institution reached the height of its fame and efficiency. In his "Christian Theology" he placed great emphasis on the inadequacy of a mere

knowledge of Christian truth and the necessity of a personal appropriation of truth by a faith that is not simply knowledge and assent, but also a submission of the whole being in loving confidence to Christ as prophet, priest, and king. He was at much pains to show how Calvinists, Remonstrants, and Socinians differed from each other, and to distinguish between fundamental and non-fundamental articles of faith. To the former class belong only those that are declared by Scripture necessary to salvation, and in our statement of things necessary to be believed we must use the language of Scripture.

John Clericus (1657–1736) was a Genevan by birth and studied theology under Turretin and Mestrezat. Afterward he spent some time visiting the theological institutions at Grenoble, Saumur, and Paris, and ministered for a while to the Calvinistic French-speaking refugees in London. Through the study of the writings of Curcellæus, his uncle, and of Episcopius, he was led to accept the views of the Remonstrants. At Amsterdam he came into close relations with Limborch, and through his influence was appointed to a professorship in the Remonstrant seminary (1684). His literary activity was remarkable even for that productive age. Besides editing many works of others (Clericus, Grotius, Erasmus, Petavius, and Hammond), he published many exegetical and controversial writings of his own. Soon after entering upon his professorial career he defended the thesis, "That reason is an infallible guide for the judging of everything that man needs to know for his spiritual well-being." Yet he protested earnestly against the charge of Socinianism and professed his belief in the Scriptures as a divine revelation.

Notwithstanding the fact that the older Calvinism almost completely disappeared in Holland during the rationalistic age that followed, and there was little left against which they needed to remonstrate, the Remonstrants have continued as a small denomination (about fifteen thousand members) until the present day. Their theological seminary, which still survives, has probably done more than anything else to perpetuate the division. Few things are so permanent in their work and influence as institutions of learning.

(3) *The Dutch Reformed Churches during the Nineteenth Century.* The demoralizing effects of English deism, French skepticism, German philosophy, and the French Revolution were fully felt in the Protestant Netherlands. With the revolutionary changes (1796) that resulted in the Batavian Republic, the Reformed Church ceased to be a State Church and was obliged to take its place side by side with the Roman Catholic, Mennonite, Lutheran, and Remonstrant communions. The republican legislature declared: "We have determined that henceforth not only no favored or dominant church can or will be tolerated, but that all decrees and resolutions of the States General in former times that sprang out of the old system of the union of Church and State shall also be held to be null and void."

With the restoration of the monarchy (1815) came the re-establishment of the Reformed Church and its reorganization with a view to its complete subserviency to the civil government (1816). At the same time recognition was given to Lutherans, Mennonites, Jansenists, Remonstrants, Roman Catholics, and Jews, all of which parties, as well as the Reformed Church, still receive annual grants in aid of the maintenance of their worship. In 1852 the ecclesiastical administration was revised and more of independence given to the church. The established church, "The Netherlandish Reformed Church," embraces all the Reformed (*Hervormde*) congregations in the kingdom of the Netherlands, about thirteen hundred and twenty-eight Dutch, sixteen French (Walloon), and three English, and one Scotch Presbyterian, with a membership of considerably over two millions. Up to 1834 nearly all of the Reformed churches were included in the established church. From that time onward dissatisfaction with the liberal theology that had come to dominate the universities and the ministry of the church and with State control led to the formation of dissenting bodies which have become vigorous and important.

Isaac da Costa (1798–1860), son of a wealthy Portuguese Jew, converted (before 1822) through the influence of his Calvinistic teacher, William Bilderdijk (a pronounced opponent of the French Revolution and the

Batavian Republic, and a partisan of the house of Orange), and his kinsman, Abraham Capadose, made a public profession of Christianity, and almost immediately began to champion the cause of orthodox Calvinism against all forms of liberal theology and unbelief. At the time of Da Costa's conversion a spirit of religious indifferentism almost universally prevailed. Even those whose views were moderately orthodox were wanting in zeal and aggressiveness and almost nothing was being done for the conversion of souls. Da Costa's tract, "To All Christians" (1822), was a trumpet call to humiliation and prayer that a great host from all nations, races, peoples, and tongues might come to a knowledge of Jesus Christ. Still more impressive were his tract "Against the Spirit of the Age" (1823), and his "Sadducees" (1824). He denounced not only the liberal theological thought of the age but the democratic spirit as well. What was being glorified as the age of liberty and illumination he characterized as an age of slavery, superstition, unbelief, and darkness. He compared the theological liberalism of his own time and of the seventeenth century (Arminianism) with Sadduceeism in the New Testament time. From this time onward he devoted his learning, eloquence, and poetical gifts with rare enthusiasm to the winning back of his native land to Calvinistic orthodoxy, which he identified with true Christianity. With the hearty co-operation of Capadose, De Clercq, Van der Kemp, and (1830 onward) Groen van Prinsterer, the orthodox propaganda went rapidly forward. The ministers and professors of the established church were aroused from their lethargy, and in many cases amended their ways. Multitudes of the members of the churches were attracted by the earnestness of the new evangelism. The revival movement inaugurated by the Haldanes and carried forward among French-speaking and other peoples by Malan, D'Aubigné, Rochat, Gaussen, Bost, Vinet, and others, reached the Netherlands about 1830 and many were awakened. During the years 1840–1850 a still more widespread work of grace went forward in the Netherlands. A large number of able men came over to the side of evangelical orthodoxy during these years. Prinsterer has

been called the statesman of the movement, Heldring the philanthropist, Beets the preacher, and Da Costa the prophet.

From 1834 onward large numbers separated from the Reformed Church. It was the hope of the leaders to be able to win the establishment as a whole or to secure such reforms as would make separation unnecessary. The resolute refusal of the synod (1835) to make any changes looking toward the securing of an orthodox ministry led to still further secessions. A law was in force against the assembling of more than twenty persons for unauthorized religious worship. A royal rescript declared the separatist assemblies unlawful, but pointed out a way (made more definite in 1841) by which they could organize legally. Still further concessions were made to the separatists (1849, 1852, 1868) until no disability save deprivation of State support remained.

After earlier attempts at general organization representatives of many of the separatist congregations formed a larger union (fusion of the "Separate Church" and the "Churches under the Cross") under the name "Christian Separate Church," which soon gave place to "Christian Reformed Church" (*Gereformeerde*). In 1854 this body established a theological seminary at Kampe, which now has five theological professors, seventy theological students, and seventy students in its academic department. By 1892 the membership of this denomination had reached one hundred and ninety-four thousand.

A large number of earnest Christians who had come under the influence of the new orthodox evangelism long remained in the established church with the hope of leading it back to evangelical orthodoxy. Foremost among the leaders of the conforming Calvinistic party was Dr. A. Kuyper, who as editor of "The Standard" had been for some years denouncing the State-Church arrangement of 1816–1852 as the chief cause of all the misery and lack of energy in the Reformed Church, weakening as it did the presbyterial character of the church, destroying the autonomy of the local congregation, and discriminating against the separatists. In 1879,

under Kuyper's leadership, a union for higher education on a reformed (*gereformeerde*) basis, was organized, and in 1880 the "Free University" was established for the education of spiritual and aggressive leaders. The refusal of the authorities of the established church to receive students educated in the Free University to the ministry (1882, 1885, etc.) caused much dissatisfaction among the churchly reformers. In 1886 eighty of the Calvinistic members of the Amsterdam church tribunal were suspended by the Amsterdam classis. An appeal to the synod was adverse to the Reformers. This effort to deprive the Calvinists of their rights in the established church led to violent proceedings and another vast secession occurred. Among the ablest of Kuyper's coadjutors in this movement were G. J. Vos, an Amsterdam pastor, and Doctor Rutgers, of the Free University. A new organization was formed which claimed to be the perpetuation of the old orthodox Reformed Church. It adopted the name "Dutch Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) Church" or "Doleerenden." By 1889 the Doleerenden had a membership of over one hundred and eighty-one thousand. In 1892 the Christian Reformed united with the Dutch Reformed (Doleerenden), thus forming a great denomination of nearly four hundred thousand. Several congregations refused to enter the union and have united under the name "Christian Reformed" and have established a small theological school at the Hague.

Mention should here be made of the Gröningen school of theological thought, which owed its impulse to Van Heusden, professor of history and Greek in the University of Utrecht (1804–1839). Van Heusden, who has been called the "preceptor of Holland," had become deeply imbued with Platonism and disclaimed indebtedness to any other influence than Plato and the New Testament in the forming of his religious views. He made love the central thing in religion and regarded the atonement as an exhibition of divine love. His view was much like that of Clement of Alexandria, Schleiermacher, Frederick Robertson, etc. From 1829 onward several of those who had come under Van Heusden's influence became members of the Gröningen Faculty: Van Oordt and Hofsted de Groot (1829) and Pareau

(1831), and, in close association with them, Van Herwerden and Amshoff as pastors (1831, 1832). These scholars began to hold weekly meetings for the study of the New Testament. Through Ullmann's "Reformers before the Reformation" they became greatly interested in Joh. Wessel and other Dutch evangelical teachers of the mediæval time. Erasmus, as a Netherlander with whose spirit they sympathized, also occupied their attention. They were glad to have found a type of Christian thought and life older than the Reformation, and in their opinion purer than the Lutheran or Reformed, indigenous to their beloved Holland. They rejoiced to call their type of teaching "Dutch theology." It was to a remarkable extent Christocentric and embodied what we have come to know as evangelical mysticism. They rejected much of the orthodox dogmatizing about Christ, and laid chief stress on his person, work, and example. While they were willing to call Christ "Son of God and man," they yet distinguished carefully between him and the one God who sent him and to whom he is subordinated. In his heavenly as in his earthly life he has only one nature, the divine or spiritual, which belongs to both God and man. They recognized his pre-existence as Son of God, his life on earth as a man who became perfect and sinlessly holy by overcoming temptations, and by his beneficent and self-sacrificing life attained to ever higher perfection, and his present heavenly life in perfection during which he rules his church and leads it onward and upward. They rejected the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and their view of the atonement may be designated "the moral influence" theory. These views gained a wide currency, but were sharply combated by the Reformed theologians as well as by the Christian Reformed (Calvinists).

Denying, as they did, the absolute inspiration of the Scriptures, the deity of Christ, the efficacy of Christ's blood to atone for human guilt, and the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, and insisting, as they did, upon absolute freedom of teaching in the pulpit, press, and university, the Gröningen theologians were the forerunners of the later radical school.

Among the most admirable of the leaders of the estab-

lished church in recent times was the eloquent and pacific Van Oosterzee (d. 1882), for the last twenty years of his life professor in the University of Utrecht. His position was between the strict Calvinistic orthodoxy of the separatists and the rationalistic mysticism of the Gröningen school. His German masters were Tholuck, Neander. Dorner, Hagenbach, and Ullmann. His dogmatical and practical works have been translated into English and are well known.

The extent to which extreme theological liberalism had gained the ascendency in Holland is illustrated by the fact that in 1876 the government transformed the theological faculties of the universities into faculties of religions, putting Christianity alongside of heathen religions as an object of scientific study, and in 1878 banished all religious teaching (with the use of the Bible) from the public schools. The great honor in which Professor Kuenen (d. 1891), the coryphæus of recent Old Testament criticism, was held, is also indicative of the strong preponderance of sentiment in favor of extreme laxity of teaching.

(4) *The Reformed (Dutch) Church in America.*[1] The Dutch settlers of what is now New York State brought with them the Reformed religion of their native land, and as early as 1628 a congregation of fifty communicants (Dutch and Walloon) was organized at New Amsterdam, with Joh. Michælius as pastor. Others soon followed, and in 1747 a coetus or synod was formed with the permission of the Amsterdam classis, but without independent authority. Dissatisfaction with Dutch control on the part of some of the churches led to controversy and division; but in 1770 there was general agreement in favor of independence, and a self-governing organization was formed. The teachings of the denomination have not been sufficiently distinctive to attract many people of other nationalities, and though English has long been the language of its services and its literature, most of its members are still of Dutch extraction. Rutgers College (founded 1770) and the Theological Seminary (1784), both at New Brunswick, N. J., are the principal educa-

[1] See Histories of the Reformed Church in America, by Demarest and Corwin.

tional institutions of learning supported by this body. Of its membership of less than one hundred thousand, more than three-fourths belong to New York and New Jersey. Within recent years there has been considerable Dutch immigration to Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and other Western States, and many of these have been organized into churches, which are being fostered by the wealthy churches of the East. The Reformed Church in America has adhered closely to the Calvinism of the Synod of Dort, the Belgic Confession, and the Heidelberg Catechism, and has escaped the liberalizing influences that have so wrecked the mother church.

3. *The German Reformed Church.*

LITERATURE: Goebel, "*Gesch. d. christl. Lebens in d. rheinisch-westphälischen evang. Kirche*," 1849–1860; Ebrard, "*Handbuch d. christ. Kirchen- und Dogmengesch., Bd.* III. and IV., 1866; Mayer, "Hist. of the German Reformed Church," 1850; Smith, "The Reformed Churches of Europe and America, in Relation to General Church History," 1855; Dubbs, "The German Reformed Church in the United States" (extended bibliography); biographical articles in Hauck-Herzog; art. "Reformed Church, German," in Schaff-Herzog.

(1) *The German Reformed Church in Europe.* It has been noticed that the Reformed portions of Germany bore the brunt of the defense of Protestantism during the Thirty Years' War. The peace of Westphalia continued the territorial arrangement of the peace of Augsburg, but admitted the Reformed faith to a position side by side with the Lutheran. The Palatinate had long been of the Calvinistic persuasion, and continued to adhere to its Heidelberg Catechism and to sustain its Heidelberg university. The lower Rhenish provinces abounded in Calvinists. The portion of Poland that fell to the share of Prussia in its successive partitions contained a large number of Calvinists. The tolerant spirit of the Great Elector (Frederick I.) and his successors brought many Reformed from other German provinces to Prussia. Many thousands of French Protestants (Huguenots) were encouraged to settle in Prussia (Brandenburg) after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) and were given full toleration. As early as 1656 a Reformed university was established at Duisburg by the Great Elector

for the benefit of his Reformed subjects, which became the chief disseminator of the philosophy of Descartes in Germany. The Reformed churches in Germany yielded even more readily than the Lutheran to the influence of French skepticism, and before the union of 1817 had lost much of their vigor and rigor. There was little protest on the Reformed side against the union. Since the union the Reformed Church in Germany can scarcely be said to exist, although a number of theologians of Reformed antecedents have shown a leaning toward Reformed doctrine. The German Reformed have always been very moderate in their Calvinism, and there are to-day in Germany very few, if any, thorough-going Calvinists.

According to the Westphalian treaty, the use of the Catholic religion in the Palatinate of the Rhine was to be restricted to the royal court. In the Peace of Ryswick (1697), Louis XIV., of France, in defiance of the earlier arrangement, insisted that the Catholic religion should enjoy the same favor that it had enjoyed during the French occupancy. The Catholic Electors had already trenched seriously upon the privileges of their Protestant subjects and were glad to have the support of France in their efforts to restore Catholicism. The Elector, John William, had been educated by the Jesuits, and was in thorough sympathy with Jesuit methods of carrying out Counter-Reformation measures. He now proceeded to assume control of Protestant church property, to give to Catholics the joint possession and use of church buildings and endowments, and to compel Protestants to join in celebrating Catholic festivals, and to have their children instructed in the Catholic faith. Many thousands of the Palatinate Reformed were driven by these measures into exile, and of these a large proportion found their way to America.

The king of Prussia was able, by retaliatory measures against his Catholic subjects, to secure a partial restoration of the rights of Protestants in the Palatinate. But the Jesuits were able to get some foothold in the University of Heidelberg, which had been the chief educational institution of the German Reformed and which had been guaranteed to them, and to treat the Protestant

faculty so shamefully as to call forth rebukes from the Austrian and imperial courts. The publication of a new (unchanged) edition of the Heidelberg Catechism (1719) was the occasion of further persecution. The denunciation of the mass as "an accursed idolatry" in the catechism the Jesuits represented as an insult to the Elector, and they sought to have the edition suppressed. In this they were unsuccessful; but the Protestants were robbed of the largest of the two Heidelberg churches that were left to them. It was restored only after much pressure from without (imperial and other) had been brought to bear. Through the union of the Palatinate with Bavaria (1777) the Reformed lost still more of their privileges; but through the influence of the liberal-minded Emperor Joseph II. all their rights were restored (1803).

By this time the University of Heidelberg had become a chief center of rationalism (Paulus, De Wette, Daub, etc.).

(2) *The Reformed Church in the United States.* Several thousands of the Reformed Palatines who were driven into exile about the beginning of the eighteenth century settled in America, chiefly in Pennsylvania. By 1730 considerable numbers of Reformed from Nassau, Waldeck, Witgenstein, and Wetterau were also in America. Their first minister was Philip Boehm, who came in 1720. In 1746 Michael Schlatter arrived, who was to be for the Reformed what Muhlenberg was for the Lutherans, an organizer of the demoralized and neglected people into a vigorous denomination. In 1747 there were forty-six congregations, with only five ministers. These were now organized into a coetus or synod under the care of the Reformed classis of Amsterdam, to which it looked for encouragement and support. Schlatter was Swiss by birth (b. 1716), but had lived for some years in Holland, and had been ordained to the ministry and sent to America as a missionary to the Germans by the deputies of the synods of North and South Holland. In 1751 Schlatter returned to Europe to solicit financial support and to secure additional ministers. He received liberal financial aid, especially in Holland, and six young ministers. He brought with him seven hundred large Bibles for distribution. For some years Schlatter inter-

ested himself in a system of charity schools, which were to be supported by Lutherans, Reformed, and Quakers. Difficulties arose and the schools proved a failure, not without some loss of prestige to Schlatter. He accompanied the American troops as a chaplain in the campaign against the French in 1757 and was present at the taking of Louisburg. From this time until his death (1790) he took no further part in church matters.

From 1825 onward the denomination grew rapidly in numbers and equipment. About 1836 there arose in connection with Marshall College and Theological Seminary (then located at Mercersburg, Pa., now at Lancaster), what is known historically as the Mercersburg School of Philosophy. This new type of teaching provoked much controversy in the body and came near causing a schism. The founder of this new philosophy and theology was Rauch, the first president of the college, who had studied at Heidelberg under Daub (d. 1836), a noted speculative theologian. Daub had become a disciple of Kant early in his career and had adopted each new improvement in philosophy up to and including that of Hegel. Rauch conceived the idea of amalgamating Scotch and German philosophy. His early death (1841) prevented a complete working out of his system. In 1841, J. W. Nevin, a Presbyterian scholar, became Rauch's colleague and soon came into hearty sympathy with Rauch's type of Reformed teaching. He afterward became president of the college and the chief exponent of Mercersburg theology. In 1843 the brilliant historical scholar, Philip Schaff, who was to do more for the advancement of theological learning in America than any other individual, was called to the chair of church history in the college. A Swiss by birth and a disciple of Neander, he entered with great enthusiasm upon his labors, having before him the purpose of giving to America what he conceived to be best in modern German thought. The Mercersburg theology had a good deal in common with the Gröningen. It was, like that, Christocentric, but did not deny Christ's absolute deity. Christ, as the second Adam, is the head of a regenerate human race. Christ and believers constitute a mystical body, which is the Christian church, holy,

catholic, and apostolic. This spiritual church constitutes the communion in which men may obtain salvation and eternal life. The church is not an aggregation of individuals, but a vital and organized whole, extending into every nation and throughout all ages. As a growing organism, she adapts herself to varying times and circumstances. No doctrinal *formulæ* of earlier times fully meet the needs of a later. The mediæval hierarchy had its justification in the circumstances of the time, and yet the Reformation was necessary and the various evangelical types that arose in connection therewith had each its *raison d'être*. The influence of Hegel's philosophy is here manifest. This idea of the church was urged over against the idea that the church is a voluntary society of Christian individuals organized for their common spiritual good, and against the idea that sixteenth century confessions of faith are adapted to the needs of the present time. The sacraments are regarded by the Mercersburg school not as empty forms, but as the signs and seals of God's covenant with us, as means of grace, that become efficacious by faith alone. In this view they simply return to John Calvin's position. Their magnifying of the sacraments naturally carried with it a demand for liturgical worship, which they sought to promote by publishing "A Liturgy; or, Order of Christian Worship" (edited by Schaff, Nevin, Harbaugh, Gerhart, Appel, Steiner, *et al.*, 1858).

A "peace commission" was appointed in 1880 for harmonizing the differences that still existed between the Mercersburg school, which embraced most of the eminent men in the denomination, and the older type of Reformed teaching.

The denomination has six colleges, most of which have theological departments, and a number of secondary schools. In 1890 it had a membership of over two hundred thousand, of which considerably over one-half was in Pennsylvania.

4. *The Reformed Church in France.*

LITERATURE: Baird, "The Huguenots and the Revocation of Nantes," 1895; Baird (C. W.), "Hist. of the Huguenot Emigration to America," 1885; Poole, "Hist. of the Huguenots of the Dis-

persion," 1880; Weiss, "*Hist. des Réfugiés prot. de France*," 1853 (Eng. tr., 1854); Smiles, "The Huguenots . . . in England and Ireland," 1867; and biographical articles in Hauck-Herzog, Schaff-Herzog, and Lichtenberger.

(1) *The Protestants of France from 1648 to 1685.* Reference has already been made to the condition of the French Protestant churches before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the persecutions that preceded the exterminating measures (Revocation of the Edict) of 1685. Until long after the revocation of the Edict the Confession of Faith that all ministers were required to subscribe was that prepared by Calvin and De Chandieu, revised and approved by a synod at Paris (1559), adopted by the National Synod of La Rochelle (1571), and afterward sanctioned by Henry IV. In their address to the king, which precedes the Confession, they designate themselves "the French people who desire to live according to the purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is one of the finest brief statements of moderate Calvinism ever drawn up. One of the local synods (1603) under the influence of Chamier had added an article expressly identifying the pope with the scarlet-clad harlot of the Apocalypse. But the government objected and the article had to be withdrawn. The "churches of the Desert," up to about 1727, required every preacher, candidate, elder, and believer to assent to this symbol. After that time, under the influence of Geneva and under the leadership of the liberal-minded Antoine Court, the requirement was set aside, and a profession of acceptance of the teachings of the prophets and apostles as contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments, and of which a brief summary is contained in the Genevan Catechism, was alone required. Modern French Protestants have been still less inclined to bind themselves by formal creed statements. In 1848 an assembly at Paris, in which the leading spirits were H. Gasparin and F. Monod, declared Christ crucified to be the bond of union and recognized no other rule of faith than God's eternal word. In 1872 Thiers, at that time president of the French Republic, with the co-operation of Guizot, the statesman and historian, sought at a general synod in Paris to secure the adoption

of a new Confession. All that the body could be induced to do was to express a general agreement with the Confession of La Rochelle, a recognition of the supreme authority of the Scriptures, and acceptance of the Apostles' Creed.

The French Protestant church had been thoroughly organized in a presbyterial way, with its local tribunals, provincial synods, and national synods, and its organized work had been carried on with much vigor until the beginning of the persecutions.

At the beginning of the present period there were in France about one million Huguenots, with about eight hundred congregations and nearly that number of pastors. Many of the congregations were excessively large, owing to restrictions placed upon the number and location of places of assembly within a given district, and each required several ministers. All classes were represented, nobles, gentry, middle classes, and peasants; but of the last there were relatively few and the bulk of the membership consisted of the middle class, who were everywhere the leaders in trade, banking, manufacturing, and professional life. In many communities where the Protestants were in a small minority they yet constituted the most influential element. The expression "rich as a Huguenot" became proverbial. The discipline maintained by the French Protestants was strict and effective as compared with that of other bodies at that time. Sabbath-breaking was severely discouraged, as well as all kinds of frivolous conduct. Their great temples, though often located very inconveniently by reason of the restrictions, were for the most part plain wooden structures; but some of them had seating capacity for seven or eight thousand, and they were thronged with eager hearers. Four long sermons were often preached each Lord's Day. The preaching was of a very substantial kind and the psalms put into verse by Marot and Beza were sung with much spirit. Liberality in support of the home work and in aid of needy and persecuted brethren abroad abounded. The French Protestant pulpit greatly surpassed the Roman Catholic during the most brilliant period of the latter, although the Catholics had a few preachers more renowned for

finished eloquence (Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon) than the most gifted of the Protestant preachers (such as Du Moulin, Le Faucheur, Mestrezat, Daillé, Amyraut, Du Bosc, De Superville, and Saurin).

The French Protestants supported at this time four great institutions of learning, whose faculties contained some of the most eminent scholars of the age and whose halls were thronged with students. The institution at Nismes had become noted, through the efforts of Claude, for its conciliatory attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church. As attempts to harmonize Catholics and Protestants could only result in a weakening of the convictions of the latter, Nismes was at this time a source of demoralization rather than of strength to the Protestant cause. Saumur, which had been established through the efforts of Duplessis Mornay, the leader of the Huguenots during the preceding generation, had at this time the greatest array of distinguished scholars and the greatest number of students. At the beginning of the present period its professors were teaching a modified Calvinism, differing little from Arminianism (Placæus, Cappel, Amyraut, and Pajon). The theologians just named were pupils of the learned and liberal Scotchman, John Cameron. Placæus is well known as the author of the theory of mediate imputation. Cameron had taught that the will is completely subject to the intellect, that sin originated in an obscuration of the intellect, and that the grace which works conversion is not a blind force but a moral agency. Amyraut distinguished between an objective and a subjective grace, between the external means of grace which are free to all and the internal working of the Spirit. By this means he sought to explain why some are saved and others lost. Pajon denied the working of subjective grace, maintaining that God governs the world through the objective connection between cause and effect, without any concurring, direct interference of Providence. He insisted that the word alone is efficacious without any special working of the Holy Spirit. The professors of Saumur became involved in bitter controversy with those of Sedan, Montauban, Geneva, and others, and the disciples of Amyraut and Pajon were excluded from many pulpits.

The schools of Sedan and Montauban defended orthodoxy with great ability. Sedan had on its staff the greatest Calvinistic controversial and dogmatic writer of the age, Peter du Moulin (d. 1658) and (somewhat before this time) Maresius (d. 1673), whose later years were spent in the Netherlands as professor at Gröningen, and Jurieu (d. 1713), also an eminent polemicist. Montauban had numbered among its teachers Chamier, Baraud, and Garissolles.

The destruction of the French Protestant cause that preceded and followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes has been sufficiently described above.

(2) *The Churches of the Desert.* There is no more heroic chapter in modern church history than that of the persecuted remnant of the Huguenots after the great emigration. It reminds us of that of the Paulicians and the Waldenses during the mediæval time, and that of the Anabaptists during the sixteenth century. During the very year of the revocation one of their persecutors (Cardinal Camus) wrote: "They hold small secret meetings, at which they read some chapters from the Bible and their prayers. After that the most able of their number makes an address. In a word, they do just what they did at the birth of heresy. They have an insuperable aversion to service in an unknown tongue and to our ceremonies. I have sent out missionaries. They cannot abide monks." In the Cevennes Mountains Protestantism persisted with rare determination and vigor. The martyrdom of François Tessier (1686) resulted in the conversion of the Roman Catholic missionary and the heightening of the enthusiasm of the Protestants of the region even to the verge of fanaticism. A government order required the massacring of Protestant congregations when detected, including the women. A few were to be reserved for trial in order that information might be extorted from them. The fearful barbarity with which this order was carried out has been put on record by Jurieu in a pastoral letter.[1] On one occasion the soldiers bayoneted three hundred women in their sides and breasts, and stripping others

[1] See Baird, Vol. II., p. 163.

took them as prisoners into the town of Uzès for a worse fate. Of the few ministers who attempted to remain nearly all were destroyed.[1] Yet even without ministers the enthusiastic evangelicals continued to hold their meetings at the peril of their lives. Brave ministers who had gone into exile crossed the border from time to time to visit the scattered flocks, who received them with joy "inexpressible." Many Catholics were converted from time to time by the heroism and enthusiasm of preachers and people. One of the most intrepid and successful of the ministers was Claude Brousson, who made repeated visits and retired from time to time as his position became untenable. He appealed to the king against the atrocities that were being practised; but the price that had been set upon his head was increased, and he was captured and was executed before a crowd of ten thousand, many of whom wept in sympathy with his courageous witness-bearing. Brousson had published much regarding the persecution and had aroused the indignation of the evangelical world against the government of Louis XIV.

(3) *The Camisards and the War of the Cevennes.* From 1702 to 1710 a terrible guerrilla warfare was carried on by the persecuted Protestants of the Cevennes against their persecutors. Driven to desperation, nay, to fanaticism, by the outrages to which they had been for years subjected, they were led by reckless enthusiasts to wreak bloody vengeance on the Catholic populations within their reach. Disguised in white robes (hence the name "Camisards"), armed bands of them would swoop down upon troops of soldiers or police, upon Catholic congregations, upon towns, villages, and even cities, and having accomplished their purposes of destruction retreat to their mountain fastnesses with such supplies as they could carry. The Camisard chiefs were men of heroic type, and some of them could preach as well as fight. They had reached the conviction that in destroying everything Catholic they were doing God service. They looked upon their work as like that of the faithful Israelites destroying the Canaanites from the land of promise. The character of some of the leaders did not stand the test and traitors sometimes brought

disaster upon their followers. That the warfare should have been continued so long and with such destruction of life and property, notwithstanding the insignificance of the numbers and equipment of the Camisards as compared with that of the French government, is one of the wonders of history. The terrible sufferings of the Camisards themselves in the process of their conflict and overthrow need not be here recounted.

(4) *The Remnant and the Revival.* Just before his death (1715), Louis XIV. had added to his previous atrocities by issuing a law requiring the body of every person who refused the sacraments of the church on his death bed to be dragged through the streets on a hurdle and thrown into the sewer. With the death of the king the severity of persecution was somewhat relaxed, but it was renewed with fearful vigor in 1724. During these years there had been considerable gathering of Protestant forces in many communities. In 1726 a royal ordinance was issued condemning to the galleys all males found in Protestant conventicles and committing to life-long imprisonment the women and girls. Heavy fines were imposed for refusal to send children to Catholic schools. Whole communities were fined for allowing Protestant meetings to be held within their bounds. Yet the churches of the desert grew in numbers and in influence. In the scarcity of ministers, licentiates were encouraged to administer the ordinances, with the approbation of the elders. Occasional synods and colloquies were held for securing better co-ordination of effort and for the mutual encouragement of the persecuted bands.

The apostles of this time were Antoine Court and Paul Rabaut. The former has well been called "the restorer of the Reformed Church of France." Born in 1695 and left fatherless when five years old, his heroic Christian mother trained him carefully in the faith of his ancestors, and while still a child took him to secret conventicles. Before he had reached manhood he was full of religious enthusiasm and had resolved to devote his life to the preaching of the gospel, whatever the cost might be. When twenty years of age, he had formed plans for the rebuilding of the evangelical structure that was in ruins. In August, 1715, Court called together a

synod of his brethren in order to lay before them his plan and fill them with his enthusiasm. In a missionary journey that he had recently made he had witnessed a disorganized and demoralized condition that impressed upon him the imperative need of instruction and of concerted measures to deliver the poor, persecuted people from fanaticism. The prophetic spirit had broken out and women and girls were preaching and prophesying. Sometimes two or three men and women would fall into trances and prophesy at once, causing the utmost confusion. He had not hesitated, youth as he was, to rebuke the disorderly and to instruct the ignorant. Some charged him with fighting against God, but he held his ground and brought many fanatics to their senses. He urged upon his brethren in conference the necessity of the restoration of discipline, with the abolition of fanaticism and unregulated preaching (as of women, girls, and incompetent men). Of the nine persons assembled in a deserted quarry not one had been ordained. It was felt to be imperative that some should be authoritatively set apart to the gospel ministry. These could ordain others and bring the work in France back to regular lines. Court and Corteiz were in the opinion of all qualified for the ministry. The latter, as the elder of the two, was sent to Switzerland for ordination, and on his return Court was ordained by him. Court had received no collegiate education, but by early manhood he had gained a knowledge of the Calvinistic system such as duller minds might have spent years in attaining. His was a master intellect and a masterful spirit, and he was able to impress his ideas and his personality upon the churches of the desert in such a way as speedily to bring them to his way of thinking and to restore them to sanity and good order. From time to time he held ministers' institutes for testing the gifts of candidates for the ministry and instructing them in sound theology and in his principles of church discipline. Those applying for admission as licentiates were required to show their qualification for the ministerial office by preaching, but it was not thought essential that they should compose their own sermons. Court was soon able to establish (1730) at Lausanne, in Switzerland, a theological seminary for the

training of ministers for the French churches, and thither a large number of gifted and enthusiastic young men were from time to time sent for courses of study. He had left France in 1730, believing that he could better serve the cause by devoting his life to the training of ministers, which could be done only beyond the French borders. An upper room served as a lecture room and the teaching was furnished at little expense, chiefly by professors of the university. The young men on finishing their studies were eager to venture their lives in the cause of the Master. It has been pointed out as a singular fact, that while Court was radically opposed to extravagant enthusiasm, "he never wearied in sending forth martyrs and of furnishing food for the gallows to feed upon" (Michelet). The same writer calls Court's seminary "a strange school of death."

If Court was the "restorer of the Reformed Church of France," Paul Rabaut was "the apostle of the desert." "Among all that illustrated this age and made their impress upon French Protestantism, down to the very times of returning toleration, no single name approaches his" (Baird). Born (1718) of Protestant parents, but perforce christened as a Roman Catholic, he was brought up under strong religious influences, and when twenty years old consecrated his life to French evangelization. For fifty-six years his life was truly apostolic in its labors and in the perils and sufferings that he gladly endured in the fulfillment of his mission. For a few months (1740) he studied in the seminary at Lausanne, but the calls for ministry in his beloved France were too loud to be resisted. Without extensive literary or theological training, but full of zeal and the spirit of self-sacrifice, and endowed with native eloquence and personal magnetism in a very high degree, he was able to sway the persecuted Protestant people and to mold them according to his own ideals. The "spirit of the desert," defined by Court as "a spirit of mortification, a spirit of reflection, of great wisdom, and especially of martyrdom, which, as it teaches us to die daily to ourselves, to conquer and overcome our passions with their lusts, prepares and disposes us to lose our life courageously amid tortures and on the gallows, if Providence

calls us thereto," was abundantly exemplified in Rabaut. To labor so constantly and so long under the ban of a mighty monarchy required the wisdom of the serpent, and to accomplish the spiritual results that he accomplished called for all the Christian gifts and graces in very large measure. For fifty years he avoided arrest by the government officials. It was left for the atheists of the Reign of Terror to thrust into prison the aged saint for his refusal to renounce his ministry.

After the death of Cardinal Fleury (1743), who had directed the persecuting measures of the government, the churches of the desert enjoyed for two years comparative quiet. Foreign war occupied the attention of the authorities. Rabaut preached on one occasion, it is said, to ten thousand, and great assemblies were common. The mass of the Protestant population at this time was in Languedoc, Cevennes, Vivarais, and Dauphiny. Multitudes that had been outwardly conforming to the Roman Catholic religion were emboldened now to show their colors. But toleration was soon at an end. What has been called "the great persecution" (1745–1752) resulted from the pressure brought to bear upon the government by the clergy. Several of the pastors were seized and executed, among them Jacques Roger, whose thirty years of labor in Dauphiny had resulted in the establishment of sixty churches. Shameless forgeries were put forth by the enemies of the Huguenots with a view to proving their disloyalty to the government. When Rabaut was supposed to be in danger, several thousand men at once gathered for his protection.

The growth of the spirit of liberty during the second half of the eighteenth century, manifesting itself in the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert, etc., and by these disseminated throughout wide circles, resulted in a public opinion that would no longer sanction the atrocities of the past. Voltaire's spirited protest against the outrageous execution of Jean Calas (1762) and his unwearied exertions on behalf of Calas's family greatly promoted the cause of toleration. Turgot's "Letters on Toleration" were also highly influential. As a member of the cabinet of Louis XVI., along with Malesherbes (1774 onward), Turgot had an opportunity

to labor effectively for toleration. He even induced the young king to omit from his recitation of the coronation oath the promise to exterminate heretics. In a "Memoir to the King on Tolerance" he had the courage to say: "The prince who orders his subject to profess the religion that the latter does not believe, or to renounce the religion which he does believe, commands him to commit a crime. The subject that yields obedience acts a lie, betrays his conscience, and does a thing which he believes to be forbidden him by God. The Protestant who, either from interest or from fear, becomes a Catholic, and the Catholic who, from the same motives, becomes a Protestant, are both of them guilty of the same crime."

Under Turgot's influence the government addressed to the Protestant ministers as well as to the Catholic prelates a cordial letter, asking for their good offices in quelling the spirit of rebellion among the people (Bread Riots) and convincing them of the king's good intentions. Thus after ninety years of proscription the Huguenots received government recognition. Shortly afterward their baptismal registers were officially recognized. Active in securing the rights of the Protestants at this time were Rabaut St. Etienne, son of Paul Rabaut, and Court de Gébelin, the learned son of Antoine Court, who was for years (1765 onward) advocate of the persecuted Protestants at the royal court and was by reason of his merit as an author made royal censor (1780), and given the highest honors of the French Academy. Lafayette, who had co-operated with Washington in the War of Independence, and who had returned to France thoroughly imbued with the spirit of civil and religious liberty, was chiefly instrumental in securing the complete removal of the disabilities of the Protestants in the Edict of Toleration (1787).

(5) *The Reformed Churches and the Revolution.* Scarcely had the exultation of the Protestants over the partial remedying of their grievances ceased when the rumblings of the great Revolution that was for a time to overthrow the very foundations of society and to put Catholicism as well as Protestantism under the ban, were heard, and the evangelical cause suffered disaster almost as great as in the Desert age. With the convocation of the States

General (1789) the Protestants made haste to secure a place of worship in the very heart of Paris, which it had never been their privilege to do before. Rabaut St. Etienne was made president of the National Assembly (1790) and with pardonable pride and exultation wrote the venerable Paul Rabaut: "My father, the president of the National Assembly is at your service." As a member of the Assembly he made a most able and earnest plea for the complete religious equality of his brethren with the Catholics. In the name of two million Protestants he demanded "not toleration," but "liberty." "I demand that toleration in its turn be proscribed. And it shall be proscribed, that unjust word which presents us only as citizens deserving of pity, as culprits to whom pardon is accorded, as men whom frequently accident and education have led to think otherwise than we do. Error, gentlemen, is not a crime. He that professes it takes it for the truth. It is the truth for him. He is bound to profess it, and no man, no association of men, has the right to forbid him." The Assembly did not yield to his demand, but gave the Protestants liberty of worship conditioned on their not disturbing the public order. In 1790 the Assembly decreed a restoration to the Protestants, as far as it could equitably be done, of property that had been confiscated during the age of persecution. Barère, who was to become a leading Terrorist, spoke most eloquently in favor of a recognition of Huguenot claims to reparation.

The atheistic frenzy of 1793–1794 swept many of the Protestant ministers, as it did many of the Catholic priests and monks, off their feet. The pastor of the Parisian congregation, Marron, was ostentatious in his declaration that Christianity was an outgrown superstition and that the only proper objects of worship were liberty and equality. What proportion of the Protestant ministers and members renounced the faith during the Reign of Terror we have no means of knowing, but it must have been very large. Rabaut St. Etienne was one of the victims of the Terror.

(6) *The Reformed Church as Reconstituted under Napoleon (1802 onward).* After sanity had been restored to the French mind (1795) the Huguenots gradually re-

gathered the churches that had been scattered and wasted; but those who after the Revolution adhered fully to the faith of their fathers were relatively few. It was Napoleon's policy to put Reformed and Lutherans on a parity with Roman Catholics. This involved, on the part of the government, protection, financial support, the establishment and maintenance of educational institutions, control in matters of discipline and doctrine, and the courses of instruction in the colleges, the prescription of a presbyterial system on a regular numerical basis, and complete government supervision with reservation of veto power. The churches were to pray for the government, have none but French ministers free from relations with foreign powers, submit all proposed changes in doctrinal definition or discipline to the government, secure the permission of the government for the calling of synods, which must be held in the presence of government officials and for not more than six days, and in general to be entirely subservient. It was proposed by Portalis, Napoleon's chief adviser in this matter, that the Protestants should support their own churches and institutions, and, presumably, enjoy a greater degree of independence. But leading Protestants preferred State support and State control.

According to this scheme each section of six thousand Reformed (or Lutherans) was to have a consistorial church, and five consistorial churches were to form a synod. Each consistory was to be made up of the pastors and from six to twelve laymen from among the highest taxpayers. The consistory was entrusted with the administration of the discipline and finances and the appointment and removal of pastors, subject to the approval of the government. Napoleon did not recognize the individual churches in his scheme. A consistory might be a single large church or several churches grouped together. Louis Napoleon (1852) restored the authority of the local churches with their presbyteries (the lay members to be appointed by the congregation) who should constitute together with certain other representatives nominated by themselves, the consistories for each six thousand members. No national synod was provided for in either scheme and none was permitted until 1872, under the new republic.

By 1848 dissension in the ranks of the Reformed body had become acute. A large majority of the pastors and churches had come under the influence of the liberalistic spirit that prevailed so widely in Germany, Switzerland,

and the Netherlands, during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. The evangelical revival led by the Haldanes, Malan, Vinet, *et al.*, had won a considerable number of pastors and others to its support and the Revivalists had come to form a party in opposition to the Latitudinarians, who were liberal in doctrine and ardently attached to the prevailing system of State control. Then there was a more or less distinct mediating party. The failure of the synod called in 1848 to adopt a Confession of Faith led to the secession of a number of prominent ministers and churches, including the Pressensés (father and son, the latter an eminent church historian and statesman), Rosseeuw–St. Hilaire (Professor of History in the Sorbonne), Armand–Delile, Audebez, and De Bersier. Fifty churches united to form a "Union of Evangelical Churches."

Even after this withdrawal to form a free church, doctrinal strife continued in the Reformed Church. When in 1872 a national synod was held to consider the question of formulating Articles of Faith and harmonizing the differences that existed, and a majority adopted a very brief and non-committal statement of views, forty-one liberal consistories protested against even such a declaration of faith. At a synod called the next year the liberals failed to appear. The government gave authority to the new Declaration of Faith (1874), but a controversy raged for several years and could only be quieted by allowing the liberals to act in accordance with their consciences in relation to the Declaration. The orthodox party has twenty-one provincial synods whose consistories accept the Declaration of Faith of 1872. These unite from time to time in a general synod under government control. The liberals hold separate synodical meetings. Recent efforts to harmonize the two parties seem not to have succeeded. It must be borne in mind that the orthodox majority are only relatively orthodox and are not so according to the older Reformed symbols.

There are at present in France and Algiers about six hundred and fifty thousand Protestants, of whom about eighty thousand are Lutheran. The number of Reformed is considerably less than the estimated number at the beginning of the Revolution. Though constituting only

a small fraction of the population the Protestants of France, by virtue of their superior average ability, exert an influence on government, commerce, literature, etc., altogether out of proportion to their numbers. Catholics have complained that a million Protestants give the law to thirty-six millions of their fellow-citizens. There are communes where the only Protestant is mayor. In MacMahon's cabinet (1879) five out of nine were Protestants. A few years ago a Protestant was at the head of the normal school, Protestants were at the head of primary and secondary instruction, a Protestant woman was head of the school of Sèvres, Protestant generals were in charge of the polytechnic school and the school of Versailles, and a large proportion of the judges, counselors, and eminent lawyers were Protestant (Baird, in 1895). The same general condition no doubt still prevails.

V. THE SCOTTISH REFORMED CHURCHES.

LITERATURE: "Book of the Universal Kirk," 3 vols., 1839–1845; Stanley, "The Scottish Church"; McCrie, "Story of the Scottish Church from the Reformation to 1843," and "Annals of English Presbytery from the Earliest Period to the Present time," 1872; Killen, "Eccl. Hist. of Ireland," 1875; Wodrow, "The Hist. of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution," 1841; Briggs, "American Presbyterianism," 1885; Thompson, "A Hist. of the Presbyterian Churches in the U. S.," 1895 (contains excellent bibliography of Reformed churches in general and of European and American Presbyterian churches in particular); art. "Presbyterian Churches," and biographical articles in Schaff-Herzog; and art. "Schottland," in Hauck-Herzog.

(1) *Presbyterianism in England from 1648–1660.* The period opens with English and Scottish Presbyterians in control of Parliament and with a great ecclesiastical assembly (the Westminster) which had been called by Parliament sitting side by side with the civil legislative body and with a deep sense of opportunity and responsibility attempting to impose a carefully wrought-out Presbyterian system upon England and Ireland. The British Isles were to have but one form of religion and that was to be Presbyterian. The triumph of the Independent army and the exclusion of the Presbyterian members from the Long Parliament meant the downfall of Presbyterianism in England. Many Presbyterian

ministers became pastors of State Churches under Cromwell's administration. Two years after the restoration of the Stuarts (1660) those who would not obey the provisions of the new Act of Uniformity (1662) were thrust from their pastorates and hundreds endured great hardships. Many Presbyterian congregations maintained themselves in England during the period of persecution (Charles II. and James II.) and under William and Mary they took their place side by side with the other free churches in accordance with the Act of Toleration (1689). During the following thirty years most of the Presbyterian churches of England yielded to the destructive influence of Socinianism and related types of thought and became Unitarian.

The burning of the Solemn League and Covenant on a street in London by a common hangman on behalf of the new Parliament of Charles II. (May, 1661) was an insult of the gravest character to the entire Presbyterian brotherhood. Many of the English Presbyterians of the more moderate type, such as Baxter, Calamy, Reynolds, Asche, and Manton, made an earnest effort to lead their brethren in a compromise measure whereby Presbyterians might remain in the established church. They were willing to give up presbyterial church government and to accept episcopacy, but wished the liturgy simplified. The king had expressed himself as favorable to a revision of the Prayer Book and such adjustments of the prelatical system as would make it easier for Presbyterians to conform ("Declaration of his majesty to all his loving subjects . . . concerning ecclesiastical affairs," September, 1660), and he called the conference of Savoy (March, 1661) in which the bishops discussed with the leading Presbyterians the points at issue. The Presbyterians were requested to write out their objections to the liturgy. Baxter, Bates, and Jacomb responded, specifying eight points in the Prayer Book with which they thought it sinful to comply. The conference, so far from assuaging increased the irritation between the parties. The bishops counseled the king against any kind of compromise and the subservient Parliament sustained them in this position. Some of the Presbyterians finally yielded obedience to the Act of Uniformity. Reynolds

was appointed to a bishopric. Baxter and Calamy were offered bishoprics, but declined.

(2) *Presbyterianism in Scotland under Charles II. and James II.* The Scottish Parliament, equally with the English, was subservient to the bishops and the king, and in 1661 repealed all legislation favorable to Presbyterianism and re-established episcopacy. All ministers who had been ordained since 1649 in order to hold their livings must secure recognition at the hands of the newly appointed bishops. Four hundred ministers abandoned their livings. A considerable number here as in England conformed, hoping for better times later on. Leighton accepted a bishopric. Sharp became archbishop of St. Andrews and a base persecutor of his brethren. The heroism that has always belonged to the Scottish character had now abundant opportunity to manifest itself. From the beginning of the Reformation it had been usual for the Scotch in times of danger to bind themselves to each other and to God to protect the form of Christianity that they had adopted with life and goods and to do everything possible for the overthrow of popery and prelacy. At this time there were several shades of opinion with reference to the proper course to pursue. Some were ready to conform. Others were unwilling to conform, but anxious to avoid trouble with the government and inclined to temporize.

Those who were stanch and stalwart banded themselves together anew by solemnly signing the covenant, and, as is likely to happen in cases of this kind, became somewhat fanatical in their opposition to the government which seemed to them utterly antichristian and diabolical. The government denounced as traitors all who signed covenants against the established order. For their leadership in insubordination the Marquis of Argyle was beheaded (1661) and James Guthrie was hanged. This still further exasperated the Covenanters. The Earl of Lauderdale was sent to the west of Scotland to enforce the law. He found a large proportion of the people in rebellion. Ejected ministers were prohibited from holding services on pain of death, and heavy fines and imprisonment were the penalties for attendance at unauthorized meetings. Troopers patrolled the country for

the detection and punishment of those who insisted on worshiping God in the Presbyterian way. Sometimes the exasperated people turned upon their persecutors and took bloody vengeance. This usually led to still severer measures in the regions concerned. In 1679 Archbishop Sharp was seized by a band of Covenanters and assassinated because of his treachery and tyranny. In 1680 a body of extremists, led by Richard Cameron, drew up a declaration, disowning Charles II. because of his tyranny and his violation of the constitution of the country. Cameron was slain in battle a few months later, but his followers organized themselves into societies, who after the Revolution (1688) and the re-establishment of Presbyterianism were dissatisfied with the settlement and refused to co-operate with the established church, which in their opinion had made unworthy compromises. They insisted upon the independence of the church and the recognition of the covenants, and thought that God was not sufficiently honored in the new State Church. In 1706 John Macmillan united with them and strengthened them by his leadership. In 1743 they organized a "Reformed Presbytery." They are known in history as "Cameronians," or "Covenanters"; but they call themselves "Reformed Presbyterians." They never attained to much numerical strength, but have proved wonderfully persistent.

It has been estimated that eighteen thousand Covenanters were either banished or put to death between 1661 and 1689. While much of their violence was inexcusable, it is certain that their membership embraced many of the very best ministers and laymen in Scotland at the time, and it may safely be said that if violent resistance to tyrannical measures is ever allowable to Christians it was so in their case.

(3) *Presbyterianism in Scotland from the Revolution to the Secession.* The new settlement of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland under William and Mary was essentially a restoration of the arrangement of 1592. Presbyterianism became again the established form of Christianity, supported by the State, and in important particulars controlled by the State. The Episcopalians of Scotland were thenceforth the persecuted party.

Many of the Scotch resented the Cæsaro-papacy that was involved in the subjection of the church to an Episcopalian sovereign; but the government of William and Mary was highly conciliatory, and little occurred that was calculated to irritate. The union of Scotland with England on a basis of equality (1707) greatly diminished the political friction between the two countries, and would no doubt have tended to promote ecclesiastical peace had not Queen Anne's Parliament (1711) passed an act restoring the principle of lay-patronage, which involved the bestowing of the right of nomination to vacant pastorates upon certain landed proprietors connected with the parishes. This act brought endless confusion, being utterly subversive of the principles of the church and irritating beyond measure in its practical application to a people so sensitive and determined as the Scotch. The very fact that a minister was nominated by a lay-patron was in itself sufficient to prejudice the people against him, and if by the employment of government authority such a nominee was forced upon a congregation he could not hope to escape criticism or enjoy the confidence and sympathy of the flock. The General Assembly protested year by year against this infringement on the rights of the church. In many cases armed force had to be employed in installing those who had been appointed by government authority. During the first half of the eighteenth century there was in Scotland, as in England and on the Continent, a marked decline in religious life. A large proportion of the ministers were without any deep religious experience. Socinianism and Deism wrought their deadening work here as well as elsewhere. Many of the ministers, especially such as owed their livings to lay patronage, became defenders of the system, and many of the churches ceased to realize its incongruity with true Presbyterianism. The refusal of the church authorities to dismiss John Simson, professor of theology at Glasgow, for alleged heresy, was highly unsatisfactory to the more orthodox. A pronouncement by the General Assembly in favor of lay patronage (1732) called forth earnest protests. A book entitled "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," in which laxity of doctrine was sharply criticised, was condemned by the General Assembly.

(4) *The Secession and Relief Movements.* Among the most eminent of the men who stood against lay patronage, theological laxity, and the "course of defection from our Reformed and covenanting principles" in general, was Ebenezer Erskine (1680–1754). Erskine was one of the most impressive preachers and most influential leaders of the time. A contemporary declared he had never "seen so much of the majesty of God in any mortal man as in Ebenezer Erskine." In 1732 Erskine preached a sermon against the action of the General Assembly in favor of lay patronage, and declared "the church of Christ" "the freest society in the world." He was also a stanch defender of "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," and the term, "Marrow men," came to be applied to him and his followers. In 1733 the General Assembly expelled from their charges and suspended from the ministry Erskine, at that time pastor at Sterling; Wilson, pastor at Perth; Moncrief, pastor at Abernethy, and Fisher, pastor at Kinclaven. Erskine suffered for the offenses mentioned above, the rest for their strongly expressed sympathy with him. The following year the Assembly empowered the synod of Perth and Stirling to remove the sentence of censure, but they declined to avail themselves of a forgiveness that implied wrongdoing on their part. These four, with four others who had accepted their views, formed the "Associate Assembly," and in 1740 all eight were solemnly deposed "from the office of the holy ministry" and prohibited from further exercising "the same within this church for all coming time." By 1747 they had increased to forty-five congregations and had made provision for the education of ministers. About this time controversy arose among the Seceders regarding the lawfulness of an oath administered to burgesses in the leading cities of Scotland by which they obliged themselves to support "the true religion presently professed within this realm." The question was whether the expression was to be interpreted as meaning the Established Church of Scotland or simply evangelical Christianity. This controversy led to a schism, "Burghers" and "Anti-burghers" being the names popularly applied to the two parties. These two parties remained distinct for about seventy

years, when measures of reunion led the extremists of both to withdraw and form other non-communing parties.

In 1752 Thomas Gillespie, who had been educated by Philip Doddridge, was deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland by reason of his refusal to take part in the installation of a minister who was being thrust upon an unwilling congregation through the exercise of lay patronage. Settling in Dumferline, he gathered a congregation, and for six years labored independently. At the end of this time he was joined by Thomas Boston (son of the theologian). A presbytery, which they called "The Relief Presbytery" (designed to give relief to churches oppressed by lay patronage), was formed (1761), which by 1794 had grown into a synod, that in 1823 was strong enough to found a theological seminary. Up to this date candidates for the ministry were encouraged to study in the State Church divinity school. The Relief Church was Calvinistic, though not as aggressively so as the Secession Church. Its attitude toward other forms of Christianity was also much more liberal. Gillespie had derived from Doddridge liberal views respecting communion. "I hold communion," he said, "with all that visibly hold the Head, and with such only." Such he was in the habit of inviting to participate in the Supper. It was this feature of his doctrine and practice, his more moderate Calvinism, and his comparative indifference to the covenants, that prevented him and his followers from uniting with the Secession Church.

By 1847 the Secession Church had become assimilated to the Relief Church to such an extent as enabled the two parties to unite in forming "The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland." Both parties were vigorous and evangelical at the time of the union, and were engaging largely in foreign missionary and other evangelistic and philanthropic work. The union was a most hearty and joyful one, and has proved a perfect success. The United Presbyterian Church, until its union with the Free Church (1900) to form the United Free Church, was a highly progressive body. It sustained a theological college in Edinburgh and had reached a membership of about two hundred thousand. In the

Basis of Union the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms are accepted, yet in such a way as to exclude any approval "of compulsory or persecuting and intolerant principles in religion." Great stress is laid upon the obligation to "preach the gospel to every creature." "In accepting the Standards it is not required to be held that any who die in infancy are lost, or that God may not extend his grace to any who are without the pale of ordinary means, as may seem good in his sight."

(5) *The Free Church Movement (1843).* At the close of the eighteenth century the established church had sunk to the lowest depth that it ever reached. Acquiescence in lay patronage, opposition to the more evangelical dissenting churches, and the widespread influence of skeptical philosophy, had brought about a condition of lethargy and inefficiency in the ministry and of indifference and unbelief among the people. During the early decades of the century, in sympathy with the wave of evangelical influence that swept over Christendom, the Church of Scotland rapidly recuperated and a number of able and evangelical men came to adorn her pulpits and professors' chairs. The most noted of these was Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847). Brought up in a Calvinistic family, he early came under the influence of the prevailing moderatism, which laid much more stress on culture and philosophical and scientific study than upon religion. Though without a genuine experience of grace, he entered the University of Edinburgh with a view to preparing for the Christian ministry; but he devoted his attention almost exclusively to mathematics, natural science, and economics. After he had accepted a pastorate he still gave much of his time to mathematical teaching, and one of his earliest published writings was on an economic theme (1808). Family afflictions and a long-continued illness led him to think more seriously about religious matters, and he received much help from Pascal's "Thoughts" and Wilberforce's "Practical View of Christianity." When requested to contribute to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia he at first chose "Trigonometry" as his theme, but afterward decided to write the article on "Christianity." This led him into studies

that completely revolutionized his view of Christianity, and were used by the Spirit of God in transforming his life. From this time onward he became an eloquent gospel preacher, and by reason of his great personality, a mighty leader among men. As a preacher, a professor, a writer on theological, ethical, and economic themes, and as leader in a great movement that shook the religious life of Scotland to its very foundations, Chalmers may well be regarded as the most important Scotchman since Knox. As pastor in Glasgow Chalmers set on foot many philanthropic schemes that proved fruitful there, and set an example for other communities. As a leader in the General Assembly he labored earnestly and successfully for church extension and the meeting of the needs of the neglected classes with evangelizing agencies. It was largely due to his influence that the evangelical party in the General Assembly came to outnumber the "Moderates."

In 1834 Chalmers induced the General Assembly to pass what was known as the Veto Act. In this the Assembly declared that no one could be settled as pastor of a congregation unless he had a call from the congregation, although he may have been nominated by a lay-patron. In other words, it insisted on the right of the congregation to veto a nomination made by a lay-patron. In case a majority of the male heads of families disapproved of a nomination they were to report the vacancy to the lay-patron for a fresh nomination. A test case occurred a few years later. The congregation of Auchterarder almost unanimously rejected Robert Young, who had been nominated by Lord Kintoul. The case was appealed to the courts, which decided in favor of Lord Kintoul and Young. The courts decided that not only was the congregation obliged, under the law, to receive the nominee, though every member was opposed to him, but that the presbytery must take him on trial, and if possessed of the requisite qualifications, ordain him to the ministry. The General Assembly of 1842 entered an earnest protest against what a majority of its members believed to be an invasion of the rights of the church in a "Claim of Right." Appeals were made to the government for relief, but in vain. An effort was made to

secure remedial measures at the hands of Parliament, but a bill in this interest was overwhelmingly defeated. When the Assembly met in 1843, Doctor Welsh, moderator in 1842, laid on the table before the royal commissioner a "protest," in which the grievances of the church were fully recited, and the purpose of those who had signed it was declared to withdraw from the State Church and to join in organizing the "Free Church of Scotland." Two hundred and three members of the General Assembly participated in the original organization of the Free Church. Four hundred and seventy of the twelve hundred ministers of the Church of Scotland gave up their livings and cast themselves upon the liberality of the people. They claimed that in taking this step they were carrying out the principles of Knox, Melville, Henderson, Gillespie, and other worthies of the past, and that they were doing precisely what these fathers would have done under similar circumstances. The lay element nobly responded to the call of the pastors. The four hundred and seventy seceding ministers were able to take with them a large proportion of their flocks. In many cases the laymen were more enthusiastic than the pastors themselves in support of the measure. The whole body of missionaries to Jews and heathen cast in their lots with the Free Church. The great mass of the Highlanders, to whom lay patronage had proved particularly distasteful, went over to the ranks of the new party. Parochial schoolmasters suffered equally with the seceding ministers, being ejected from their schools and obliged to depend upon voluntary support. Chalmers had wrought out beforehand a scheme for church extension, and the Free Church at once took measures for covering with its work the whole of Scotland. A theological seminary was established in Edinburgh with Chalmers at its head. Others have since been provided at Aberdeen and Glasgow. Funds were easily raised for the erection of church buildings for destitute congregations. In many cases it proved difficult to secure sites owing to the unfriendliness of landowners. The foreign mission work assumed by the new organization was vigorously pressed, and the expense involved in re-equipping the missions was cheerfully borne. Many manses were erected by public subscription

chiefly through the agency of Doctor Guthrie. A sustentation fund was created and liberally supported for the supplementing of inadequate salaries, a minimum stipend of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling (later increased to one hundred and sixty) being provided. Liberal provision has also been made for the support of the widows and orphans of ministers. The Free Church has abounded in every good work and its congregations have increased to over a thousand.

The withdrawal of so large a part of the ministerial strength and of the more earnest lay life from the established church might have been expected to leave it in a deplorable condition. For some years the loss was no doubt sorely felt. But the example of the Free Church in its well-planned and successful home and foreign mission enterprise, in education, and in philanthropy proved highly stimulating to the established church. As a matter of fact Scotland was inadequately supplied with church buildings and pastors. The duplication of churches, with the increase of interest that competition brings, brought a greatly increased number under religious influences. A vast amount of Christian wealth that would not have been available apart from the secession was applied to the support of Christian work, to the benefit of the givers as well as of the cause of Christ. The voluntary liberality of the established church has greatly increased since the division. A large number of unendowed churches and mission stations are supported, many new buildings have been erected, and up to 1880 three hundred and twelve new parishes had been created with regular endowments, at an expense of about two million pounds sterling. The present number of ministers in the established church exceeds the number before the disruption. It must be borne in mind that the past sixty years have witnessed a large increase in population and wealth in Scotland.

In October, 1900, after preliminary negotiations that had resulted in bringing the two parties into the most perfect accord and intensified the desire of both for organic union, representatives of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church met in assembly and consummated a union under the name, "United Free Church."

It is noticeable that the Scotch have been so persistently Presbyterian, owing to their reverence for Knox and his coadjutors, the covenants, their sufferings for the faith, and their native sturdiness of character, that however much the spirit of division might prevail, there has been little departure from the old standards. The advantages that have come from the stimulus of competition in other less homogeneous communities where different denominations have wrought side by side have come to the Scotch by such a multiplication of Presbyterian bodies as has been noticed.

(6) *Presbyterianism in Ireland.* A considerable number of Scotch Presbyterians had settled in the north of Ireland before the Revolution. After the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim (1690 and 1691) the English government invited the Scotch to settle in Ulster, which had been appropriated by the crown, on terms which they considered advantageous. Many thousands accepted the invitation, and by the end of their thirty years' lease they constituted a large part of the population. The raising of their rents by the English landlords during the first half of the eighteenth century drove many thousands of the Scotch-Irish to America, where they became (especially in the South) a very important element of the population and took a leading part in the War of Independence. Arianism or Socinianism invaded the ranks of the Irish Presbyterians before 1727, when the synod of Antrim, infected with Unitarian views, seceded from the main body. A hundred years later, under the leadership of Henry Cooke, the synod of Ulster purged itself of Arianism which had continued to give trouble, and a remonstrant synod was formed. The present Presbyterian population of Ireland is nearly half a million, of which all but about twenty thousand are in Ulster. The body sustains two theological seminaries, one at Belfast and the other at Londonderry. The Presbyterians of Ulster, owing to the fact that they were never in the position of being an established church, developed more of the democratic spirit and less of the theocratic than their brethren in Scotland. The former rather than the latter gave tone to American Presbyterianism and impressed itself on American institutions.

(7) *Presbyterianism in America.* There was much of Presbyterian spirit among the Puritans who settled Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, and many of the Puritans that settled in Bermuda and in Virginia early in the seventeenth century were essentially Presbyterian. A considerable number of English Puritans, who were virtually Presbyterians, settled in the Dutch colony on the Hudson and Long Island (1640 onward). During the later years of Charles II. a very large number of Scotch and Irish Presbyterians emigrated to America to escape persecution. As they found New England, New York, and Virginia with established churches to which they could not conform and closed against dissent, they settled chiefly in East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware (Quaker colonies), and Maryland. Some of these organized themselves into feeble churches, but being pastorless little progress was made. In 1680 some of them petitioned their brethren in Ireland for a missionary, and in 1683 Francis Makemie was sent out to shepherd the scattered flocks. For some time he made Rehoboth, Md., his headquarters, and ministered to several other congregations in the surrounding regions. He also visited Barbadoes, Virginia, and Carolina in the interest of Presbyterian evangelization. Other ministers from Ireland and New England came into this large and needy field during the later years of the century. In 1705 occurred the first general organization of Presbyterianism in America. Seven ministers, Makemie among them, met at Philadelphia and organized the Presbytery of Philadelphia. By 1710 there were in all twelve Presbyterian churches in America: one in Virginia, four in Maryland, five in Pennsylvania, and two in New Jersey. By 1716 the churches numbered seventeen, of which five were in New York. At this time they formed a synod and distributed the churches into three presbyteries. There were now nineteen ministers. By 1729 the number of ministers had risen to twenty-seven and the synod adopted the Westminster symbols. Yet there appeared even at this time considerable diversity of opinion among the ministers, in sympathy with doctrinal differences that had arisen in Britain, some laying chief stress upon educational qualifications for the ministry (Old Side) and

others regarding personal piety as more important than learning (New Side) and willing in the great dearth of godly and learned ministers to accept the services of gifted, zealous, orthodox men who had not enjoyed collegiate advantages.

The differences of view between these two parties were accentuated by what is commonly called the Great Awakening. Before the beginning of the Great Awakening considerable disturbance had been aroused among the Presbyterians through the evangelistic zeal of Gilbert Tennent, who had come under the influence of Jacob Frelinghuysen, a Dutch Reformed minister of pietistic antecedents and tendencies. William Tennent, Gilbert's father, had established an academy (the "Log College") north of Philadelphia and had educated his sons and others for the ministry (1726 onward). Gilbert Tennent became pastor of the New Brunswick Church in 1726, and while there came in contact with Frelinghuysen. In 1728 a great religious awakening resulting in many conversions occurred among his people and spread throughout the adjacent regions. This occurred before the awakening at Northampton under Jonathan Edwards (1734) or Whitefield's evangelistic tours (1739 onward). The evangelism of Gilbert Tennent was of a remarkably fiery and drastic type. Whitefield, with whom he co-operated heartily, described him as "a son of thunder, whose preaching must either convert or enrage hypocrites." He was not content to labor for the conversion of sinners, but he had a holy indignation against ministers who while pretending to be the spiritual guides of the people were themselves devoid of spiritual life and even stood in the way of the evangelization of their flocks. He and his associates felt no obligation to seek the permission of such to labor in their parishes and denounced them right and left as hypocrites, etc.

In the synod of 1740 Tennent and Blair arraigned the ministers who opposed their evangelism in the most exasperating way, but did not, when required, bring proof of the charges they made. By a sermon on "An Unconverted Ministry" (March, 1840), Tennent made it impossible for the anti-revivalists to continue in fel-

lowship with him. At the next meeting of the synod (1741) Tennent, Blair, and their supporters were arraigned for overthrowing the authority of the synod, irruption into other ministers' parishes, censorious judgments, making a call to the ministry a matter of feeling, preaching the terrors of the law in an unauthorized way, and teaching an unwholesome doctrine of assurance. By a small majority they were denied seats in the synod. The New Brunswick Presbytery at once withdrew. The New York Presbytery, after a vain effort to effect a reconciliation, refused to sit in the synod (1743) from which the New Brunswick Presbytery was excluded. A synod of New York, including the New Brunswick Presbytery, was next formed, which by 1758 had a constituency of seventy-two churches as compared with the twenty-three of the Philadelphia Synod. New York had fallen into line with the Great Awakening and many new churches had been established through the labors of the Tennents, Whitefield, and others. The New York Synod, while thoroughly committed to the new evangelism, recognized the necessity of an educated ministry and established (1745) a college, which was to develop into Princeton University and Theological Seminary, and was to send forth a host of well-trained young men imbued with the spirit of the gospel.

By 1758 the New Light leaders had become more conciliatory and the Old Light leaders had come to appreciate more fully the benefits of the revival. Tennent himself was anxious for reunion, and through the overtures of the New York Synod harmony was restored and the body which, through extensive immigration from Scotland and Ireland and accessions from the Puritan ranks of New England as well as through the conversion of large numbers by evangelistic effort, had greatly increased in numerical strength, thus reunited, had taken its place as one of the three leading denominations in America. From 1758 to the outbreak of the War of Independence growth continued to be rapid. Thousands came from Ulster to the southern colonies and the spiritual interests of these had to be looked after by the Presbyterians of the middle colonies. A large number of Scotch Presbyterians settled in Nova

Scotia. These also required attention. Princeton, under a series of presidents remarkable for learning, ability, and popular power, continued to flourish beyond expectation and enabled Presbyterians to claim a ministry equal in culture to that of the Congregationalists of New England. Representatives of the minor Presbyterian parties of Scotland would have amalgamated readily with the standard type of American Presbyterianism, but interference on the part of the Church of Scotland prevented, and they felt obliged to keep up their old affiliations and names.

Presbyterians, like all other denominations, suffered terribly from the War of Independence. With few exceptions they were ardent supporters of the colonial claims and they contributed their full share to the military strength and leadership, as well as the statesmanship, of the Revolutionary cause. In Virginia, Presbyterians cooperated nobly with Baptists in their struggle for the complete separation of Church and State and absolute liberty of conscience, though they would have been content with compromise measures (*e. g.*, general assessment by the State for the support of worship, each man's dues to be paid to his own church). After the war efforts were made, not altogether successful, to amalgamate the various Presbyterian parties into a great whole. Much attention was given to the completion of the organization of the body and the adoption of a revised form of government and discipline and confession of faith. The Westminster symbols were readopted with certain changes regarding the civil magistrate's relation to the church, toleration, etc. (1789).

The position and prospects of American Presbyterianism at the close of the eighteenth century were unsurpassed by those of any other denomination. It had learning, wealth, completeness of organization, prestige from noble services in the cause of independence, and a sturdy Scotch and Scotch-Irish population, sure to be increased by immigration. It has notably failed to hold its own, Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, and Disciples having drawn into their ranks more of the descendants of Presbyterians than have remained Presbyterian. The later years of the eighteenth century and the early

years of the nineteenth were a time of enthusiastic evangelism and widespread religious awakening. The undue stress laid by Presbyterians on elaborate confessions of faith and catechisms led to formalism and scholasticism in the preaching of the body. Undue stress was also laid upon a highly educated ministry and sufficient encouragement was not given to zealous and spiritually minded men without collegiate education to enter the ministry or to lay evangelism. The great mass of Presbyterian ministers were without sympathy for the enthusiastic revivalism that the times seemed to demand. They were not gifted in popular evangelism themselves and they frowned upon others who insisted on saving the perishing in disregard of good taste and even of accurately orthodox doctrine. Baptists and Methodists met the popular need and won the people. The lack of Presbyterianism, as then constituted, in adaptability to the new conditions is illustrated in the schism that led to the formation of the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination.

In 1800 a religious awakening began in connection with the ministry of James McGready in the presbytery of Transylvania, Ky., and extended throughout the Cumberland Valley in Kentucky and Tennessee. Multitudes were converted and many new churches organized. Among those who had experienced the gracious influences of the awakening, some felt prompted to engage in evangelistic work, and so inadequate was the supply of educated ministers that the Cumberland Presbytery thought it right to license them to preach and in some cases to ordain them. A large proportion of the ministers and elders of the synod to which the Cumberland Presbytery belonged looked with disfavor upon the revival as fanatical and disorderly, and the synod took measures against the presbytery for irregularity in lowering the standard for admission into the ministry. The result was the dissolution by the synod of the Cumberland Presbytery and the transference of the obedient members of this presbytery to the Transylvania Presbytery (1806). In 1805 those who had incurred censure organized themselves into a council for continuing the evangelistic work, and, being reluctant to lead in a

schism, awaited the redress of their grievances by a higher tribunal. An appeal to the General Assembly having failed, they proceeded, in 1810, to form themselves into a new denomination. Through the influence of the Methodists, these evangelistic Presbyterians had adopted Arminian views. Their Confession of Faith denies eternal reprobation, asserts the universality of the atonement, maintains the salvation of all who die in infancy, and declares a working of the Holy Spirit so universal as to leave all men inexcusable. In other respects the new party adopted Presbyterian views and practices. The denomination soon equipped itself with educational and publishing institutions and has had a rapid growth. Its present membership is about two hundred thousand, of which considerably over one-half is in the States of Tennessee, Missouri, Texas, and Kentucky.

The War of 1812 onward was followed by another great religious awakening in which Presbyterians participated. Immigration brought reinforcement and increase of opportunity and obligation. Educational institutions were multiplied. The settlement of the West called for large expenditure in home mission effort, church building, etc. Publication enterprise abounded. Presbyterians participated fully in the great foreign mission enterprise that pressed itself upon the attention of American Christians from the second decade of the nineteenth century onward.

During the third decade of the century the harmony of the Presbyterian body was greatly disturbed by the appearing among its ministers of anti-Calvinistic forms of thought, borrowed for the most part from New England Congregationalism. The teachings of Samuel Hopkins, a modification of those of Jonathan Edwards, had been given fresh currency in a still further modified form by N. W. Taylor, of New Haven. Among those whose views attracted most attention were Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia, and Lyman Beecher, then of Cincinnati.

It may be said in general that the objectionable features of "Hopkinsianism" are essentially semi-Pelagian or Arminian: The assertion of free-will (those actually choosing right having the natural power to choose wrong), the limiting of obligation to natural ability

to perform, the assertion that all sin is so overruled as to result in good to the universe, denial of imputation of holiness or sinfulness, limitation of holiness and sin to the exercise of the individual will, comprehension of all God's moral attributes in benevolence, assertion of the universality of the atonement, and representation of the atonement as a manifestation and honoring by suffering of all the divine attributes that would have been manifested by the punishment of the redeemed.

After several years of controversy a great disruption occurred. At the General Assembly of 1837 the Old School party, finding itself for the second time within seven years in the majority, exscinded three New York synods and one in Ohio in which New School sentiments prevailed, their aim being apparently to secure for their own party a distinct ascendency in the Assembly. This act exasperated the New School party, and on the refusal of their demand for the reinstatement of the exscinded synods at the opening of the General Assembly for 1838, the New School delegates organized another General Assembly. There was considerable litigation over the possession of property. The members of the New School party had founded Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1836. Princeton, which occupied a mediating position during the controversies that led to the disruption, became the chief institution of the Old School party.

The schism between the Presbyterians of the Northern and those of the Southern States was not consummated until the outbreak of the War of Secession, although the slavery question had for years caused much irritation. A declaration of the General Assembly, in 1861, in favor of such an interpretation of the United States Constitution as denied the right of secession led the Southern Presbyterians to organize a new General Assembly (December, 1861). This strong and thoroughly organized body is well equipped with institutions of learning, publication facilities, and other denominational appliances. While its relations to Northern Presbyterians are cordial, it has not been thought expedient as yet to re-enter into organic union with them.

The withdrawal of the Southern brethren had the effect of drawing the Old School and the New School parties closer together. The doctrinal differences be-

tween them had gradually diminished and the spirit of toleration had increased. They began correspondence in 1862. In 1866, at St. Louis, representatives of the two parties partook together of the Lord's Supper. In 1870 the reunion was consummated amid great rejoicing. By this time the two bodies had a membership of nearly half a million. To commemorate the union a fund of nearly eight million dollars was raised for extinguishing church debts, building and repairing churches, and endowing educational institutions.

There has been much agitation during the last decade regarding a revision of the symbols of the church and the introduction of liberal teaching into the theological seminaries and the pulpits of the denomination. Union Theological Seminary, as the chief exponent of extreme freedom in biblical criticism, is again arrayed against Princeton as the opponent of innovation.

The present membership of all Presbyterian parties in the United States is about a million and a half, of whom about a million are in the two great Northern and Southern branches, which nothing but sentiment and convenience divides. Besides the Cumberland, with its two hundred thousand members, there are ten minor Presbyterian bodies, some of which perpetuate European divisions and some of which are indigenous.

(8) *Presbyterianism in the Dominion of Canada.* After the cession of Canada to England by the French monarchy in 1760, large numbers of Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, some of whom had fought in the British army, settled in the Maritime Provinces. During the War of the Revolution and afterward a considerable number of Presbyterians went into the northern British possessions. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century there has been an almost perpetual stream of immigration from Scotland and the north of Ireland into Ontario and Quebec. All types of Scotch Presbyterianism were represented among Canadian Presbyterians, and the larger bodies were equipped with institutions of learning, when in 1875, as a result of much wise negotiation and a rare spirit of toleration and conciliation, a union was effected. The United Presbyterian and the Free Church parties had united in 1861. The Canada

Presbyterian Church is equipped with seven theological seminaries, besides several other institutions for higher education, is doing a large home mission work, especially in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories and British Columbia, and sustains an extensive foreign mission enterprise. Its theological faculties and its more important pulpits have been filled to a large extent by importations from Scotland and Ireland and the most intimate relations have been maintained with the Presbyterianism of the old land. Canadian Presbyterians have maintained a high standard of orthodoxy, but in recent years the influence of German and Scotch liberalism has begun to manifest itself among ministers and professors.

(9) *Presbyterianism in Australia and New Zealand.* About one-eighth of the European colonizers of Australasia have been Scotch and Scotch-Irish and the Presbyterian population of these British colonies now constitutes about the same proportion of the entire population. The Church of England stands first in numerical strength, the Roman Catholic Church comes second, and the Presbyterian Church ranks third. But in intellectual, moral, and religious influence Presbyterians are easily foremost.

The Church of England (with the possible exception of the High Church party), the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Disciples, and most of the minor evangelical parties, belong, as regards their doctrinal views, to the Reformed type of Christianity, but it has been thought best not to include these in the present chapter. When these great bodies are considered, in addition to the Reformed bodies that have already claimed our attention, it becomes evident how large a share of the Christian work of the world has been done and is being done by this type of Christian life and thought.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

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1. *From 1648 to the Evangelical Revival.*

(1) *The Cambridge Christian Platonists.* The present period opens with the Church of England prostrate and the dissenting parties in the place of influence. A large proportion of the educated clergy remained loyal to the Stuarts and patiently labored and waited for the restoration. Various types of churchmanship perpetuated themselves throughout the nearly twenty years of Puritan and Independent control. Most of those who had manifested Puritan tendencies before 1640 became Presbyterians or Independents during the revolutionary time. At the Restoration the disciples of Laud preponderated among those who had to do with the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, but Platonic philosophy, Socinianism, and Arminianism had wrought in a large number of intelligent men a spirit of latitudinarianism that made them indifferent to forms of church government and ready to conform to a system in which they did not recognize any authority save that of the sovereign.

At the University of Cambridge there had grown up during the Cromwellian age a school of Platonic or Neo-Platonic divines, who by their learning and excellence of character had gained a widespread influence. Earlier representatives of this type of thought were John Hales (d. 1656), who through attendance at the Synod of Dort became converted to Arminianism, and William Chillingworth (d. 1644), who in his youth had been converted by a Jesuit to Roman Catholicism, but had recovered his footing, and in his "The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation" had made a masterly defense of evangelical religion that is still highly prized, and formulated a maxim that is still constantly quoted ("The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, is the religion of Protestants"), but repudiated the damning clauses in the Athanasian creed as "most false, and also in a high degree schismatical and presumptuous." He was accused of Socinianism and no doubt had been influenced to some extent by Socinian thought. The most noted of the Anglican Platonists whose activity falls within the present period are Ralph Cudworth (d. 1688), Benjamin Whichcote (d. 1683), and Henry More (d. 1687). Cudworth was one of the greatest scholars and profoundest thinkers of his time and was withal deeply devout. His "The True Intellectual System of the Universe" (1678), of which only the first part was completed, was intended as an exhaustive answer to deism, which through the influence of the philosophy of Hobbes was spreading at the time, as well as to atheism and every other false form of belief or disbelief. He concludes his final chapter, which is occupied with proof of the existence of God and refutation of atheism, with the statement that to derive the origin of all things from a lifeless, unconscious matter is nonsense, as are also the supposition that the universe has proceeded from an unconscious or semi-conscious matter with organically creative potency and the supposition of an eternally existing world. There is, he maintains, only one infinite, self-existent nature, from which everything springs, through which everything is ruled, namely, the most perfect, all-wise, and all-good God. He was a profound student of Plato, the Neo-Platonists, and the

Jewish Cabbala, and his theology was considerably influenced by these earlier types of thought. His view of the godhead was essentially Sabellian. Calvinistic predestination he rejected with the utmost decision. He regarded philosophy as a result of divine illumination, but he did not make it of equal authority with revealed religion. While he was a devoted churchman, he recognized the right of other religious communions to toleration, and did not deny their Christian character. He had little sympathy with High Church formalism, sacerdotalism, and exclusiveness.

Of less importance than Cudworth, more Platonizing and mystical, and less practical, was Henry More, who, putting aside a hereditary benefice and declining from time to time a college mastership and rectorship, a deanery, and a bishopric, spent most of his life at Cambridge as a private tutor. He had come under the influence of Descartes as well as that of Neo-Platonism and the Cabbala. By some of his contemporaries he was regarded as "the holiest person upon the face of the earth," and a modern writer has characterized him as "the most poetic and transcendental and, on the whole, the most spiritual looking of all the Cambridge divines" (Tulloch). He sought to combine Neo-Platonic transcendentalism with a recognition of the reality of the supernatural in historical Christianity.

Benjamin Whichcote was the most eloquent and magnetic of the Cambridge Christian Platonists. From 1644 until the restoration he was provost of King's College, and exerted a strong influence on philosophical and theological thought. His definition of religion is characteristic: "Religion is being as much like God as man can be like him." He was removed from his position by Charles II.

(2) *Persecuting Measures of Charles II.* Charles had come to the throne through the co-operation of Scotch Presbyterians and many English dissenters (including Baptists), and after what were taken to be full assurances of his purpose to tolerate dissent. He had written from Breda, May 1, 1660:

> We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters

of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence.

But the intolerant spirit of the churchmen, once restored to power, was too aggressive to be long kept in restraint by the feeble-minded king. For a time he interested himself actively in measures for the conciliation of the Presbyterians, and would have gladly made considerable concessions to them if thereby he could have induced them to conform. In a declaration of October, 1660, he promised a number of reforms by way of satisfying Presbyterian scruples, but Parliament refused to give authority to the king's declaration, and the bishops, when called to treat with Presbyterian leaders, were absolutely unyielding (Savoy Conference). Instead of removing from the Book of Common Prayer the features that were objectionable to Puritans, Convocation introduced still further Romanizing features. The king refused his approval to some of the changes, but most of them were allowed.

By this time the king had become convinced that all hopes of conciliation were at an end, and that ecclesiastical order could be secured only by enforcing remorselessly an Act of Uniformity, which prelates and Parliament were ready to approve. It should be remarked that Charles' attitude toward dissent had been rendered distinctly less favorable by reason of the fanatical uprising under Henry Venner, a Fifth Monarchy man (January, 1661). Two thousand ministers (Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and a few Baptists) were, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, driven from their churches and parsonages and deprived of their salaries. The Act of Uniformity required every minister not only to use the Book of Common Prayer as recently revised, but also openly to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained therein. It also required every canon, professor, reader, and tutor in universities and schools, and every teacher of any public or private school to declare it unlawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king and to promise to "conform to the liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by

law established." The act also required that all incumbents have episcopal ordination, and prohibited those in charge of church property from allowing any one to preach, read a sermon, or lecture in any church, chapel, or other place of worship unless approved and licensed by the archbishop or bishop, assenting to the Prayer Book, and actually using it in connection with the service.

Having thus multiplied dissent and exasperated dissenters, it was felt to be necessary to supplement the Act of Uniformity with other specific penal legislation. On the petition of the clergy for "severe laws against the Anabaptists," who are characterized as a "strange prodigious race of men who labored to throw off the yoke of government, both civil and ecclesiastical," the Conventicle Act was passed (1664), inflicting heavy fines and imprisonment, and for the third offense transportation to America, with death as the penalty of return, upon those attending unauthorized religious meetings. This was followed by the Five Mile Act, which inflicted imprisonment and a forty pounds fine on ministers refusing to swear that it is not lawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king and who should come within five miles of any city, town, borough, or any parish in which they have ministered. A few years later (1670) these acts were supplemented by the provision that informers should receive part of the fines, that persecutors were not to be held responsible for outrages they might commit in dealing with heresy, and that record of a fact by a justice should be taken as legal conviction. Archbishop Sheldon declared that the diligent execution of this act would be "to the glory of God, the welfare of the church, the praise of his majesty and government, and the happiness of the whole kingdom." The Corporation Act (1661) had preceded the Act of Uniformity, and required every officer of a town corporation, magistrate, or other local official to swear that it was not lawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king to repudiate the oath of the Solemn League and Covenant and to have partaken of the Lord's Supper in the established church. This was aimed especially against Presbyterians, but affected all

types of dissent. The Test Act (1673) was aimed against Roman Catholics and required partaking of the Supper in connection with the established church, the oaths of supremacy and uniformity, and a declaration against transubstantiation from all who would hold public offices, civil or military. These laws were, for the most part, strictly, even cruelly, enforced for many years, and Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers were greatly afflicted.

James II. (1685–1688) had united with the Roman Catholic Church some years before his accession, and with a view to promoting the interests of Roman Catholicism issued, without parliamentary approval, a dispensation from the persecuting acts of his predecessor. The indulgence applied to dissenters in general; but so great was the horror of popery that dissenters themselves were unwilling to profit by an unconstitutional act that might result in the restoration of Roman Catholicism as the State religion. Seven bishops who refused to read the declaration in their churches were tried in Westminster Hall (June, 1688), and when they were acquitted there was universal rejoicing, many even weeping from the excess of their joy. A terrible calamity had been averted. The people could breathe freely now and suffer persecution, if need be, but they were not to be enslaved again to the pope.

(3) *The Act of Toleration, the Latitudinarian Prelates, and the Non-jurors.* William and Mary were disposed to tolerate differences of opinion in religion as far as English sentiment at the time would allow or their Whig advisers thought safe. In 1689 "An Act for exempting their Majesty's subjects Dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws" relieved dissenters of the burden of all the persecuting measures of Charles II., except that of the Corporation and Test Acts. The new act required all who would minister to dissenting congregations and those who constituted the congregations to swear assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles, with the exception of Articles Thirty-Four, Thirty-Five, Thirty-Six, and the portion of Article Twenty that recognized the power and authority of the church. Provision was made for the substitution of an affirmation

for an oath by those (like the Quakers) whose consciences would not allow them to swear. An oath of allegiance or a declaration of loyalty to the new sovereigns was also required, with the repudiation, on the part of those who declined the oath, of "that damnable doctrine" which made it lawful to depose and murder princes excommunicated by the pope. A declaration of belief in the Trinity and in the inspiration of the Scriptures was also required of such as would not take the prescribed oath. There was evidently a fear lest secret papists should avail themselves of the exemption from the oath intended for the Quakers. A bill for the punishment of public officers who should attend dissenting meetings, and for requiring all such to commune three times a year in the established church was passed by the House of Commons, but rejected in the House of Lords (1702). This led to violent denunciations of the Lords by the High Church party and much irritation between the liberals and the reactionaries.

The most influential of the liberal (Whig, Latitudinarian) prelates under William and Mary were John Tillotson and Gilbert Burnet. Tillotson (1630–1694) was the son of a zealous Puritan and was educated under Puritan influence at Cambridge. But his theological views were to a great extent molded by the Cambridge Platonists. At the Savoy Conference he appeared on the side of the Presbyterians; but he submitted gracefully to the Act of Uniformity and became preacher at Lincoln's Inn, where he soon became known as one of the most popular preachers in England. His theological views were so liberal that he has been charged with Socinianism. He was an earnest polemicist against Roman Catholicism, was strongly opposed to Stuart despotism, especially as embodied in James II. with his Romanizing policy, attended Lord Russell on the scaffold, and rejoiced in the deposition of James and in the accession of William and Mary. In 1691 he was made Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England. He was in hearty sympathy with the toleration measures of the new government; but he was far more a preacher than an ecclesiastical statesman. Burnet (1643–1715), was son of a Scottish nobleman, and was educated at Aberdeen. After his

graduation he declined church preferment and went abroad for further studies, visiting England, Holland, and France, and coming in close contact with Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Baptists, Independents, and Unitarians. Returning to Scotland he accepted a humble pastorate and combated the episcopacy which was being forced upon the unwilling Scots; yet he was not a thorough-going Presbyterian in his doctrinal or his liturgical views. Finding himself in an uncomfortable position he retired for two years and devoted himself to historical studies that were to bear fruit in the noted works ("History of the Reformation of the Church of England," and "History of His Own Time") by which he is chiefly known. In 1669 he became professor in the University of Glasgow. Here he became intimately acquainted with the Duchess of Hamilton, published (1676) the "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton," and prepared the way for his later career as an ecclesiastical statesman. He was offered by Lord Lauderdale his choice of four Scottish bishoprics, but he declined, being convinced, no doubt, that however desirable episcopacy might be in itself, it could never be permanently established in Scotland. With a view to winning him over to the High Church position, Lauderdale procured him a chaplaincy at court and brought him into intimate relations with Charles II. and the Duke of York (afterward James II.). Unable to countenance the Romanizing policy of Charles and James he left the court and became a pronounced opponent of the Stuarts. In 1684 he was dismissed from his position as preacher in the Rolls Chapel because of his sympathy with Lord Russell. After spending some months in France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, he settled at the Hague (1685), where he engaged in literary work and acted as counselor of William of Orange in his proceedings for the securing of the British crown. In 1688 he accompanied William to England, where he was made Bishop of Salisbury. As a member of the House of Lords and as the trusted counselor of the king he may be said to have shaped the civil and ecclesiastical policy of this reign, although his pastoral letter (1689) in which he based William's right to the throne on conquest was condemned by both houses of Parliament and

burned by the public executioner, and his exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles (1699) was condemned as heretical by Convocation. Honest, unselfish, upright, stanch in defense of principle, sharply polemical but without bitterness, eloquent, clear-headed, devoted to the interests of the poor and oppressed, a great church historian withal, he stands out as the most admirable of all the churchmen and statesmen of his time.

A large proportion of the High Church clergy, who under the Stuarts constituted a majority, felt constrained to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary and retaining their positions were ready to lead in the reactionary measures of the reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714). A considerable number with whom the divine right of kings was a part of their religion, if not indeed the most cherished part, and who regarded Charles I. as a holy martyr, continued to regard James II. as king by divine right and could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns. Among the four hundred clerical Non-jurors were nine bishops, several of whom were eminent for learning and piety. The Non-juring bishops were Ken, of Bath and Wells, who had not hesitated to rebuke the licentiousness of Charles II., had suffered imprisonment under James II. for refusing to read the declaration of indulgence, an eloquent preacher, a writer of deeply devout and spiritual hymns, in short, one of the finest characters of the age; Sancroft, of Canterbury, who had also suffered for refusing to read the declaration of indulgence; Turner, of Ely, who had had the same experience; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; Thomas, of Worcester; Lloyd, of Norwich; Frampton, of Gloucester; and Cartwright, of Chester. In 1691 the survivors (all except Cartwright and Lane) were deposed. Eminent among Non-jurors was Collier, the well-known church historian, Leslie, the apologist (author of "A Short and Easy Method with the Deists") and Law, whose "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life" has profoundly influenced many minds, including those of John Wesley and Samuel Johnson. The Non-jurors considered themselves the true Church of England and for many years (to 1805) kept up a separate church organization with a

succession of bishops. They were always bitterly opposed to the existing government and ready to join in any movement that looked toward the restoration of the Stuarts.

(4) *The Reactionary Movement under Queen Anne.* During the earlier years of Queen Anne's reign the Whigs (the party of toleration) were in a majority in both houses of Parliament. In 1709 Henry Sachverell, preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, preached a violently denunciatory and alarmist sermon against the toleration policy of the government and raised the cry which was re-echoed by High Churchmen throughout the land of "the church in danger." The immediate occasion of the alarm was the union of Scotland with England (1707), with the admission of fifteen Presbyterians into the House of Lords and forty-five into the House of Commons, the suspension of Convocation, whose extreme High Churchism had rendered it obnoxious to Parliament, and the naturalization of Protestants from abroad. The trial and punishment of Sachverell for libel by Commons and Lords aroused High Churchmen to such a fury that the Tories triumphed at the election of 1710, and Queen Anne, whose sympathies were with the Tories, was able to further High Church interests at the expense of dissenters. During the later years of this reign the press teemed with the most ill-tempered High Church polemics against dissent, and legislation seriously curtailing the liberties of dissenters, especially in the conducting of private schools, was on the point of being put in force, when the queen relieved the situation by her opportune death.

(5) *King George I. and the Bangorian Controversy.* The new Hanoverian king dared not commit himself to the Tories, whose sympathies were known to be with the Stuarts, and proceeded at once to form a Whig cabinet, that was able to exert such an influence on the elections as soon to secure a Whig Parliament. The toleration of dissent was, of course, a part of his policy, and High Churchmen and Tories were utterly discomfited. In 1717 Benjamin Hoadley, who had been made Bishop of Bangor by the new government (1715), preached a sermon on the text "My kingdom is not of this world,"

which aroused all England to hearty approval or violent denunciation. Fifty writers, some of them eminent (Law, Sherlock, etc.), were engaged in the controversy that followed. It was an earnest plea for liberty of conscience. On the supposition that the church is the kingdom of Christ he argues that Christ must be "the sole lawgiver and sole judge of his subjects in all points relating to the favor or displeasure of Almighty God, and that all his subjects, in what station soever they may be, are equally subjects to him; and that no one of them, any more than another, hath authority to make new laws for Christ's subjects, or to impose a sense upon the old ones, which is the same thing; or to judge, censure, or punish the servants of another master in matters relating purely to conscience or salvation." Convocation impeached Hoadley and churchmen everywhere were led to believe that the very foundations of the Church of England were being destroyed by such teaching. Recent High Churchmen regard the suppression of Convocation as the opening of the floodgates of error and the cause of the later degeneracy of religious life and thought in England. As a matter of fact it was using its authority for the suppression of pure evangelical utterances like that of Hoadley and for arousing the passions of the people against any sort of freedom of teaching and any sort of recognition of dissenters.

(6) *The English Deists of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* English deism is a peculiar form of unbelief that was due in part to continental Socinianism and the Cartesian philosophy and in part to the theological and partisan conflicts in England during the revolutionary period of the seventeenth century. It well-nigh wrecked the religious thought and life of England, exerted a profound influence on the men who became leaders of skeptical thought in France and propagated it in other European countries, and along with French skeptical influence, produced a deep and lasting impression on Dutch and German thought during the middle years of the eighteenth century. In an important sense English deism is a revival and adaptation of Stoicism, which identified God with the nature of things and sought a purely natural basis for religion and morality. It was a

reaction against religious mysticism and enthusiasm as these had been manifested among the religious sects of the seventeenth century in England, in the Jansenists and the Huguenots of France, etc. It was the aim of deism to reach a philosophy of religion independently of revelation. It was an attempt to find underlying principles that would unify religious and ethical thought.

The father of English deism was Lord Herbert, of Cherbury (d. 1648). He was a friend of Grotius and Casaubon, and through residence in France had come under the influence of the skepticism of Montaigne. While he regarded religion as the one characteristic of man, he sought to reduce it to its simplest elements and denied the need and the reality of a supernatural revelation. The elements of religion are: the existence of God; obligation to worship; virtue, or conformity of life to the ends of being; repentance, from failure in virtue; rewards and punishments in this life and the life to come. Immortality seems to be presupposed. He regarded the manifoldness of religions as due in part to the allegorizing and poeticizing of nature, and in part to priestly craftiness and fantasy. He supposed that original Christianity had been corrupted in this way. He did not explicitly deny that the Scriptures are a divine revelation in a supernatural sense, but he pointed out difficulties and fostered skepticism.

Thomas Hobbes (d. 1679), in deriving all knowledge from sense-perception and reason, in denying the existence of disinterested affection, and in denying that the contents of God's word could be contrary to reason, fostered sensualistic freethinking.

John Locke (d. 1704) in affirming the sovereign right of the human reason to determine the reality and meaning of revelation, and in denying that revelation could teach anything contradictory of reason, promoted rationalism, though he believed in Christianity and wrote "The Reasonableness of Christianity" (1695).

In his "Christianity not Mysterious" John Toland (d. 1722) denied that original Christianity contained anything that had not been known before and attributed whatever is mysterious in the New Testament to Jewish and heathen influences.

Anthony Collins (d. 1729) affirmed that free thought was an inalienable right of man, practised and approved by the biblical writers themselves ("Discourse on Free Thinking," 1713), and he bitterly assailed the church for its attempt to curtail this freedom. In a later work (1724) he attacked Christianity as being based upon an allegorical interpretation of prophecy.

Thomas Woolson (d. 1733) attacked the New Testament miracles, declaring the narratives to be absurd and incredible as records of fact and supposing that they were intended to be taken mystically.

Matthew Tindal (d. 1733) has been called the "great apostle of deism." He asserted the absolute sufficiency and perfection of natural religion and made of it the criterion whereby Christianity is to be tested. So far as Christianity agrees with natural religion it is true and so far only. The title of his chief work, "Christianity as Old as the Creation," shows his point of view.

In David Hume (d. 1776) deism became pronounced skepticism, and he was not careful to show that Christianity corresponded with natural religion.

Closely related to the deistical mode of thought was the Arianism or Socinianism of Samuel Clarke, William Whiston, and others. Clarke (d. 1729) has been characterized as the founder of rationalistic supranaturalism. While he earnestly defended revelation in its entirety against deism and pantheism, he yet insisted upon the complete validity and the absolute right of reason. Like the deists he ascribed religion and morality to the eternal nature and fitness of things. He regarded the ideas of God, virtue, and immortality as postulates of the practical reason, and showed the necessity and the reasonableness of revelation as adapted to and supplying the needs of the human soul. His proof of the existence of God from the idea of eternity is well known. We cannot escape the idea of eternity. There must be something corresponding to the idea. The world is not eternal as the mind thinks of it as originated, and is not, as regards its form or its substance, necessary. Only God meets the requirement, and his attributes are declared to be eternity, infinity, omnipresence, unity, intelligence, freedom, omnipotence (or at least power to

create everything else that exists), wisdom, holiness, righteousness. In the moral attributes of God human morality has its source and its obligation. The rewarding of virtue and the punishment of its opposite lie in the very nature of God. In opposition to the deists he sought to present a rational view of the Trinity ("The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," 1712), but his careful exegetical study of the New Testament passages concerned gave him no light on the metaphysical essence of the divine persons. In expounding his view of the economic Trinity he maintains (in opposition to Sabellianism) the diversity of persons and (in opposition to Arianism) the eternity of Son and Spirit. Yet he grounds the distinctive being of Son and Spirit not in an inner necessity, but in the inscrutable will of God. Thus he fell short of the orthodox trinitarian doctrine and did not rise much above a refined Arianism, as was fully shown by Waterland.

Whiston (d. 1752) was far more decided and aggressive in his Arian (Socinian) teachings. In an essay on the "Apostolical Constitutions" (1708) he sought to prove that Arianism was the prevailing doctrine during the first two centuries and declared the Constitutions the "most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament." He was expelled from the University of Cambridge in 1710, because of his enthusiastic advocacy of these unsettling views. In his "Primitive Christianity Revived" (1711, 1712) he sought by a diligent study of patristic literature to show the anti-trinitarian character of early Christianity. He spent much time in prophetic study, adopted millenarian views, and fixed the date of the millennium and the restoration of the Jews in 1776. The Athanasian creed was so hateful to him that in 1747 he left the established church and formed a Primitive Christian congregation of his own, preparing for it a new prayer book. Whiston was too eccentric to become a great party leader, but his learning and his literary gifts gave considerable currency to his anti-trinitarian views.

Of a somewhat different anti-trinitarian type was Daniel Whitby (d. 1726) who passed through a number of phases of opinion before he came to his ultimate position. In 1683 he created a great commotion by the pub-

lication of his "The Protestant Reconciler, humbly pleading for Condescension to Dissenting Brethren in Things Indifferent." The University of Oxford had the book publicly burnt, and the Bishop of Salisbury, whom he served as chaplain, required him to retract the statement that "it is not legal for the authorities to require in worship anything to be said or used which the older custom did not," and that it was a violation of Christian duty toward the weaker brethren to require of them things indifferent. He met the requirement of the bishop by publishing a second work in which he urged Nonconformists to come into the church and refuted their objections to so doing. In opposition to deism he issued (1710) his "Discourse" on the five points of Calvinism, in which he took essentially Arminian ground. Anti-Calvinistic views had appeared to some extent in his "A Paraphrase and Commentary on the N. T." (1703). In a Latin treatise (1714) he was at much pains to discredit the Fathers as interpreters of Scripture, and to prove the inadmissibility of appealing to them as authority on the doctrine of the Trinity. Of as little value are councils and ecclesiastical tradition. In a controversy with Waterland he renounced the doctrine of the Trinity and became an avowed Arian. In his posthumous "Last Thoughts" he retracted his exposition of the trinitarian dogma, declaring it to be a tissue of absurdities.

(7) *High Church Defenders of the Faith during the Eighteenth Century.* The most eminent apologists of this century of unbelief were Butler, Waterland, and Warburton. Joseph Butler (d. 1752) was probably the profoundest English thinker of the eighteenth century and stands in the front rank of English theologians in general. When only twenty-one years of age he addressed to Dr. Samuel Clarke a criticism of his "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God," which was so discriminating and searching that the author appended it to the next edition of the work. His sermons preached in the Rolls Chapel are masterpieces of argumentation. His "Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature" (1736) has been characterized by a recent German writer (Buddensieg, in Hauck-Herzog) as "at that time

the most complete and the most thorough answer to the objections of deism against revealed religion." It has attained the position of a classic and it is probable that no apologetical work of modern times has been so much studied or has exerted so profound an influence. He has commanded the highest admiration of men of genius as diverse in character and modes of thought as James Mill, John Henry Newman, and W. E. Gladstone. The "Analogy" was the result of twenty years of profound thinking, and the utility of the work has fully justified the expenditure of time. Its argument was so effective that no contemporary attempted a direct refutation of it. He aimed to show not that "Christianity is as old as the creation" and that revelation must be pared down to the dimensions of natural religion, but that natural religion, with its limitations and its failure to answer many of the questions that it is of the utmost importance to man in his sinful and disordered condition to have answered, points to and imperatively demands revealed religion as its complement. In answer to the contention of the deists that the law of nature is absolutely perfect and absolutely certain, he pointed out with rare acuteness and discrimination that so far from this being the case essentially the same difficulties that confront the human mind in connection with revealed religion are encountered in the study of natural religion. In 1736 Butler was made "clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline," and to her he dedicated the "Analogy," published the same year. He was soon afterward appointed Bishop of Bristol. In 1746 he was made "clerk of the closet" to the king. He is said about this time to have declined the archbishopric of Canterbury on the ground that he was too old to save a falling church. Afterward he accepted the bishopric of Durham.

Daniel Waterland (d. 1740) was one of the boldest and ablest defenders of the faith against Arian and Socinian error during the eighteenth century. He wrote voluminously in refutation of the views of the godhead put forth by Clarke and Whitby. He also combated Bishop Hoadley's Low Church view of the Lord's Supper as well as the Romanizing views of some High Churchmen of an extreme type (Johnson and Brett.)

William Warburton (d. 1779), during a long country pastorate, wrote his "Alliance between Church and State" and his remarkable book, entitled "The Divine Legation of Moses, Demonstrated on the Principles of a Religious Deist, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments in the Jewish Dispensation" (1737, onward). Deists had sought to discredit the Old Testament by alleging the absence of any definite teaching of immortality with rewards and punishments in a future life. Warburton admitted the absence of such teaching in the Old Testament and made of this very fact his chief argument in favor of the divinity of the Mosaic legislation, since without the help of the doctrine of a future life of rewards and punishments the Mosaic law was able to accomplish moral results that no heathen system was ever able to accomplish. The essence of the Old Testament system he made to be the theocracy, which dealt out in the present life righteous rewards and punishments upon individual and nation. It is probable that he did not give sufficient weight to the intimations of immortality that the Old Testament contains; but it was assuredly a bold undertaking to make of the absence of such a fundamental truth from the Old Testament a proof of its divine origin. His argument was hardly satisfactory, either to the orthodox or to the deists, and it created great commotion in the theological world of the day.

Mention should also be made of Charles Leslie (d. 1722), an extreme High Churchman (Non-juror), who wrote voluminously against deists, Socinians, Jews, and dissenters in general. His "Short and Easy Method with the Deists" was widely used and is said to have been highly effective. Dr. Samuel Johnson characterized him as "a reasoner, and a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against." He is said to have brought more people into the Church of England from other communions than were ever won by any other man.

Bishop George Berkeley (d. 1753) should also be noticed as a philosopher and apologist. His idealistic philosophy exerted considerable influence on later speculative thought. His "Alciphron, or, The Minute Philosopher," has been characterized as "a powerful refutation

of the free thinking then so popular and fashionable." It appears to have been written during his several years' residence in Rhode Island. He had come to America under the auspices of the English government to do educational missionary work in Bermuda. The enterprise had to be abandoned for lack of expected support. He is the author of the prophetic lines beginning, "Westward the course of empire takes its way."

(8) *Condition of Religious Life in England during the First Third of the Eighteenth Century.* Queen Anne, though neither intellectual nor remarkably religious, had lavished her wealth upon ecclesiastical enterprises —educational, religious, and philanthropic. Under her patronage the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge entered upon careers that promised much for the prosperity of Anglican Christianity. This religious activity was accompanied by a spirit of intolerance toward dissent that has been already referred to. George I. and George II. were indifferent toward religion, and Sir Robert Walpole, the most influential statesman of the time, seems to have done everything possible to promote the decline of religious interest. The missionary societies of the church languished. Through the influences that have been described already, skepticism and open infidelity became widespread and aggressive. Queen Anne's scheme for building fifty new churches in London was quietly dropped. Church services in London and elsewhere became fewer and the attendance was greatly diminished. Fear of Puritan enthusiasm and of Romanizing pietism and asceticism, along with the free-thinking influences that have been noticed, led to a colorless moderatism in the ministers that had no attractive power. The sermons of orthodox High Churchmen, no less than those of Socinian and deistical ministers were, for the most part, dry, moral disquisitions or scholastic discussions of points of doctrinal controversy which had little interest for the average man. The commercial and industrial prosperity which the peace policy of Walpole had greatly promoted tended also to fix the interests of the people on material things to the neglect of spiritual. Vast populations were being aggregated in the towns by

industrial enterprise and hardly anything was being done for their moral and spiritual welfare. Dissenting bodies had degenerated almost as sadly as the established church. They had dwindled in numbers and doctrinal degeneracy had sapped their lives. The suppression of Convocation in 1717 had done much toward destroying the discipline and the *esprit de corps* of the clergy of the established church. Many church livings were enjoyed by non-residents who made no pretense of rendering services in return. Poorly paid vicars took the places of highly paid incumbents and in many cases the parish work was utterly neglected. Many of the clergy had no sense of the dignity of their office and were the boon companions of the squires in their fox-hunting, drinking, card-playing, etc. Swift's sneering attitude toward religious zeal, which he regarded as fanaticism, imposture, or hypocrisy, was, no doubt, shared by many. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the established church and the dissenting bodies were entirely devoid of zealous and religious men and women. There were thousands who had not bowed the knee to Baal and were quietly or more publicly living earnest Christian lives, and scores of ministers in the establishment and outside of it were peaching a comparatively pure gospel and seeking to lead the people in Christian work.

2. *From the Evangelical Revival to the Outbreak of the Tractarian Controversy.*

(1) *Leaders of the Revival.* John Wesley (1703–1791), son of Samuel Wesley, a High Churchman of learning, piety, and literary gifts, and of Susannah Annesley, daughter of a Nonconformist preacher, was a descendant of a mediæval baron, Wellesley, from whom also the Duke of Wellington sprang, and became the leader of the evangelical revival and the founder of Methodism. He was brought up in High Church principles and sent at an early age (1720) to the University of Oxford, the center of High Church influence. On the advice of his mother he devoted considerable attention to practical divinity, and was influenced by Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ," Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living" and "Holy Dying," and William

Law's "Christian Perfection" and "Serious Call." He received his Bachelor's degree in 1724, was ordained to the ministry in 1725, and was appointed a fellow of Lincoln College in 1726. After two years of service as his father's curate (1727–1729) he returned to Oxford and soon afterward formed the "Holy Club," whose methodical and somewhat ascetical religious exercises and manner of life gave the name to the great religious body he was to be instrumental in founding, though the name Methodist seems first to have been applied to his brother Charles for his methodical attention to the regulations and work of the university. The Holy Club met frequently for reading the Greek Testament, for mutual exhortation, and for heart-searching. Its members engaged earnestly in efforts for the moral and religious betterment of the students, in temporal and spiritual ministration to the poor and to prisoners, and in providing literary and religious instruction for children of the poor. The piety inculcated and practised by these Oxford Methodists was of the High Church, ascetical type, and involved the most scrupulous attention to the rubrics of the Prayer Book and the canons of the church.

In 1736 General Oglethorpe called for a minister "inured to contempt of the ornaments and conveniences of life, to bodily austerities, and to serious thoughts," to accompany him to Georgia as a missionary to the colonists and Indians (1736). Wesley cheerfully responded, his widowed mother having encouraged him and his brother Charles both to go. "Had I twenty sons," she said, "I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more." On his outward voyage he came in contact with Moravian missionaries, but it was not until the return voyage that he fully yielded to their influence. His work in Georgia was not a decided success, owing chiefly to his rigorous High Churchism. He insisted on immersion as the only proper baptism (being prescribed in the Prayer Book) and allowed communicants only to act as sponsors. He excluded dissenters from the Supper unless they would submit to a new baptism, refused to read the burial service at dissenters' funerals, and excluded from the Supper the wife of an influential citizen, with whom before her

marriage he had been in love, because of some breach of discipline. By such proceedings he made himself so obnoxious to the community that he found it best to return to England in 1738.

His later opinion was that when seeking to carry out High Church ideas in Georgia he was still unconverted, that he had had a zeal for God but not according to knowledge. On the way to Georgia, Spangenberg, who was later to succeed Zinzendorf as leader of the Moravian Brethren, had pointedly asked Wesley whether he had the witness within himself, and whether the Spirit of God bore witness with his spirit that he was a child of God; also whether he knew Jesus Christ. He was unable to give a satisfactory answer to these questions; but they sank deep into his heart, and led him to give attention to the mastering of the German language in order that he might better communicate with these men of God. On the return voyage the Moravian, Peter Böhler, was his fellow-passenger, and he was led by this godly man to trust in Christ as his Saviour and to experience the assurance of sins forgiven and acceptance with God. He now came to realize the utter inadequacy of Law's High Church pietism, and he wrote his former "oracle" searchingly criticising his views.

His conversion occurred in London at a meeting of the Brethren, where the introduction to Luther's commentary on Romans was being read (May 24, 1738). He entered at once upon a fifty years' career as evangelist and religious leader which, with the co-operation of a multitude of earnest men, was to result in the formation of hundreds of societies that, in spite of his strong desire to avoid separation from the Church of England, were to become Methodist churches; in the building up in the Church of England itself of a strong evangelical party, zealous in philanthropy, Bible distribution, missions, and social reform; and in bringing the dissenting denominations, that had lost their evangelical zeal, to a realization of their obligation to carry out the Great Commission of our Lord.

It will not be practicable to give the details of the work of Wesley and his coadjutors. That they should have met with violent opposition at the hands of churchmen

and dissenters alike was to be expected. Most of the church buildings were closed against the evangelists and field-preaching was commonly resorted to. Those who were converted in many cases went immediately to work for the conversion of others, and so the work propagated itself from community to community until the English-speaking world was covered with its influence.

As a High Churchman, Wesley had no sympathy with Calvinism. The theology of the Moravian Brethren had more in common with Luther's modes of thought, and Luther's doctrine of assurance was embodied in their scheme. This Wesley adopted. From the Bohemian Brethren the Moravians had perpetuated the mediæval evangelical semi-Augustinianism which laid much stress upon human responsibility, and put too little emphasis on the divine sovereignty, but was far removed from the Socinianizing Arminianism of the Dutch Remonstrants as well as from the Romanizing semi-Pelagianism of the English High Church party. Wesley followed the Moravians in laying the utmost stress on the blood of Christ as cleansing from all sin, as well as upon the regenerating and sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit and the witness of the Spirit in the believer.

Closely associated with John Wesley from the beginning was his younger brother, Charles (1708–1788). He followed John to Georgia, experienced with him a revolutionary change under Moravian influence, co-operated with him in evangelistic preaching, and above all, was the lyrical poet of Methodism. Although he married a a wealthy woman (1749) he continued for seven years longer his itineracy, his wife riding behind him from place to place on a pillion, and leading the singing at his meetings. From 1756 onward he was a settled Methodist pastor at Bristol and London. He deprecated the proceedings of his brother that looked toward the separation of the Methodist societies from the Church of England, and the relations of the two were at times considerably strained. As a matter of fact, his own practice of ministering to a congregation at the regular hours for church service, and administering the Supper weekly in his chapel, was more separatist in tendency than John's, who sought in his ministrations to avoid the regular hours for church serv-

ice, attended the church services where he was laboring, and required his disciples to do likewise. Charles Wesley wrote six thousand five hundred hymns, many of which have become classics.

Second in importance to John Wesley in the evangelical revival was George Whitefield (1714–1770). Son of an innkeeper, and himself for a time bartender in the inn, he had received strong religious impressions before he entered the University of Oxford in 1732. Here he came under the influence of the Wesleys, joined the "Holy Club," and engaged with them in religious and philanthropic work. In 1735 he experienced conversion, and although influenced somewhat in 1738 by Moravian piety and evangelism, and with the Wesleys closely associated for a time with the Moravians in their London meetings, he did not, like the Wesleys, repudiate his earlier religious experiences. Urged by the Wesleys to join them in Georgia, he went in 1738, just as they were returning to England, and preached for some months there with great acceptance. He had been graduated from Oxford in 1736 and ordained as a minister in the Church of England. On his return from Georgia he found himself in ill repute because of the alleged extravagance of his evangelism, and very soon most of the churches of London were closed to him. Denied the use of the churches in Bristol (1739), whither he had gone after conference with the Wesleys, he determined to preach in the open air, a thing that the Wesleys at first hesitated to do on account of the odium attached to field preaching. His example and the necessities of the case led them to make this a prominent feature of their work and enabled them to reach multitudes that could never have been induced to enter the churches. It is probable that no evangelist ever surpassed Whitefield in power to draw together and master great mixed assemblies. He was soon preaching to audiences of many thousands (we may well be skeptical when we are told that he sometimes preached to twenty thousand), and multitudes were melted into penitence by his fervid eloquence and found peace in trusting in a crucified Saviour. In Wales, Howell Harris, a layman, had begun evangelizing two years before the Wesleys and Whitefield began. White-

field gave a fresh impulse to the Welsh revival. A tour in Scotland produced a wonderful awakening. His overpowering enthusiasm and his disparaging references to the clergy as "blind guides" aroused much opposition, and in 1739 alone forty-nine publications are said to have appeared against him. His labors in Britain were interrupted by several long periods of labor in America, where his preaching was equally blessed. Whitefield had never been so steeped in High Church semi-Pelagianism as the Wesleys, and never entered so heartily as did they into the old evangelical semi-Augustinianism and mysticism of the Moravians. A moderate type of Calvinistic teaching, which seemed to him identical with that of the Apostle Paul, early mastered his own spirit, and proved in his case, as it had often proved before and has often proved since, a mighty instrument for the conversion of sinners and the building up of Christian character. If Whitefield had possessed, along with his overmastering evangelistic gifts, anything like the statesmanship of John Wesley, a far larger proportion of the Methodists of the later time would have been Calvinistic than was actually the case. For a time these doctrinal differences threatened to alienate the two great evangelists, but the spirit of conciliation prevailed. Whitefield's work was greatly furthered by the Countess of Huntingdon (Selina Shirley), who accepted his views with enthusiasm, gave him the opportunity to preach to the nobility and the clergy, and contributed largely of her means for the building of chapels, the support of preachers, and the founding of a theological seminary (Trevacca College in South Wales) for the training of pastors and evangelists. The Lady Huntingdon Connection of Methodists perpetuates Whitefield's Calvinistic teaching. A bitter controversy between the coadjutors of Wesley and those of Whitefield, in which Toplady and Rowland Hill sustained the Calvinistic side and Fletcher (De la Fléchière), who had been educated at Geneva and was converted in the Wesleyan meetings, the Arminian. Fletcher's character has been described as one of rare beauty and excellence.

(2) *Some Effects of the Great Revival on the Church of England.* It was inevitable that this all-pervasive and long-continued evangelistic movement, which for fifty

years disclaimed all separatist aims, should have made a deep impression on the Church of England as a whole, and that it should have been instrumental in raising up a large body of evangelical ministers and laymen who, while sympathizing profoundly with the spiritual side of the movement, should foresee the schism that was inevitable and should deprecate those features of Methodism that seemed separatist in their tendency. Wesley himself had a decided aversion toward dissenters, and could not abide the thought that his societies would become churches or would unitedly come to constitute a denomination; yet many evangelical churchmen found it far easier to be on cordial terms with avowed dissenters than with Wesley and his followers. It may further be said that most churchmen who adopted evangelical views without becoming Methodists were content with the moderate Calvinism of the Thirty-nine Articles and objected strongly to Wesley's Arminianism. Among the most influential of the evangelical churchmen of this time may be mentioned James Hervey (1714–1758), whose "Theron and Aspasio," a popular exposition of moderate Calvinism, had a wide circulation and influenced many minds toward sound thinking and right living. Though deeply indebted to Wesley, he refused to become an itinerant and rejected decisively his Arminianism. William Grimshaw (1708–1763), because of his eccentricities sometimes called "the mad parson," was abundant in evangelical activity, and built a Methodist "preaching house," but declined to cast in his lot with Wesley. He introduced a rigorous system of church discipline in his parish church at Haworth, and his zeal led him to disguise himself and act as a detective in order to bring transgressors to justice.

Equally eccentric, zealous, and useful was John Berridge, of Everton, who, like Grimshaw, engaged in evangelistic work outside of his own parish and brought large numbers to a knowledge of the truth.

There is much to admire in the character and the self-sacrificing career of William Romaine (1714–1795), son of a Huguenot, eminent as a Hebraist and as a mathematician, an ardent Calvinist, a friend of Whitefield, a chaplain of the Countess of Huntingdon, and deeply de-

vout. For years he preached to crowded congregations in London and stood firmly for a pure gospel. He had occupied the chair of astronomy in Gresham College. A sermon on "The Lord our Righteousness," highly Calvinistic in tone, brought him into disrepute in that High Church center and led to his London ministry. When he saw that Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon were about to become separatists he withdrew from intimate relations with them, but refrained from attacking even Wesley, with whom he differed so greatly in doctrine.

John Newton (1725–1807) had been so degraded as to be the menial servant of an African slave dealer and as depraved as one could easily conceive. An account of his conversion cannot be here given. Brought to a knowledge of the truth, he devoted himself with rare industry and success to the acquirement of an education, and while still a seaman became familiar with several of the Latin classics, made much progress in mathematics, and learned some Hebrew and Aramaic. As rector at Olney he was the spiritual adviser of Cowper. As rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, he was for many years the most influential of the evangelical leaders, and was on the most cordial terms with dissenting ministers. He is now best known for his hymns.

Thomas Scott (1746–1821), a disciple of Newton's and his successor at Olney, was less genial and influential. His rigorous Calvinism made him unpopular, but his well-known commentary has given him a lasting reputation.

Richard Cecil (1748–1810), one of the most sweet-spirited and spiritual of the evangelicals, was an eloquent London preacher and the author of practical works which were widely useful.

Isaac Milner (1751–1820), as professor of mathematics and president of Queen's College, exerted for years a strong evangelical influence on the students of the university and others. In co-operation with his brother Joseph he wrote "The History of the Church of Christ," which was long considered the standard evangelical work on the subject.

Charles Simeon (1759–1836) perpetuated the influence of Milner at Cambridge, and has been called the founder

of the modern Low Church party. His "*Horæ Homileticæ*," in seventeen volumes, long furnished weaker evangelical ministers with materials for their sermons.

Unequaled in influence as an evangelical leader in the established church was William Wilberforce (1759–1833). A pupil and lifelong friend of Isaac Milner, he owed to him the impulse that led to his conversion (1785). He devoted his splendid statesmanship and his great wealth to the promotion of religious and philanthropical enterprises, and brought his personal influence powerfully to bear upon many people of the wealthier class. His "Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country, Contrasted with Real Christianity" (1797) passed through many editions and was translated into the principal Continental languages. Its influence for good cannot be estimated. It was distinctly a writing for the time and is little read to-day.

Among the results of the revival inside of the established church may be mentioned the development of the Sunday-school, the establishment (1799) of the Religious Tract Society, the founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), the founding of the London Missionary Society (1795), in which dissenters and churchmen united, and the Church Missionary Society (1799). The beneficent influence that led to the formation of these great societies and the work they were instrumental in accomplishing furnish sufficient proof that the Church of England, even after allowing for the entire Methodist separation, gained vastly more than it lost from the revival. It seems certain that the revival was a powerful antidote to the influence of French skepticism and the spirit of the French Revolution in England. That England did not share largely in the moral and spiritual decline suffered by the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany in connection with the French Revolution was due in part, no doubt, to the fact that England alone escaped French invasion, and after the first few years of the revolution was persistently in arms against France, but quite as much to the thoroughness with which the evangelical revival had permeated English life.

3. *Parties and Controversies in the Church of England during the Nineteenth Century.*

The present condition of the Church of England can be best illustrated by the controversies that have occurred and the legal decisions that have been made during the century that has just closed. The party divisions and the great secession to Rome during the century have left the church still strong in resources, strong in social and religious influence, and thoroughly aroused to the necessity of activity in every department of church work. It is probable that the church never had a more learned and efficient ministry than at present, and a higher moral standard never prevailed. The religious life of the members of the Church of England is probably of a distinctly higher type than in any previous age. The rapid growth of dissenting bodies in numbers, wealth, culture, and influence has stimulated rather than weakened the established church. Agitation for disestablishment and disendowment is likely to continue and may be successful in the remote future, but the conservative forces in England are far too strong to yield readily or speedily to demands for religious equality.

(1) *The Tractarian Controversy.* The great evangelical movement of the eighteenth century, with the vast increase of the religious life and activity of dissent, had shocked and alarmed the refined and scholarly churchmen. Agitation for the abolition of class legislation and for the removal of dissenters' disabilities had become intensified. The influence of the American and French revolutions was deeply felt in England about the beginning of the present century. The reform bill having been defeated in 1831 by the votes of the bishops, a strong popular feeling against the sitting of bishops in the House of Lords was aroused. It began to look as if the disestablishment of the Church of England would be speedily accomplished. Roman Catholics co-operated with Protestant dissenters and Jews in agitation against obnoxious laws. In 1833 ten Irish bishoprics were abolished. The evangelical party in the Church of England favored a large measure of religious freedom, and was co-operating with dissenters in philanthropic and mis-

sionary work. The Broad Church party was becoming more and more aggressive. High Churchmen became frantic with alarm. A number of Oxford divines—Percival, Froude, and Palmer, with H. J. Rose, editor of the "British Magazine"—met to consider the feasibility of securing united effort on the part of High Churchmen against innovations. Newman, Keble, Thomas Mozley, and many other leading theologians, soon took an active interest in the movement. The maintenance of apostolic succession and the preservation of the Prayer Book from Socinian adulteration were to be the chief objects of effort. An attempt was made to form associations in this interest throughout England. This failed through the opposition of the bishops. In February, 1834, an address was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by seven thousand clergy, deprecating reckless changes and promising the heartiest co-operation toward reviving the discipline of the ancient church. A similar petition was signed by two hundred and thirty thousand lay heads of families. The declaration of William IV. in favor of the High Church party gave a fresh impetus to the movement. As early as 1833 some Oxford "Friends of the Church" began to publish a series of "Tracts for the Times on Church History and Doctrine." The chief writers were those already mentioned and Doctor Pusey. J. H. Newman probably wrote more than any other individual member. These tracts were widely circulated and created a great sensation. They became more and more Romanizing as time went on. The publication of the famous Tract No. 90, by Newman, brought on a crisis. This tract was designed to prove that the Thirty-nine Articles are capable of being interpreted in accordance with Roman Catholic views of the sacraments. By a Jesuitical process he sought to explain away every vestige of Protestantism from this bulwark of the Low Church party.

Among the results of this movement may be mentioned: *a*. The exodus to Rome of a large number of the ablest and most zealous members of the party. *b*. A great revival of ritualism in the Church of England. Archæological studies as to ancient liturgies, vestments, etc., have occupied a large share of attention. High

Church clergy have in many instances, in defiance of the laws and of the sentiments of their congregations, introduced Roman Catholic ceremonies. A number of test cases have been decided by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It has thus been accurately determined precisely how far it is allowable to go in the ritualistic direction. Many have preferred to suffer prolonged imprisonment rather than relinquish objectionable practices. *c.* The High Church party has experienced a great revival in practical aggressive work for the masses. The zeal of the party is of a Roman Catholic type. The founding of sisterhoods and brotherhoods of a monastic character for self-denying work among the neglected classes is an important feature of the work of the party. *d.* Auricular confession has been revived. A few years ago a work called "The Priest in Absolution," prepared for secret use among the High Church clergy, was brought to light and created a great sensation. It was an almost literal translation of a French Roman Catholic book, and embraced the worst features of the Roman Catholic confessional. After the withdrawal of Newman, Doctor Pusey became the leader of the party. Liddon, Knox-Little, Mozley, etc., were representative High Churchmen. The party still possesses a very large share of the scholarship and zeal of the church and is supported by a large proportion of the nobility.

(2) *The Gorham Controversy.* This controversy was in some respects one of the most important that have occurred in the Church of England in recent times. Rev. G. C. Gorham was in 1847 presented by Lord Chancellor Cottenham to the living of Brampton Speke. Bishop Philpott, of Exeter, in proceeding to institute him in the living, put him through an examination on one hundred and forty-nine questions, occupying six days. Dissatisfied with Gorham's answers on the matter of baptismal regeneration, the bishop refused to institute him. Gorham proceeded by legal means to compel the bishop to institute him. After going through various courts it was decided against Gorham by the dean of the Court of Arches. Appeal was made to the judicial committee of the Privy Council. The two archbishops sat in the committee by special summons of the

crown. The decision was in Gorham's favor. The Bishop of Exeter sought to get the decision reversed in the Courts of Queen's Bench, Exchequer, and Common Pleas, but unsuccessfully. This was regarded as a test case, and the intensest interest was taken in it by High and Low Churchmen alike. The decision would determine whether or not Calvinism had a right to exist in the Church of England. The High Church party was arrogant and aggressive and would gladly have found a means of excluding all Low Churchmen from the church.

(3) *Broad Church Controversies.* The Broad Church party of the present century may be said to have owed its origin to Coleridge. It may be regarded as in part a reaction against High Church extravagances and in part as the effect of the introduction of German philosophy and theology. Most Broad Churchmen defend the establishment on Erastian grounds. Holding to the doctrine of ecclesiastical development, they regard the establishment as an institution suited to the times. The church they regard as a department of the State, just as are the army, navy, etc. But in order to be national it must be flexible and must comprehend the greatest possible variety of religious life. They would like to see it so broad as to comprehend even dissenters. They insist on the right of the individual to the most absolute freedom of thought and of speech. They oppose with all their might enforced subscription to creeds of any kind. After Coleridge the most influential leaders in the Broad Church party were Arnold, Whately, Hare, Maurice, Hampden, Stanley, Kingsley, and Farrar. The party first came prominently forward controversially in opposition to the encroachments of the High Church party.

a. The Hampden Controversy. Up to 1836 the members of the party labored quietly. They had not hesitated to denounce the Romanizing party, but this they did in common with the evangelicals. In 1836 Doctor Hampden was appointed Regius professor at Oxford on the nomination of Lord Melbourne, a Whig. He had delivered a course of Bampton lectures a year before, and was known to entertain liberal views. His appointment was exceedingly distasteful to the High Church party, then

dominant at Oxford. J. H. Newman, on behalf of the High Church party, attacked the Bampton lectures in a pamphlet and intensified the dissatisfaction with Hampden's appointment. The University Convocation passed a vote of censure on Hampden. This aroused the indignation of such men as Arnold, Whately, Hare, etc. Arnold compared the action of Convocation to the condemnation of Huss at Constance, the condemnation of Bishop Burnet's "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles" by Convocation, etc. He stigmatized the Tractarian party as Judaizers. The difficulty at Oxford was relieved by the appointment of Hampden to a bishopric, but the polemical zeal of the Broad Church party had been awakened, and henceforth the intensest hostility was manifest between the High Church and the Broad Church parties.

b. Maurice's Theological Essays. These appeared in 1853, and up to that time were the most important Broad Church publication. The doctrines of the trinity, incarnation, inspiration, future punishment, etc., were treated with a freedom that startled the conservatives of both High and Low Church parties, and attracted a large number of able young men. Maurice was then professor in King's College, London. The council of the college pronounced the tendency of the book dangerous, and demanded his resignation. He was soon afterward appointed to a professorship at Cambridge, where his influence was widened. His voluminous writings set forth the position of the Broad Church party in many of its most important aspects.

c. The Essays and Reviews Controversy. The most important controversy in connection with the Broad Church movement, almost equaling the Tractarian controversy in the amount of public attention awakened, was called forth in 1860 by the publication of a volume under the title, "Essays and Reviews," containing seven articles written by seven well-known liberal theologians. According to the preface, they were written independently, without concert or comparison, and with a view to illustrating the advantage derivable to the cause of religious and moral truth from a free handling in a becoming spirit of subjects peculiarly liable to suffer by

the repetition of conventional language and from traditional methods of treatment. The essays differ greatly among themselves in the degrees of aberration from commonly received views. The first is by Doctor Temple, then head master at Rugby, now (1902) Archbishop of Canterbury, on "The Education of the World." The development view of human history is ably set forth. The present time represents the world's manhood, in which conscience is supreme. The second essay, by Dr. Rowland Williams, is an appreciative review of Bunsen's work in Old Testament criticism. The third essay, by Prof. Baden Powell, is on the Evidences of Christianity. External evidences, such as miracles, are discredited, and internal evidences chiefly relied on. The fourth is by Rev. H. B. Wilson, on the National Church. The article is intensely liberalistic. The fifth, by Goodwin, a layman, on the Mosaic Cosmogony, attempts to show that the Mosaic cosmogony is full of mistakes. The sixth, by Prof. Mark Pattison, on the Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750, has for its chief object to show the inconsistencies of English theology with regard to the basis on which revelation rests. The seventh is by Prof. B. Jowett, and is on the Interpretation of Scripture. The general tone of the "Essays and Reviews" may be said to be negative rather than positive. The volume attracted little attention for the first few months. "The Westminster Review," a rationalistic publication, noticed it appreciatively and assumed an understanding among the writers. It made an extensive collection of passages to show the heterodox quality of the volume. This at once attracted attention to it, and it became the book of the season. It was attacked in the "Quarterly Review." Nine thousand clergy signed a protest against it. Pulpit and press united in condemning it. The Convocations of Canterbury and York condemned the pernicious doctrines and heretical tendencies of the book. Suit was entered in the ecclesiastical courts against Williams and Wilson. Thirty-two expressions were collected from the essays of these clergymen, which, being separated from their connection, appeared even more objectionable than they would otherwise have

done. After much learned argument all but five of the specifications were thrown out. These were, denial of the necessity of a distinction between covenanted and uncovenanted mercies, justification, inspiration, and justification by faith. On these five charges the Court of Arches suspended Williams and Wilson for one year. Appeal was made to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Court of Arches had discarded all questions of biblical interpretation and criticism as entirely beyond and outside of the Prayer Book and Thirty-nine Articles. All charges of heresy founded on questions of authorship, date, prediction, or prophecy, etc., were set aside. When the case was brought before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the two first charges were abandoned at the beginning. One by one the other three were thrown out. The questions at issue assumed the following form: Whether every part of the Old and New Testament upon any subject whatever, however unconnected with religious faith and moral duty, was written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, or whether the Bible was inspired by the Holy Spirit, that has ever dwelt and still dwells in the church, which dwelt also in the sacred writers of Holy Scripture, and which will aid and illuminate the minds of those who read Scripture trusting to receive the guidance of the Spirit. The court decided that the framers of the Articles have not used the word inspiration as applied to Scripture, nor have they laid down anything as to the extent or limits of the Spirit's operation. On the question of eternal punishment the charge rested on the hope expressed by one of the writers, that at the day of judgment those who are not admitted to happiness may be so dealt with as that the perverted may be restored, and all, both great and small, may ultimately find refuge in the bosom of the universal Parent. The court decided that it had always been permitted to think freely on this subject, an article in the original Forty-two Articles condemning the theory of universal restoration having been thrown out in the revision under Elizabeth. As regards justification by faith, the charge rested on the hint contained in one of the essays, that justification by faith might mean the peace of mind or sense of divine approval which comes of

trust in a righteous God, rather than a fiction of merit by transfer. The court decided that the Article on Justification is wholly silent as to the merits of Jesus Christ being transferred to us, and that therefore they could not declare it penal to speak of merit by transfer as a fiction.

As the Gorham case settled the right of the Evangelical party to a place in the establishment, so the "Essays and Reviews" case settled the right of the Broad Church party. The position taken by the highest courts is in effect: that a clergyman may say and write what he pleases on theological matters so long as he does not distinctly contradict the exact words of the Articles or the Prayer Book. The utmost freedom is now accorded to the English clergy, all shades of opinion abounding.

4. *The Church of England in America.*

The Church of England was the established form of religion from the beginning in Virginia and the Carolinas, in New York (after it had been wrested from the Dutch), and in Maryland (after the dislodging of Roman Catholicism, 1655). As the clergy were for the most part State-appointed and State-paid they were little solicitous, for the most part, about the good-will of the people. In many cases unworthy and even immoral men were sent out from England because of scandals that disqualified them for service at home. In Virginia, where ample provision was made for the support of the Church of England by the glebe lands, tithes, etc., the corruption of the clergy became most notorious, and their loyalty to England during the Revolution co-operated with growing disapproval of their lives and ministrations to make them exceedingly unpopular and to cause successful agitation on the part of Baptists and Presbyterians for the disestablishment and disendowment of the church. In New York City the Church of England early acquired possession of a large amount of property that in course of time became exceedingly valuable, and now yields enormous revenues. Philadelphia early became a stronghold of Episcopal influence and has remained so to the present day.

After the War of Independence the necessity for independent church organization was realized. Just at the

close of the war Samuel Seabury was consecrated at Aberdeen, by some Non-juring bishops, to be bishop of the American church. In 1785 a convention adopted a revised Prayer Book, a new constitution, and the name, "Protestant Episcopal Church."

Not being satisfied with the ordination of Seabury, the convention of 1786 sent three of its ministers to England to secure episcopal ordination at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Provoost and White were consecrated by him early in 1787. Seabury's ordination, having been accepted and its validity insisted upon by New England churches, was recognized by the triennial convention of 1789. From this time onward the body prospered. It was not conditioned so as to gain advantages from the great revivals of the nineteenth century and it has not for the most part shown much sympathy with evangelistic efforts for the conversion of souls. It has depended for its growth chiefly upon immigration from England and upon the strong social influence that since the Revolution, as before, it has steadily exerted. Many ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church have been evangelical and have been possessed of spiritual power; but the great mass have been lacking in evangelistic zeal, and have exerted a moral and churchly rather than a distinctively religious influence. In the great cities, and in many of the smaller cities and towns, it is the "society" church. The various parties in the Church of England have their representatives in the United States, Canada, and Australia. It is probable that in the United States the High Church spirit is predominant. The present membership of the Protestant Episcopal Church is about six hundred thousand.

In the British provinces that now make up the Dominion of Canada the Church of England was at first established and endowed, but as a result of agitations during the fourth decade of the nineteenth century its special privileges were withdrawn. It has now an episcopate of its own, and is one of the strong and well-equipped bodies. In Australia and New Zealand, owing to extensive immigration from England, the Church of England occupies a highly influential position from the numbers, wealth, and social standing of its members.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT ANGLO-AMERICAN DENOMINATIONS

I. THE CONGREGATIONALISTS

LITERATURE: Dexter, "The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years," 1880 (contains remarkably full bibliography up to the date of publication); Weingarten, "*Die Revolutionskirchen Englands*," 1868; Stoughton, "Ecclesiastical History of England" (under various titles covers the time 1641–1880), 1867–1884; Walker, "The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism," 1893, and "A Hist. of the Congregational Churches in the U. S.," 1894; Punchard, "Hist. of Congregationalism," 1865–1881; Mather, "*Magnalia*," 1702; Uhden, "The New England Theocracy," Eng. tr., 1858; Hanbury, "Historical Memorials," 1839–1843; Felt, "The Ecclesiastical Hist. of N. Eng.," 1855–1863; Palfrey, "Hist. of N. Eng.," 1859–1890; Ellis, "The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1628–1685," 1888; biographical articles in Schaff-Herzog, Hauck-Herzog, and "Dictionary of National Biography," ed. Stephen and Lee.

1. *English Congregationalists from 1648 Onward.*

The preceding period closed with the Independents (Congregationalists and Baptists) under Cromwell's leadership dominating the army, dispersing the Presbyterian Parliament and Westminster Assembly, trying and executing the king, and introducing an era of religious toleration in England. A brief account of the later history of English Congregationalism must here be given.

(1) *The Cromwellian Time.* It is probable that if Cromwell had been starting out to construct a commonwealth anew he would have preferred a purely voluntary system with no established or favored form of Christianity. But he had the church buildings and the church endowments on his hands, and the problem was how to utilize them in a way that would be promotive of true religion and of loyalty to the civil administration. He recognized the hand of God in every victory of the Independents, in the overthrow of the tyrant Charles I.,

in the defeat of the intolerant purposes of the Presbyterians, and in the putting of himself, as leader of the Independents, in the place of power and responsibility. "Let us look into providences," he said, "surely they mean somewhat. They hang so together, have been so constant, clear, unclouded," etc. "God has accepted the zeal of the Independents, as once he did the zeal of Phinehas."

His situation was one of great difficulty and delicacy. The friends of the late king, though inferior in intelligence and courage and probably in numbers to the triumphant army and its supporters, were not so much in the minority as to allow of any lack of alertness or armed preparation on the part of Cromwell. The execution of the king had caused him to be regarded as a holy martyr, and the publication of the "*Eikon Basilike*" (1649), purporting to be the king's own pious reflections on his administration and justification of himself before the world, tended greatly to increase the enthusiastic devotion of the royalists.

On the other side a considerable number of extreme social and religious democrats (Levelers, etc.) were clamoring for liberty, fraternity, and equality, somewhat in the spirit of the French Revolutionists of 1791–1794. The Presbyterians of England and Scotland, moreover, had been completely alienated.

He did not think it wise, even if he had thought it right, to confiscate church property, and if he had confiscated the productive estates of the church, the buildings would have been still on his hands. He was too deeply impressed with the importance of having Christianity in its purest possible form preached to the people everywhere to be willing in any case to use for secular purposes what had been dedicated to religion. He was not narrow enough to wish to set up Pedobaptist Congregationalism as the religion of the State to the exclusion of other evangelical parties. He regarded "liberty of conscience" as "a natural right," and coupled it with "liberty of the subject," regarding them together as "two as glorious things to be contended for as any that God hath given us." "If the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably

and quietly under you [the new Parliament of 1653]—I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected."

But as the exigencies of the time seemed to him to justify the application of the "little, poor invention" that he "found out" (1655) of making himself the military head of the nation and districting the country into major-generalships for military government, and to put a somewhat rigorous consorship upon the press, so he thought it expedient to appoint a committee of thirty-eight Tryers, composed of Independent, Presbyterian, and Baptist ministers, to pass upon the intellectual, moral, and spiritual qualifications of all candidates for the pastorates of State-endowed churches. The representatives of each parish were allowed to choose their own pastor, but he could not be installed without the approbation of the committee of Tryers.

Some of these parish committees chose Presbyterian pastors; some chose evangelical churchmen that could hardly be called Presbyterian (preferring episcopacy, but not devoted to the Stuart cause); some chose Pedobaptist Independent pastors; and about thirty chose Baptists as pastors.

With such a body of Tryers it was impossible that denominational differences should be taken into account. Romanizing and High Church candidates and Arminians and Socinians would be ruled out. Opposition to the Cromwellian government, whether on the ground of devotion to the Stuarts or on the ground of extreme republicanism, constituted a disqualification. A fair amount of education, a good knowledge of biblical truth, good moral character, and ability to edify the people, were the things most insisted upon. It may be here remarked that the great majority of Baptists opposed Cromwell's policy from the beginning, insisting upon pure democracy in the State and absolute separation of Church and State.

Those who did violence to the principles for which Baptists and their mediæval and sixteenth century progenitors had consistently stood (except in a few cases under the influence of millenarian fanaticism) were men of learning and piety who had been trained in the estab-

lished church and had not yet become thoroughly seized of the Baptist position. They realized Cromwell's difficulties and thought it expedient in the meantime to co-operate with him in his efforts to allow the church endowments and properties to be used for religious purposes in such a way as would do most good to the people without danger to the government.

The universities of England being national property were subjected to a treatment somewhat similar to that of the State churches. That aggressive royalists should have been excluded and supporters of the government made the teachers of the nation was to be expected. John Owen, the profoundest theologian among the Congregationalists of the time, was made dean of Christ's Church and vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford. Thomas Goodwin, who had been a Congregational member of the Westminster Assembly, became president of Magdalen College, Cambridge. Among other Congregationalists who occupied high positions at this time were John Howe, who was court chaplain to Cromwell; Philip Nye, who served as rector of St. Bartholomew's, London; and Joseph Caryl, who was rector of St. Mary's Magnus, London.

It should be said that Cromwell perpetuated the rights of patronage and allowed tithes and other parish dues to be collected by civil authority as theretofore.

Under Cromwell's patronage Congregationalism greatly increased in importance, and as up to the end of the last year of his reign there had been no effort to organize Pedobaptist Independents into a denomination, it was thought wise by himself and leading Congregational ministers to summon by public authority an assembly of Congregational elders to prepare a Confession of Faith. After preliminary meetings, the synod met in the Savoy Palace, London, September 29, 1658, twenty-six days after Cromwell's death, and as a result of a session of eleven days, a "Declaration of Faith and Order Owned and Practised in the Congregational Churches" was adopted. The principal members of the synod had, with the exception of Owen, been members of the Westminster Assembly, and it was natural that they should make the Westminster Confession the

basis of their work. Most of the Westminster Confession was adopted bodily. The characteristic feature of the Savoy Declaration is the section, "Of the Institution of Churches and the Order Appointed in them by Jesus Christ," in which "the independent sufficiency and scriptural warrant of particular local churches, composed of saints by calling," are insisted upon, and the propriety and value of advisory councils are recognized.

(2) *English Congregationalism from 1660 Onward.* Congregationalists suffered in common with Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers under the persecuting measures of Charles II., and participated equally with the other bodies of nonconformists in the overthrow of James II. and the bringing of William and Mary to the throne. Under the Act of Toleration promulgated by the latter sovereigns (1689) they enjoyed with the other nonconformists a sufficient measure of freedom to enable them to carry on somewhat effectively their local church work, some educational work, and some home mission work, and to make valuable contributions to literature. When under Queen Anne such liberty as dissenters enjoyed was in jeopardy, Congregationalists joined hands with their brethren of other denominations in earnest and persistent efforts to hold what they had and to secure the abolition of all the religious disabilities under which dissenters still labored and complete religious equality before the law. Through these combined efforts, English dissenters secured in the nineteenth century (1828) the abrogation of the Corporation and Test Acts, with the opening of the universities and all civil and military offices to dissenters, and in fact nearly all the rights that dissenters can enjoy consistently with the maintenance of a State Church, with its bishops *ex officio* members of the House of Lords, its vast endowments, its right to tax the entire population for its support, its control of the universities and to a great extent of popular education, and its overwhelming social ascendency. English dissenters are still unitedly striving for religious equality, and are convinced that the only complete remedy for their grievances is disestablishment and disendowment.

After earlier efforts at union with the Presbyterians of a less general and important character had failed, a

movement in this direction (1690 onward) led by John Howe, then the foremost dissenting minister in England, on the Presbyterian side, and Matthew Meade, and Increase Mather, a leading American Congregationalist at that time in England on colonial business, on the Congregational side, promised for a time to prove effective. Certain "Heads of Agreement" were drawn up,[1] and a common sustentation fund was established. But controversy soon arose and the union effort was abandoned. The "Heads of Agreement," which Increase Mather had assisted in drawing up, proved of more value in America.

Congregationalists suffered in common with the established church and the other dissenting bodies during the eighteenth century from the prevalence of Socinian and deistical modes of thought. Many Congregationalists became anti-trinitarian, while many of their congregations dwindled and became extinct. The spirit of aggressiveness for a time almost disappeared. Yet there was no such general defection to anti-trinitarian sentiments as among the English Presbyterians.

In common with other religious bodies the Congregationalists of England participated largely in the evangelical revival. During the last decades of the eighteenth century their membership greatly increased, moribund churches were revived, many new congregations were established, interest in home and foreign evangelization, Sunday-school work, the circulation of the Scriptures and other religious literature, and in general philanthropy greatly increased. Congregationalists were the chief movers in the founding of the London Missionary Society (1795) on an interdenominational basis. It soon, however, came to be a distinctively Congregational institution. In 1832 the Congregational Union of England and Wales was formed as a means of consolidating, conserving, and increasing the forces and activities of the churches, and in 1833 the union adopted "A Declaration of the Principles of Faith and Order of the Congregational Body."[2] One of their avowed objects in the new declaration was to distinguish themselves from

[1] See document in Walker, "Creeds and Platforms," p. 548 *seq.*
[2] See Walker, "Creeds and Platforms," p. 445 *seq.*

Methodists on the one hand and Socinians on the other. It is a thoroughly irenical statement, and expressed fairly well the average sentiments of the Congregationalists of the time, but it is not regarded to-day as possessing any binding authority. In fact, the spirit of individualism and freedom of thought prevails so widely among English Congregationalists at the present time that they would find it difficult to unite in any doctrinal declaration.

The Congregationalists of England and Wales are at the beginning of the twentieth century a numerous, wealthy, and highly influential body, possessing a large number of learned and able ministers, well equipped with institutions of learning, with societies for various kinds of denominational work, and with well-conducted periodical publications. Among the most eminent leaders of the present generation may be mentioned John Stoughton, the church historian; R. W. Dale, preacher and theological writer; A. M. Fairbairn, one of the profoundest theological thinkers of the time and principal of Mansfield College, Oxford; J. Guiness Rogers, editor and author, and Henry Allon, for many years editor of the "British Quarterly Review." The body has nearly four thousand congregations, a somewhat smaller number of ministers, and between three and four hundred thousand members.

2. *American Congregationalism from 1648 Onward.*

We have seen that long before 1648 New England Congregationalists had become a somewhat numerous body, with a learned ministry and a college at Cambridge, and that a theocratic form of government, that involved a complete identification of Church and State, with the religious element in control and a presbyterial form of church government, had been established. With a view to keeping the magistracy in complete harmony with the churches and thus maintaining the theocratic character of the commonwealth, it was enacted by the Massachusetts Court (1631) "that no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." It had already been provided that no body

could be considered a church for such a purpose but one that had secured the approval of the magistracy and of the elders of the churches already existing. No man was eligible for a civil office unless he was a member in good standing of a recognized church, and loss of membership meant expulsion from office. The object of these regulations was the absolute exclusion of all forms of dissent (Baptist, Quaker, Anglican, etc.).

Up to 1646 there had been no general and authoritative declaration on church polity. At this time the home government was Presbyterian and within the past few years a considerable number of Presbyterians had come from England and were clamoring for a recognition of their rights.

(1) *The Cambridge Platform (1648)*. In 1646 the court requested the churches of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut to send elders and messengers to sit in a synod at Cambridge to settle by the word of God questions of church government and discipline. Most of the churches sent representatives. John Cotton, Richard Mather, and Samuel Partridge were appointed each to draw up independently a platform. An epidemic hindered the assembling of the synod at the appointed time, and final action was not taken until August, 1648, when the platform drawn up by Mather was with some changes adopted. The Cambridge Platform, which was authoritative until 1662, was strongly presbyterial in tone as regards the relations of elders and people, a preponderance of authority being vested in the elders. The relations of churches to churches are defined more carefully than in any preceding Congregational declaration. Seven ways are mentioned in which churches may intercommune: mutual care for each other's welfare, mutual consultation, mutual admonition, joint partaking of the Lord's Supper, mutual relief and succor, and propagation or the surrendering of members to form new congregations (compared to the swarming of bees). Synods orderly assembled and rightly proceeding are declared to be an ordinance of Christ and necessary many times to the well-being of the churches, yet their power is the power of the churches whose elders and messengers sit in the same. Their function is to debate and determine matters

of religion according to the word, to put the results in definite form and to publish them to the churches, to convict of errors and heresies, and to establish truth and peace in the churches. The right of magistrates to call synods is admitted, but synods may be called, in case the magistrates be hostile, independently of civil authority. The function of a synod does not extend to "the exercise of church censures in way of discipline nor any other act of church authority or jurisdiction." "The synod's directions and determinations, so far as consonant with the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement therewith, but also secondarily for the power by which they are made as being an ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his word."

The most noteworthy feature of the platform is its rigorous insistence on a public profession of faith, involving satisfactory evidence of conversion, as a condition of admission to the Lord's Supper. This rule applied as well to those baptized in infancy as to those not so baptized. Moreover, only the children of parents in full communion, *i. e.*, of those who had given credible evidence of regeneration and had continued a satisfactory Christian walk, were, according to the platform, eligible for baptism. Thus a large part of the community was sure to be deprived of the privilege of communion and that of having their children baptized. Yet the platform insists that all without respect to their fellowship in the churches should contribute for the support of the religious teachers.

(2) *The Half-way Covenant* (*1662*). As the colonies became large and prosperous, the average of piety sensibly declined. Many of the children of the godly men who had come to America for conscience' sake fell far short of the requirements for full communion, and their children in turn were thereby deprived of any hereditary church-membership. The civil disabilities attached to deprivation of church-membership, involving, as noticed above, disfranchisement and disqualification for office, were grievous to many. By 1656 there had come to be widespread dissatisfaction with these rigorous provisions of the platform. Moreover it was becoming manifest to

some of the ministers that the Baptists (Anabaptists they were commonly called in New England at this time) were deriving an advantage from the existing regulations. People were beginning to ask: "If infant baptism does not entitle one to church privileges and citizenship, what is the use of it?" So asked Henry Dunster, president of Harvard College, and could not be persuaded to keep his anti-pedobaptist views in abeyance and thus continue in the work in which he was succeeding so well and where his services were so much needed.

Controversy had arisen in Connecticut among the ministers as to the terms of admission to full membership. A numerous and influential faction of Presbyterian antecedents and sympathies insisted on admitting to full communion all baptized persons who were orthodox in their views and orderly in their lives.

The courts of Massachusetts and Connecticut secured the convening of a small council in 1657. This not proving satisfactory, a larger council was called in 1662, which adopted by a vote of seven to one what has been called the "Half-way Covenant." One of two things, in the language of a participant, seemed necessary: either to enlarge the subjects of full communion or else to extend the privilege of baptism to the children of such baptized persons as were orthodox in belief and moral in life and owned the covenant made for them by their parents, yet were unfit for the Lord's Supper. The latter course was adopted.

But so far from putting the matter on a satisfactory basis, the Half-way Covenant only added to the difficulties. Many, especially among the more intelligent and influential laymen, opposed the result of the synod. For a time controversy raged. The First Church, Boston, underwent a schism as a result of the calling by the majority of John Davenport, of New Haven, a zealous opponent of the Half-way Covenant (1667). The seceders formed the Old South Church. In the New Haven colony, through Davenport's influence, the majority of the churches repudiated the measure.

Yet the Half-way Covenant gradually gained acceptance. The churches in general became laxer and laxer.

Some went far beyond the provisions of the Half-way Covenant, extending the privilege of baptism not only to the children of orthodox and moral persons who had themselves been baptized in infancy, but to the children of the notoriously immoral and irreligious as well. It soon came to be argued, that if a man was good enough to have his children baptized, he was good enough to partake of the Lord's Supper. Some churches voted to all who were willing to have their children baptized the privileges of full membership. Solomon Stoddard, grandfather of Jonathan Edwards and his predecessor at Northampton, a man of extraordinary piety and zeal, maintained (about 1700) that "the Lord's Supper was instituted to be a means of regeneration," and was accustomed to urge all, without discrimination, to participate in the ordinance. Thus the distinction between the church and the world was well-nigh obliterated. In many communities, without any religious awakening whatever, almost all the young people of the congregation would come forward at appointed times and in a formal way own the covenant.

The secularization of the churches had become almost complete by 1679. Immorality and irreligion had become alarmingly prevalent. Public calamities—shipwrecks, droughts, conflagrations, pestilence, war with the Indians, etc., came thick and fast and were attributed by the more godly to the decay of religion and morals. A synod was now called to inquire into the causes of the disasters and to suggest means of deliverance. The diagnosis and the remedies suggested show that vital godliness had sunk to a very low ebb,[1] and that the leaders of the time were unable to cope with the difficulties. Many immoral and irreligious practices are specified and among the breaches of the second commandment are the neglect of baptism and church fellowship, and that Quakers and Anabaptists have "set up an altar against the Lord's altar" without having been "fully testified against." Among other remedies it is urged that the Cambridge Platform be reaffirmed with its provisions regarding baptism and communion. Increase Mather wrote (1700):

[1] See Dexter, "Congregationalism During the Last Three Hundred Years," p. 447 *seq.*

"The Congregational church discipline is not suited for a worldly interest or for a formal generation of professors. It will stand or fall as godliness in the power of it does prevail or otherwise." Congregationalism no longer worked well. The need for a stronger form of church government was felt by many. It seemed very much easier to bring order out of confusion by a system of church courts than by transforming the mixed multitude into spiritually minded Christians.

(3) *The Massachusetts Associations (1705) and the Saybrook Platform (1708).* These arrangements represent efforts to supply the place of vital godliness that had to so large an extent departed from the churches by machinery for the application of external authority. The Massachusetts plan was as follows: All ministers of a given district were to organize themselves into an association, with a moderator empowered to call them together. In the Associational meetings questions of importance propounded by the ministers or by the churches were to be discussed and answered. Among matters to be dealt with were church divisions, accusations against pastors, charges of heretical teaching, the attesting and approving or disapproving of candidates for the ministry, the supplying of pastorless churches, etc. The association of pastors, together with a proper number of delegates from the churches, were to constitute a standing council. The determinations of the standing council were to be looked upon as final and decisive, unless weighty reasons for appeal were apparent. The council itself, presumably, was to judge of the weightiness of the reasons. Churches refusing to submit were to be withdrawn from.

The Saybrook Platform, of Connecticut, provided for consociations of elders and messengers, when the churches see fit to send them, before which all cases of scandal arising within a local church were to be heard, the act of a consociation to be final unless an orderly appeal be made to a joint tribunal of two or more consociations. The teaching elders of each county were to form one Association, or more if need be, to meet at least twice a year for consultation about pastoral matters and the common interest of the churches, to consider and resolve

important questions and cases propounded by themselves and others, to pass upon candidates for the ministry, to examine into charges of scandalous conduct and heresy among the pastors, and arrange for the calling of a council, if need be, to deal with them, and to look after the supplying of bereaved churches with pastors. A general association made up of representatives of the county Associations is provided for. The platform was assumed by the court to express the will of the churches and was made authoritative. It was put in practice throughout the colony, some communities giving it an interpretation which made it virtually identical with Presbyterianism.

The Massachusetts scheme was sharply attacked by John Wise of Ipswich (1710 and 1717), who, in his tracts, "The Churches' Quarrel Espoused," and "Vindication of the Government of New England Churches," sought to defend and restore to its place of authority the Cambridge Platform. But he went far beyond this, and sought on democratic principles to defend pure Congregationalism as based upon equality of rights and privileges among church-members. "With an incisive logic and a merciless ridicule" he sought to show the absurdities and inconsistencies of the "Proposals," which involved, as he thought, an utter subversion of the foundations of Congregational polity, and would logically lead to Presbyterianism and even prelacy, "with the steeples of the churches, tithes, surplice, and other ornaments." In fact he thought it smelt "very strong of the Infallible Chair." The great and terrible beast with seven heads and ten horns (Rev. 13) "was nothing else a few ages ago but just such another calf as this is." He concludes the argument of his second tract as follows: "That the people, or fraternity, under the gospel, are the first subject of power, . . that a democracy in Church or State is a very honorable and regular government according to the dictates of right reason: And, therefore, that these churches of New England in their ancient constitution of church order, it being a democracy, are manifestly justified and defended by the law and light of nature."[1]

Wise's second tract was republished just before the

[1] Dexter, p. 498.

American Revolution and did much to foster the democratic spirit. Other influences co-operated with that of Wise in preventing the Massachusetts scheme from going into effect. Connecticut had from the beginning tended strongly toward Presbyterianism and its Presbyterianizing scheme was for some time in operation.

(4) *The Great Awakening (1733 onward).* By 1733 a Socinianized Arminianism, blended with deistic modes of thought, having wrought havoc with the established church and the dissenting bodies of England, invaded the colonies. Skepticism and indifferentism were being somewhat widely diffused. Conversions were rare, and deep religious experiences were not only unlooked for, but were regarded by many as savoring of fanaticism. Preaching here, as in England, had lost much of its fervor. The great mass of church-members were living in a hopeless state of carnal security. There were many ministers and others who bewailed this decline of religious interest, and earnestly sought to counteract the influences that were working with such deadly effect.

At Northampton, under Stoddard's ministry, occasional revivals had occurred (1679, 1681, 1694, 1712, 1718). Jonathan Edwards, just out of college, assisted his grandfather for about two years before his death (1726–1728), during which time about twenty professed conversion. The early years of his own pastorate (1728–1731) were "a time of extraordinary dullness in religion." Licentiousness for some years, according to his own account, "greatly prevailed among the youth of the town, many of whom were much addicted to night-walking and frequenting the tavern and lewd practices, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others."[1] About 1731 "there began to be a sensible amendment of these evils. By 1733 the young people had become docile, and readily submitted to the guidance of their pastor." "A remarkable religious concern" began to appear during this year in a little village belonging to the Northampton congregation. In 1734 several sudden deaths occurring greatly impressed many of the ungodly.

At about the same time, according to Edwards, much

[1] Edwards' "Works," Vol. III., p. 232.

noise was being made about Arminianism, which was regarded by the more serious as a most dangerous heresy. Strange to say, this helped forward the religious awakening. Many who looked upon themselves as Christless seemed to be impressed with the idea that with the spread of Arminianism God would withdraw from New England and give it over to unbelief, and that their opportunity for obtaining salvation would be past.[1] No doubt the tone of Edward's own preaching was in part responsible for this impression. The conversion of a frivolous young woman had a remarkable awakening influence upon the entire community. In a short time there was scarcely an individual in the town, old or young, who was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world. "The minds of the people were wonderfully taken off from the world." They seemed "to follow their worldly business more as a part of their duty than from any disposition they had to it."[2]

From Northampton the good work spread into many other communities throughout New England, Edwards himself doing much preaching outside of his own parish, and influencing many other pastors to engage in evangelism. The activity of the Tennents (Presbyterians), chiefly in the middle colonies, but extending to New England, has already been noticed. During the progress of the revival George Whitefield came the second time to America (1741) and preached with wonderful power throughout the colonies. The details of the movement, which extended over several years and stirred the religious life of the colonies to its foundations, cannot here be given.

That a religious awakening of this kind could not have been carried forward without opposition lies in the very nature of the case. Most of the educated ministers and Harvard and Yale Colleges assumed a hostile attitude. On his first visit (during the revival) to Massachusetts Whitefield was invited to preach at Harvard, on his second visit the college was closed against him. So far as liberalism (Socinianized Arminianism) had extended its influence, so far was the revival looked upon with dis-

[1] Edwards' "Works," Vol. III., p. 232. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

favor. A great awakening of this kind is sure to be accompanied by undue emotionalism and much that is unseemly, or at least shocking, to refined sensibilities. Such ministers as Chauncey made the most of irregularities of this kind, and sought on this and other grounds to discredit the entire movement. Many of the evangelists, including Gilbert Tennent and Whitefield, were sharply censorious in their attitude toward ministers who opposed the revival, denouncing them as unconverted men, blind leaders of the blind, hypocrites, enemies of the gospel, etc. Besides attacking the irregularities of the meetings and the censoriousness of the preachers, the Socinianizing ministers sought to bring the Calvinistic teaching that underlay the movement into contempt by caricaturing it.[1]

About 1700 Increase Mather wrote: "If the begun apostasy shall proceed as fast the next thirty years as it has done these last, surely it will come to pass that in New England (except the gospel itself depart with the order of it) the most conscientious people therein will think themselves concerned to gather churches out of churches." The "begun apostasy" continued, and in a little more than thirty years the prophecy was fulfilled. In many parishes where the minister and a majority of the parish antagonized the revival a minority that had become imbued with the spirit of the new evangelism withdrew and formed "Separate," or "New Light" churches. The conversion of great numbers of people who had been partially without church privileges led to the formation of many other "New Light" congregations. Many of those who had come under the revival influence felt that separation from the ungodly elements in the churches of the standing order and from all connection with a State-supported church was an imperative duty. In these "Separate" churches credible evidence of conversion was made a condition of fellowship.

A large number of ministers admitted that they had been performing the functions of their office as unconverted men, and professed now first to have come to a

[1] See Edwards, "Rel. Affections," "Narrative of Surprising Conversions," and "Thoughts on the Revival in New England," and Chauncey, "Seasonable Thoughts."

saving knowledge of the truth. Twenty in the neighborhood of Boston attributed their conversion to Whitefield's preaching.

Between twenty-five and fifty thousand are supposed to have been converted in New England, and the number converted in the middle and southern colonies cannot have been greatly inferior. About a hundred and fifty new Congregational churches were formed. Baptist churches were multiplied and made more zealous and aggressive. The number of Presbyterian ministers was more than doubled, and yet there were scores of vacant churches in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey. The great increase in churches and ministers between 1734 and 1760 was due in part to immigration and natural increase of population.

Among the further results of the Great Awakening may be mentioned a more general recognition of the importance of a converted church-membership, and especially of a converted ministry. Before the revival, if a candidate for the ministry was found moral, educated, and orthodox, no further questions were asked. Vital godliness was henceforth insisted on, at least within the circles that had experienced the awakening influence of the movement.

Again, ministerial education was greatly promoted and along with this education in general. Princeton and Dartmouth were established through the influence of the revival.

Missionary work was also remarkably furthered in America, as in England, by the revival. The evangelism of the time was itself missionary work. Efforts for the evangelization of the North American Indians and of the settlers on the frontiers were zealously put forth with highly beneficent results. The work of David Brainerd, Daniel Marshall, and Jonathan Edwards among the Indians may be mentioned by way of illustration.

Again, the religious awakening demonstrated anew the vital power of Calvinism rightly understood and greatly increased the number of zealous exponents of New Testament teaching as systematized by Augustine and Calvin.

Further, the revival, with its "Separate" churches and its multiplied Baptist churches, did much toward destroy-

ing the pernicious parish system that had grown out of the Half-way Covenant, in accordance with which church government and the control of church property were in the power of the majority of the members of each parish, without regard to Christian character.

Lastly, by way of reaction, it promoted the growth of Socinianism that was soon to develop into avowed and aggressive anti-trinitarianism.

(5) *The Unitarian Defection.* The beginning of the present century was a period remarkable for intellectual activity. The war was over. The colonies had become a union of States. Commercial prosperity prevailed. Everything tended to stimulate hopefulness and aggressiveness. The "New Light" enthusiasm had given place to a calm but determined missionary spirit. Missionary and other philanthropic societies were being organized here and there throughout the country. Missionary periodicals were diffusing intelligence and arousing enthusiasm with reference to missionary work among the heathen. Andover Theological Seminary was founded by the evangelical party and was from the first a center of orthodoxy and of evangelical zeal.

The Arminianism of the eighteenth century was giving place to the Socinianism of Priestly and Belsham. Harvard College had opposed the revival and had become a center of Socinian influence. The writings of English Unitarians were eagerly read. American publications designed to bring orthodoxy into contempt yet not openly avowing Unitarianism were still more widely circulated. Such were "The Monthly Anthology," "The Christian Monitor," "The Hymns and Psalms" of Buckminster and Emerson, "The Improved Version of the New Testament," a reprint of Belsham's "Reply to Wilberforce," "The General Repository," etc. Hazlitt, an English Unitarian, labored in Boston about 1785 onward. In 1786, James Freeman, of Boston, persuaded his Episcopal congregation to adopt a Unitarian liturgy. Freeman was refused ordination by the Bishop of New York, but the church itself ordained him. From this time onward the Stone Chapel was avowedly Unitarian.

It was the policy of the New England Unitarians, as it had been of Socinians in general, to disseminate their

views by insinuating doubts and by denouncing the rigors of orthodoxy rather than by clearly and openly stating their own convictions.

The movement was finally brought out into the light in this wise: In 1812 Belsham published in London his "American Unitarianism, or a History of the Progress and Present State of Unitarian Churches in America." Only a few copies were sent to America, and these were carefully concealed from the orthodox. At length Doctor Morse secured a copy and had it reprinted in Boston in 1815. The excitement produced by this publication was intense. It contained documents that seriously compromised many of the ministers. Those immediately involved were thus obliged to avow their Unitarianism. Many others soon followed. It appeared that all the Congregational churches of Boston, except the Old South and the Park Street, had become Unitarian. Harvard College was also in possession of the Unitarian party. By a decision of the courts, giving control of church property to a majority in each parish, the Unitarians acquired many church buildings and endowments.

The Unitarian party being thus forced into the light, assumed a polemical attitude. The heretofore timid grew bold. Tendencies toward Unitarianism rapidly developed into Unitarianism itself. The irreligious and indifferent naturally favored a party that was careless about church discipline.

A more complete separation took place between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Heretofore the progress of Socinianism had been insidious and secret. It was no uncommon thing for a Socinian minister to become pastor of an orthodox church, and, by gradually and indirectly impressing his views, to infect the entire body. Such proceedings became far more difficult. The defenders of orthodoxy were no longer striking in the dark, but were confronted with avowed maintainers of what was believed to be ruinous error.

The orthodox now saw as they had not seen before the evils of the Half-way Covenant and of the parish system resulting therefrom. They saw themselves deprived thereby of endowments and church property, an argument of the most convincing kind. The views of John

Wise, which had made little impression when first promulgated, now secured recognition. The Presbyterian element was eliminated, modern Congregationalism pure and simple resulting. This involved complete separation between Church and State, the right and duty of the church to institute terms of church-membership, and the autonomy of the congregation.

The educational work inaugurated under the impulse of the Great Awakening was powerfully stimulated by this hand-to-hand conflict. Andover was strengthened. Yale was wrested by Timothy Dwight from the Socinians and became a stronghold of orthodoxy. Several other evangelical schools were founded.

Home and foreign missionary work, already progressive, were carried forward with renewed energy and zeal.

(6) *The Unitarian Churches.* About one hundred and twenty of the Congregational churches that had been organized before the Revolutionary War, including the original church of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, the original Salem church, and the oldest of those established in Boston and its vicinity, became Unitarian during the second decade of the nineteenth century. The growth of the denomination has been exceedingly slow and has been almost limited, it is probable, to New Englanders and their descendants. There are at present over four hundred congregations, with an aggregate membership of about seventy thousand, more than half of whom are in Massachusetts. Their principles are not such as to make them aggressive or evangelistic. Their influence, however, is not to be gauged by their numerical strength, for they have produced far more than their share of eminent writers, and these have indirectly influenced theological opinion to a very considerable extent. No doubt the modifications of views in other denominations as regards the five points of Calvinism, eternal punishment, the Scriptures, etc., has been due in some measure to their influence. All shades of anti-trinitarian opinion have found place among their ministers and members, from the Arian supranaturalism of a Channing and a Peabody to the transcendentalism of a Parker, an Emerson, and a Frothingham.

(7) *American Congregationalists During the Nineteenth Century.* At about the beginning of the century (1801) a "plan of union" was entered into between Congregationalists and Presbyterians with a view to obviating the inconveniences and waste involved in the multiplication of churches of denominations agreeing in fundamentals in the growing West. It involved a free interchange of pastors, and a free transference of fellowship between the two bodies. This concession on the part of the Presbyterians was one of the bones of contention between the Old School and the New School Presbyterian parties, and was repudiated by the former at the separation (1837). It has been estimated that fully two thousand churches in the West that would have continued Congregational became Presbyterian as a result of this measure.

Notwithstanding this heavy loss and the loss by the Unitarian separation, Congregationalism has continued vigorous in New England, where the great mass of its membership resides and occupies a prominent place among the denominations in scholarship, literary productiveness, educational institutions, missionary work, and consecrated wealth. The present membership of the Congregational churches does not much exceed five hundred thousand. All shades of theological opinion have found a welcome in its ranks, from Calvinistic orthodoxy to an extreme liberalism that can scarcely be distinguished from Unitarianism. Of its theological seminaries, Andover has for the past twenty years stood for extreme liberalism ("New Theology"); Hartford and Chicago for conservative teaching; Yale has occupied an intermediate position; and Oberlin, beginning with Finney's perfectionistic evangelism, has inclined toward evangelical Arminianism in its teaching.

In 1865, standing on Plymouth Rock, the National Council of the Congregational Churches adopted the "Burial-Hill Declaration," a very brief and irenical statement, in which essentials are reduced to a minimum and stated in very general language. It expresses the desire of the body to co-operate with all who hold to these essentials. "With them we will carry the gospel into every part of this land, and with them we will go

'into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.' "

In 1883 the National Council, which had been put upon a permanent basis in 1871, adopted a new "Statement of Doctrine," considerably longer and more explicit than that of 1865. It represents an exceedingly moderate type of Calvinistic teaching and is non-committal on many questions that had been in dispute, but is evangelical and in many respects admirable.

II. THE BAPTISTS.[1]

LITERATURE: Crosby, "The Hist. of the Eng. Baptists," 1738–1740; Ivimey, "A Hist. of the Eng. Baptists," 1811–1830; Masson, "Life of John Milton and Hist. of his Time," 1859–1880; Evans, "The Early Eng. Baptists," 1862; Taylor, "The Hist. of the Eng. General Baptists," 1818; Gould, "Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich," 1860; Benedict, "A General Hist. of the Baptist Denomination," 1848; Armitage, "A Hist. of the Baptists," 1887; Vedder, "A Short Hist. of the Baptists," 1892, and "A Hist. of the Baptists of the Middle States," 1897; Backus, "A Hist. of New Eng., with Particular Reference to the Den. of Christians called Baptists," new ed., 1871; Riley, "A Hist. of the Baptists in the Southern States," 1896; Burrage, "A Hist. of the Baptists in New Eng., 1894; Cathcart, "Baptist Encyclopædia," 1881; Newman, "A Hist. of the Baptist Churches in the U. S.," 2d ed., 1898.

1. *The Baptists of Great Britain, 1648 Onward.*

The Baptist cause greatly flourished during the revolutionary period. General and Particular Baptist churches multiplied. Associations were formed in various parts of England and Wales for the purpose of strengthening the churches by fraternal conference and facilitating missionary effort by concerted action. The parliamentary army was filled with Baptists, who were among the most enthusiastic advocates of civil and religious liberty and the sturdiest combatants of royal absolutism and priestcraft.

Baptists were chiefly instrumental in preventing Cromwell from accepting the royal title, which some influential supporters urged him to do, and many of them strongly disapproved of his military government.

[1] A considerable portion of the material of this section is reproduced from the author's chapter in "A Century of Baptist Achievement" (1901), edited by himself, and an article by himself in "Progress," 1896.

They were among those who labored zealously for the restoration of the Stuarts, having received from Charles II. ample assurances of toleration.

In common with other dissenters they suffered severe persecution (1662–1675). Those who held benefices were deprived by the Act of Uniformity (1662). Baptist work was greatly hampered by the Conventicle Act, the Five-mile Act, etc. The Corporation and the Test Acts bore heavily upon many Baptists, as they were excluded thereby from public employment and from the privileges of the universities, while it was open to their enemies to secure their election to public offices and then to subject them to heavy fines for refusal to qualify. It is greatly to the credit of English Baptists that while other dissenters frequently evaded the force of these acts by occasional conformity (partaking of the Supper in the established churches), only one Baptist is known to have compromised himself in this manner and he was promptly excluded.

It might have been expected that the Act of Toleration granted by William and Mary at the beginning of their reign would lead to a great expansion of the Baptist interest. But such was far from being the case. The long period of stress and strain would seem to have exhausted the energies of Baptists of both parties and to have left them in a state of lethargy, Much of their strength for the next century was taken up with efforts for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts that still curtailed their liberty. To this end they united their forces with those of the other dissenting bodies, and they were thereby drawn into such close relations with Pedobaptist dissenters that they came to regard the emphasizing of distinctive Baptist principles as ill-mannered and unbrotherly.

The Particular Baptists of England and Wales had begun to hold Associational meetings for the furtherance of brotherhood and co-operative missionary work as early as 1651. In 1665 the Western Association, made up of churches in the counties of Somerset, Wilts, Gloucester, and Dorset, feeling the need of a guiding head in connectional work, appointed and ordained Thomas Collier to the office of "General Superintendent and Messenger to

all the Associated Churches." Collier had for ten years been active in evangelism and had served unofficially as a superintendent and director of the labors of a number of evangelists. These Baptists were far from being extreme independents in their church polity, and they no doubt had more regard to immediate utility than to the permanent conservation of the autonomy of the churches. The Confession of Faith set forth by this Association in 1656 breathes throughout the missionary spirit. It is affirmed (Article XXXIV.) "that as it is an ordinance of Christ, so it is the duty of his church, in his authority to send forth such brethren as are fitly gifted and qualified through the spirit of Christ, to preach the gospel to the world." In the following article the obligation to preach the gospel to the Jews is expressly recognized.

The organized work of the denomination was largely in abeyance during the reign of terror (1662–1675). The Bill of Indulgence (1675), though intended primarily for the encouragement of Roman Catholicism, made it possible for Baptists once more to become aggressive and to take measures for the advancement of their cause. The Particular Baptist pastors of London at this time sent an earnest invitation to the churches throughout England and Wales to send delegates to meet in London the following May to make arrangements for "providing an orderly standing ministry in the church, who might give themselves to reading and study and so become able ministers of the New Testament." During the Civil War and Commonwealth periods many highly educated churchmen and noncomformists had become Baptist ministers. This source of supply could no longer be depended upon, and the leaders of the denomination had come to realize the necessity of prompt and vigorous measures for the maintenance and the increase of ministerial efficiency. Such an assembly was held in 1676, when a Confession of Faith based upon the Westminster Confession was adopted. It was afterward approved by a still larger assembly in 1689, and has continued to be the favorite symbolical document of English Baptists. It was adopted early in the eighteenth century, with certain modifications, by the Philadelphia Association, and

in this form has exerted widespread influence on American Baptist life and thought. The assembly of 1689, after the promulgation of the Act of Toleration, was in many respects the most important ever held by English Baptists. The assembly was careful to "disclaim any manner of superiority and superintendency over the churches." Difference of conviction and practice in point of communion is recognized and each church is left free to walk together as it has received from the Lord.

Owing to the difficulty of getting the churches to send representatives every year to so great a distance as the maintenance of a single assembly involved, it was decided in 1692 to divide the body into two, the one to meet in Bristol, the other in London. "These assemblies," it was agreed, "are not to be accountable to one another any more than churches are." It was further decided that churches should not make appeals to the assemblies to determine matters of faith or fact. Reports of both the assemblies are to be sent to all the churches.

At about this time a grievous controversy was raging in the Particular Baptist body as to "whether the praises of God should be sung in the public assemblies." Kiffin, Cox, Keach, Steed, and many others, were involved. All parties agreed to "refer the matter to the determination of seven brethren nominated by this assembly." The committee administered a scathing rebuke for the unbrotherly language that had been employed, to which the veterans submitted in all humility.

The Bristol assembly seems for many years to have been more vigorously sustained than the London. This was due, no doubt, in part to the fact that a Bristol Baptist, Edward Terrill, had left in trust with the Broadmead Church a legacy for ministerial education, and that Bristol, early in the eighteenth century (1720 onward) came to be the educational center of the Particular Baptists.

Efforts were made during the later years of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth to bring Particular Baptists and General Baptists closer together, and to this end the differences between the two parties were minimized by such men as Benjamin Stinton. Thomas Hollis, the wealthy Baptist business man who contributed so liberally to the Baptist cause in Eng-

land, and who endowed Harvard University, preferred to worship regularly in a Pedobaptist church. If the Hollis family, with their great wealth and their remarkable generosity, had been stanch Baptists they might have given tone to the Baptist life of England.

The General Baptists, following the footsteps of the Mennonites, to whom they were from the beginning closely related, adopted a semi-presbyterial form of church government, giving to each aggrieved person a right to appeal to other churches, then to the Association or general meeting, and at last to the General Assembly. Thus every local quarrel was propagated throughout the entire connection and the churches were ruined by controversy. The rigorous exercise of discipline on the ground of differences of opinion drove out of the body many of its ministers and intelligent members. With a few exceptions, the General Baptist churches of England became Unitarian by about the middle of the century, as did so many churches of other denominations during this period.

The Particular Baptists, so far as they were not drawn into the maelstrom of Socinian indifferentism, reacted against the current rationalism so far as to become hyper-Calvinistic, and in some cases Antinomian. They looked upon the salvation or the damnation of each individual as so absolutely fixed by Divine decree, that exhortations to sinners and missionary work in general were looked upon as not only useless, but as an impertinent meddling with the Divine plans. That the Particular Baptists should have greatly declined during the eighteenth century was what might have been expected.

One of the most aggressive and influential organizations among the English Baptists during the eighteenth century was the Society of Ministers of the Particular Baptist Persuasion, meeting at the Gloucestershire Coffee-house, organized in 1724, which raised money for the assistance of needy churches and ministers, for the distribution of religious literature, and for other religious and philanthropical purposes, passed upon qualifications of candidates for the ministry, and took measures for the silencing of unworthy ministers. It led the denomination in efforts to secure the redress of grievances, undertook

to defend the honor of the denomination when it was assailed from time to time, corresponded with Baptists in the American colonies, counseled them, extended to them financial aid when required, interceded with the home government on behalf of persecuted brethren in the colonies, and in many ways furthered the interests of the denomination at home and abroad. The authority of this body was a purely moral one and depended on its reputation for wisdom and its command of resources. That complaints should sometimes arise of undue assumption of authority and interference with the independence of the churches on the part of this body might have been expected. It was a self-constituted body, its members not even representing the churches of which they were members and pastors in any official way. It was by no means an ideal arrangement; but it is probable that these associated ministers did a work for the denomination and for the cause of Christ that would otherwise have been left undone.

The evangelical revival, led by the Wesleys and Whitefield, was of momentous importance to the Baptists, as it was to the established church and to the various dissenting bodies. It found the Particular Baptists greatly reduced in numbers and influence. The educational work that had been inaugurated at Bristol on the Terrill foundation was conducted in a very feeble and ineffective way during the first half of the eighteenth century; yet a considerable number of able ministers received their training there. The London Baptists were still a respectable body and were exerting a strong and, upon the whole, beneficent influence on the life of the denomination. Several of the Particular Baptist Associations, of which the records have been preserved, devoted much attention to the promotion of godly living and orthodox teaching, and sought to guard against Socinianism on the one hand and Antinomianism on the other. Yet it is evident that there was an almost irresistible drift toward these extremes, and the number of those who were able to steer safely between Scylla and Charybdis steadily diminished. Those inclined toward Socinianism could have no sympathy with the enthusiastic evangelism of Wesley and Whitefield, which to them savored of

fanaticism. Those who had carried their Calvinistic teaching to the Antinomian extreme looked upon the new evangelism as an almost blasphemous interference with the plans and purposes of God. As might have been expected, the religious awakening not only failed to win these classes to its support, but tended to drive them to more extreme statements of their opinions. But many who were less thoroughly committed to these extreme and unevangelical views were won to the support of the evangelical cause, and the numbers of its opponents steadily dwindled.

It was to Andrew Fuller, more than to any other individual, that the restoration of the Particular Baptist body to its original evangelical position was due. Brought up in an illiterate community, with few educational advantages, he came under the influence of the great evangelical movement. The writings of Jonathan Edwards, the great American theologian and evangelist, seem to have greatly aided him in coming to right conceptions of evangelical truth. Through his great activity as a preacher and a writer, multitudes were brought to see the consistency between a true preaching of the doctrines of grace and the most earnest efforts for the salvation of sinners. His career as a leader extended over the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first fifteen years of the nineteenth. Bristol College was greatly strengthened and brought to support this evangelical type of Calvinism.

It is probable that, while Fuller and his associates by their advocacy of missions accomplished so much for the heathen, the results of their widespread visitation of the churches throughout England and Scotland for the evangelization of the home churches were of even greater importance. The Baptist cause in Great Britain was by Fuller's public activity raised to a higher plane, and gained a recognition at the hands of leaders of other denominations that had been wanting for some generations. The marvelous preaching of Robert Hall, at Cambridge, during the last decade of the century likewise contributed powerfully to the reputation and the influence of the denomination. Yet this popular recognition of its leaders by other denominations proved a snare, and led to the

general adoption among English Baptist churches of open communion, which has no doubt affected injuriously the denominational growth.

From the foregoing facts it is evident that the Particular Baptists at the close of the eighteenth century were awakening from their lethargy and were entering upon a great career of growth in numbers and beneficence.

The General Baptist cause at the beginning of the evangelical revival was even more deplorable than that of the Particular Baptists. As a result of much effort and by the influence of Dan Taylor (b. 1738), who seemed raised up to rescue the cause, representatives of fifteen churches in various parts of England met in London, June 6, 1770, to form "the New Connection of General Baptist churches, with a design to revive experimental religion or primitive Christianity in faith and practice." The articles of faith adopted recognize the fallen condition of men, who are "captives of Satan set at liberty by Christ"; insist upon "the perpetual obligation of the moral law" (against hyper-Calvinistic Antinomianism); carefully set forth the deity and humanity of Christ and the potential universality of the atonement wrought by him, which becomes available to individuals solely by faith, a faith that "produces good works"; maintain the duty of offering salvation by faith freely to all; teach that regeneration is the work of the Holy Spirit; and make immersion "the indispensable duty of all who repent and believe the gospel."

Considerable prosperity attended the labors of the ministers and churches of the New Connection during the remainder of the century. A number of General Baptist churches constituting the Lincolnshire Association made repeated overtures for a union with the New Connection. To this end the New Connection was urged to make the conditions of membership less rigorous as regards the signing of the Confession and the personal religious experience of ministers, and to agree to cooperate with the old General Assembly, which continued to meet in London. But Taylor, the originator of the movement, and his associates were unyielding, being more anxious to maintain the purity of the body than to increase its numbers. One by one

these churches accepted Taylor's terms of fellowship, and by the close of the century a large proportion had joined the New Connection. By the beginning of the present century the New Connection numbered in its fellowship forty churches and three thousand four hundred members. It is not probable that the General Baptists of the old order equaled this number, as many of their churches were in a declining state.

The New Connection established in 1798 an academy for the training of ministers. Sunday-schools were organized as early as 1800.

The history of British Baptists from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present time has been a highly honorable one. In 1800 the Particular Baptists of England, Wales, and Ireland numbered considerably less than forty thousand, and the General Baptists had less than a hundred small churches whose membership would not probably aggregate five thousand. While we have no means of determining the membership of these bodies in 1660, it is safe to say that it was greater than in 1800. But both bodies were now in the ascendant, owing to the evangelical revival and the awakening of the missionary spirit. Andrew Fuller, who with Carey had inaugurated the missionary movement among Baptists, was still to labor for fifteen years advancing the cause of world-wide evangelization and disseminating an evangelical type of Calvinistic teaching that was to dominate the Particular Baptist body. The scholarly John Ryland was to continue for twenty-five years as pastor at Bristol and president of the Baptist college there. Robert Hall, whose majestic eloquence had been for ten years attracting great audiences made up chiefly of intellectual people of other persuasions (from the university and elsewhere), as pastor of the Baptist chapel at Cambridge, was to continue his ministry there for some years into the new century (1806), and at Leicester and Bristol for a quarter of a century more was to be the great light of his denomination. His advocacy of open communion was influential in causing many of the Baptist churches of England (not those of Wales) to adopt it. As Robert Hall was the most eloquent English preacher during the early decades of the century, so

Spurgeon for popular pulpit power and world-wide influence during the second half of the century was not only pre-eminent in his own age but unparalleled in any age, and Alexander McLaren has for more than a generation commanded the admiration of people of all denominations by his rare combination of scholarly and popular qualities.

The foreign mission work of the Baptists of Britain has been pressed with vigor and received the most generous support. It seems to have the foremost place in the hearts of British Baptists.

Home mission work has to a somewhat smaller extent enlisted their interest, but much money has been contributed for this purpose and much valuable work has been accomplished.

The Baptists of Britain have fallen far behind their American brethren in the matter of denominational education. About eight poorly equipped and inadequately endowed institutions prepare men for the ministry, providing combined literary and theological courses.

British Baptists have co-operated heartily with the other great dissenting bodies in the struggle for religious equality, and are to-day leading in aggressive effort for the deliverance of popular education from the thraldom of the Church of England.

In 1812 the Baptist Union was formed for the purpose of directing the public meetings of the various societies of the denomination, but it did not become a pronounced success until about 1832. An estimate of the relative strength of the denomination at this time as compared with that of 1790 showed that churches and ministers had increased three-fold.

General Baptists joined with the Particular Baptists in the Union, maintaining their own societies and colleges independently until 1891, when a complete fusion of the two parties occurred. The two bodies had for many years been gradually becoming assimilated in opinion and practice. The withdrawal of Mr. Spurgeon and a considerable number of ministers closely attached to him from the Baptist Union because of the toleration by the Union of lax teachings respecting the Scriptures, the atonement, eternal punishment, etc. ("Down Grade" controversy,

1887–1889), no doubt made the complete union of the two parties easier. Mr. Spurgeon had insisted on the Union's making a declaration of faith as a test of fellowship that would have ruled out most or all of the General Baptist ministers and churches as well as many of those who belonged to the Particular body.

A large proportion of the English Baptists have come under the influence of modern liberal thought, and many churches nominally Baptist admit Pedobaptists not only to communion but also to church-membership without requiring them to submit to believers' baptism.

The Welsh and Scotch Baptist churches and a small party among English Baptists (with Manchester Baptist College as its theological seminary) are in doctrine and practice nearer to the American type. The present membership of the Baptist churches of Great Britain is about five hundred thousand. On the various foreign fields cultivated by the Baptists of Britain there are about thirty thousand converts.

2. *American Baptists.*

Our survey of American Baptist history to the beginning of the present century may well be made briefer than the British, inasmuch as the facts are more familiar to a large majority of readers. Reference has already been made (p. 288) to the founding of Rhode Island and the first American Baptist churches.

The first in America to advocate Baptist principles, so far as we are informed, was Roger Williams. Born about 1604, educated at Cambridge (B. A., 1627), he became an ardent Nonconformist and at great personal sacrifice emigrated to New England to escape the persecuting measures of Archbishop Laud. During his pastorate at Plymouth he spent much time among the Indians, mastering their language and seeking to promote their moral and spiritual welfare. As pastor of the Salem church (1634–1635) he became involved in local controversies and in controversies with the Massachusetts authorities. As advocating opinions dangerous to the common welfare he was banished in 1635. He made his way amid winter's hardships and perils to Narragansett Bay, where he

was joined by a number of Massachusetts sympathizers and founded a colony on the basis of soul-liberty, which with the co-operation of John Clarke and others was developed into Rhode Island.

By 1639 Williams had become convinced that infant baptism was unwarranted by Scripture and a perversion of a Christian ordinance, and with eleven others introduced believers' baptism, and formed at Providence the first American Baptist church. Coddington, who was in Rhode Island at the time, accused Williams as at one time insisting on immersion, and as Williams remained with the Baptists only a short time, it is natural to apply his remark to the time of the introduction of believers' baptism. This church, after Williams' withdrawal, continued for years in an exceedingly weak state. The General Baptist type of teaching, with insistence on the laying-on of hands as an ordinance of Christ, came to prevail by 1652, and the opponents of this view withdrew to form a new congregation.

The second American Baptist church was that formed at Newport, about 1641, under the leadership of John Clarke. Clarke arrived at Boston in November, 1637, when persecuting measures were being inaugurated against Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her followers on account of their Antinomian teachings. How far he sympathized with Mrs. Hutchinson's views at this time we have no means of knowing. But he cast in his lot with the persecuted party and led them in seeking a new home in unsettled territory. Through the kindly offices of Roger Williams they secured from the natives a title to Aquidneck Island. Here they founded a government in which the headship of Christ was recognized and which was purely democratic in form. This colony united with Williams' Providence colony in procuring a charter in which civil and religious liberty was fully provided for. Clarke deserves quite as much credit as Williams for this feature of Rhode Island polity, and his services in England on behalf of the colony were quite as distinguished. For some time Clarke, who was physician and theologian as well as statesman, ministered to the entire community in religious things. About 1641 or earlier Clarke and a number of his fellow-colonists became "professed Ana-

baptists," and began to hold their meetings apart. In what form and under what circumstances they introduced believers' baptism we are not informed; but about 1644 Mark Lukar, who was among the English Separatists who were immersed in 1641 (1642) became a member of the Newport church. If immersion was not practised from the beginning, it was no doubt introduced on Lukar's arrival. The Newport church was full of missionary zeal. Members of this body sought to form a Baptist church at Seekonk, Massachusetts, in 1649, but were thwarted by the authorities. In 1651 Clarke and two of his brethren suffered severe treatment at the hands of the Massachusetts authorities for conducting religious services at Lynn. Clarke narrates these sufferings and denounces Massachusetts intolerance in "Ill News from New England" (1652).

As already indicated, the Massachusetts government pursued a policy of extermination toward Baptists and no permanent organization of Baptist life was allowed until late in the century. Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College (1640–1655), was obliged, under circumstances of great hardship, to relinquish his position because of his persistence in opposing the baptism of infants. In 1663 John Myles, a Welsh Baptist pastor, emigrated to Massachusetts with his church, secured a grant of land near the Rhode Island frontier, and established a settlement and church, which they named Swansea. Here they enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom. The First Baptist Church of Boston was organized in 1665, and for years suffered grievously at the hands of the authorities. In 1682 a small band of Baptists, several of whom had been members of the Boston church, formed an organization at Kittery, Maine. Driven from Maine soon afterward they settled in South Carolina, and formed the Charleston church, about 1684. In the Quaker colonies, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Baptists appeared about 1682, and by 1707 at least six churches had been organized. They were largely Welsh, but included a considerable number from New England. The Philadelphia Association was formed in 1707, and became a chief means of extending and conserving Baptist influence. As late as 1729 there were in New Eng-

land only three Calvinistic Baptist churches, while there were two Sabbatarian and thirteen General Baptist churches. The latter had for some time held annual Associational meetings. The Charleston church had also come under Arminian influence and had been almost wrecked by internal strife. It is not probable that the entire Baptist membership in America much exceeded five hundred at the beginning of the Great Awakening (1733).

With few exceptions, the Baptists of 1740 were not aggressive or enterprising. They held aloof from the Great Awakening led by Edwards, Whitefield, the Tennents, etc., refusing in some cases to open their churches for evangelistic services. And yet no denomination profited more largely by the revival. The Philadelphia Association from 1750 onward exerted a stimulating and molding influence on the feeble Baptist churches in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and secured the organization of many new churches and the formation of Associations for the conservation and advancement of Baptist life.

The Baptist cause in New England had received a large increment of life and strength in connection with the Great Awakening about the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of the Baptist churches that had been previously organized opposed the movement and closed their doors even to such preachers as Whitefield and the Tennents; but many of the Congregationalists of the New Light type reached the conviction that the pure and spiritual church-membership for which they contended and for which they separated from the churches of the Standing Order could be secured only by the rejection of infant baptism and the baptism of believers into church-fellowship on a profession of saving faith. These Separate or New Light Baptists soon greatly outnumbered the Regulars and were able at last to secure recognition from these. The New Light Baptists proved far more aggressive than the Regulars in evangelism and in efforts to secure civil and religious equality. Under the leadership of Backus, Manning, Hezekiah Smith, and others, the Warren Association had been formed for co-operative work, Rhode Island College had been estab-

lished, and an uncompromising warfare against the established church had been inaugurated.

New England Baptists made far less progress during the revolutionary time (1774–1783) and during the rest of the century than did their brethren in the South. The chief cause of the difference in prosperity seems to have been as follows: In Virginia and throughout the South the Standing Order (Episcopalian) had grown exceedingly unpopular, owing to the corruption of its ministers and their lack of sympathy with the aspirations of the masses of the people for civil liberty. Baptists threw themselves heartily into the revolutionary cause and gained such popularity that they went forward by leaps and bounds and were able to secure a full recognition of their religious equality and the complete separation of Church and State. In New England, on the other hand, the Standing Order was less corrupt and constituted the bone and sinew of the patriotic cause. Baptists at the very outbreak of the Revolution were agitating for a redress of their grievances, and at a critical time, when the energies of the New England people were concentrated on the necessity of resisting what was regarded as British tyranny, Baptists persisted in thrusting their demands for religious equality on the attention of the authorities, and they even threatened to withhold their co-operation in revolutionary efforts and to appeal to the English government for the rights denied them by the colonial. New England Baptists were not lacking in patriotism after the Revolution had begun; but they had lost greatly in popularity and could not hope either to win the masses to their cause or to secure a speedy redress of their grievances. The nineteenth century had made considerable progress before religious equality was secured by the Baptists for themselves and others in Massachusetts and Connecticut. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were fewer Baptists in the New England States combined than in Virginia alone, while the number of Baptists in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware did not much exceed that of North Carolina.

While the Philadelphia Association was, throughout the early and middle portions of the eighteenth century, a great evangelizing body, exercising a powerful molding

influence on the Baptist life of the Southern and Middle States, and instrumental in the founding of Rhode Island College (Brown University), it had failed to utilize the religious forces of the Great Awakening and had gained no advantage from the patriotic quickening of the revolutionary time. Morgan Edwards, one of the influential members of the Association, earnestly opposed the Revolution, and it is probable that a large proportion of the Baptists of the Middle States fell short of the chivalric devotion to the revolutionary cause that redounded so largely to the advantage of their Southern brethren.

Baptist work was still in its infancy in the Northwest. The Miami Association in Ohio, with ten churches and two hundred and ninety-one members, and four other small churches in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, were all that the beginning of the century could show in what was to prove one of the most fruitful fields of Baptist enterprise.

In Virginia Separate Baptists led in the glorious struggle for civil and religious liberty (1775–1799) and secured the co-operation of the Regulars. The two parties united in 1785. The Virginia Baptists were largely instrumental in securing religious liberty for all, and at last in compassing the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church and the confiscation of its glebe lands, etc. To them also was due in part the ample provision for liberty of conscience in the United States Constitution. In New England Separate Baptists, like Backus, co-operated with Baptists of the Philadelphia type, like Manning, Smith, Davis, and Stillman, in an equally heroic but less successful struggle for absolute religious liberty and equality. The services of American Baptists in the cause of civil and religious liberty are acknowledged by scholars of other denominations.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Baptists of America numbered about one hundred thousand. They had only one educational institution of high grade, Rhode Island College (Brown University), which had been founded in 1763. They had many Associations, but no State Conventions, no missionary or publication societies, no Sunday-schools, no religious newspapers or magazines. They had participated largely in the great

revivals of the last years of the eighteenth century, and were to participate as fully in those of the early years of the nineteenth. A large proportion of the membership of the denomination was comparatively illiterate, as were most of its ministers. The number of liberally educated ministers in the denomination at that time was exceedingly small.

By 1812 American Baptists numbered about one hundred and seventy-two thousand nine hundred and seventy-two, of whom thirty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-two were in New England, twenty-six thousand one hundred and fifty-five in the Middle States, and the rest in the South. Most of the numerical increase had been secured through the labors of illiterate evangelists, and the Baptist population in the South and West, apart from a few churches in Virginia, the Charleston Association, some churches in the neighborhood of Savannah, and the Georgia Association, was strongly prejudiced against an educated ministry and against missionary work of any kind conducted by Boards and supported by contributions from the churches.

Since the beginning of the century Baptists in Boston and vicinity, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and a few other places, had taken a practical interest in the missionary work of Carey and his associates in India. The conversion to Baptist views of Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice, who had gone to India to open up a mission for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in 1812, thrust upon the denomination the obligation to enter upon organized, independent work in the foreign field. Local missionary societies were formed in many of the more intelligent communities, largely through the efforts of Rice, who had returned for the purpose of providing a basis of support for a Baptist mission, and in 1814 representatives of such societies met in Philadelphia and formed the Triennial Convention. This meeting brought together the leading Baptist ministers from all parts of the country. Within a few years there grew up in connection with this national organization for foreign missions, home mission, publication, and educational societies.

The more intelligent portions of the denomination were

greatly stimulated by the foreign mission movement. State Conventions were formed in nearly all the States (1821 onward) for the promotion of missionary and evangelical work. Denominational colleges and theological seminaries sprang up with wonderful rapidity. Baptist newspapers arose and multiplied. Sunday-school work was carried forward with vigor. The introduction of so many innovations alarmed the ignorant and unprogressive elements of the denomination, and a large proportion of the Baptists of the South and Southwest zealously antagonized the missionary movement, with all its accessories. Yet the party of progress triumphed.

The Regular Baptists of the United States, according to the latest statistical report, number four million fifty-five thousand eight hundred and six, and are divided into three great sections: the Northern, the Southern, and the Colored. These divisions affect only the home and foreign mission work of the denomination. The Southern Baptists organized separately in 1845, on account of the anti-slavery agitation. They have their missionary and Sunday-school organizations. The Northern Baptists unite in the work of the American Baptist Missionary Union and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The American Baptist Publication Society seeks to serve all parts of the denomination. The Baptist Young People's Union takes in North and South alike. So does the American Baptist Education Society. The denomination has six theological seminaries (Newton, Rochester, Hamilton, Crozer, Chicago, Louisville, and the Theological Department of Baylor University), colleges and universities too numerous to name, including Brown University, Columbian University, the University of Chicago, Vassar College, Colgate, Rochester, Colby, Wake Forest, Denison, Franklin, Richmond, Furman, Mercer, Howard, Georgetown, Kalamazoo, Bethel, Des Moines, Central, Southwestern, Shurtleff, Carson and Newman, Baylor, and William Jewell. It has periodicals multitudinous. It has a literature, religious and general, that in quantity and quality compares favorably with that of the other leading denominations.

The Baptists of the Dominion of Canada are more closely related in doctrine and practice to those of the

United States, than to those of Great Britain, though a large number of English Baptists have from time to time reinforced the Canadian churches. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only a few weak churches in the Maritime Provinces and in what are now Ontario and Quebec. At present there are in Canada about one hundred thousand Baptists, fully equipped with missionary societies, educational institutions, and religious publications. The Baptists of Ontario and Quebec possess a well-endowed university (McMaster University, Toronto) with a fully equipped theological department. The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces have in Acadia University one of the oldest and best of the educational institutions of that region.

(2) *Other Anti-Pedobaptist Parties.* Besides the Regular Baptists of America there are several denominations of Christians that have much in common with them. The most important of these are :

a. The Christians.[1] As a result of the great revival of the beginning of the nineteenth century several denominations were formed in different parts of the United States on the basis of eschewing all creeds and forms and making the Scriptures the only standard of faith and practice. In 1804 five Presbyterian ministers of Kentucky and Ohio, including Marshall, Stone, and McNemar, having been suspended from the ministry by the Presbyterian Synod for Arminian teaching, organized themselves into the Springfield Presbytery, and set forth in the "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery" their plans and purposes. Several of them and many of their followers soon reached the conviction that infant baptism was without scriptural authorization, and that apostolic baptism was immersion. Some years earlier (1792) James O'Kelley, a Methodist presiding elder in Virginia, had revolted from the authority of the bishop and had formed a "Christian" denomination, which attained to considerable proportions. In 1800 Abner Jones, a Baptist minister in Vermont, became greatly disturbed "in regard to sectarian names and human creeds," formed an independent "Christian" church and was soon joined

[1] "See Carroll, "The Religious Forces in the United States," p. 91 *seq.*, and Art. in Schaff-Herzog,

by a number of other Baptist and Free-will Baptist pastors and churches. These three bodies, independent in their origin, soon entered into fellowship with each other and formed a denomination known as "Christians," which has reached a membership of over a hundred thousand. They are Arminian in doctrine (some of them verging on Arian denial of the absolute deity of Christ), practise believers' baptism, but do not make immersion a term of church-membership, practise unrestricted communion, repudiate creeds and doctrinal tests of all kinds, and are content with the Bible as their sole guide in religion. Stone and many of his followers identified themselves with the similar and more radical movement led by Alexander Campbell.

b. The Disciples of Christ.[1] In 1807 Thomas Campbell, a Seceding Presbyterian minister from the north of Ireland, settled in Pennsylvania. By 1811 his young son Alexander, who had studied in the University of Glasgow and had come under the influence of Sandemanianism and that of the Haldanes, was ready to join with his father in a reformation on the basis of the repudiation of human creeds and practices in religion and adherence to the Bible as the sole guide. In 1811 they adopted believers' immersion as the only scriptural baptism, and from this time onward Alexander took charge of the movement. In 1813 their independent church united with the Redstone Baptist Association, and in 1823, owing to controversy that had arisen in the Redstone, with the Mahoning Association of Ohio.

The Baptists of western Pennsylvania, western Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, etc., were at this time hyper-Calvinistic in their teaching, laid great stress on the Philadelphia Confession as a standard of fellowship, and most of their ministers were illiterate and unedifying. In scholarship and impressiveness of address Alexander Campbell was greatly superior to most of the Baptist ministers of the region that came under his influence. A considerable number of the churches of the Baptist Associations with which he had labored accepted his views before 1827, and controversy arose

[1] See Tyler, "History of the Disciples of Christ," in "Am. Ch. Hist. Series," Vol. XII., with bibliography there given, and Art. in Schaff-Herzog.

that led to exclusion of the Campbells and their followers from the Baptist fellowship at this time. Having secured the co-operation of B. W. Stone they entered with more zeal than ever upon the propagation of their teaching. Their opposition to missionary societies and all kinds of human institutions in connection with religion proved highly attractive to multitudes of Baptists who were already in arms against the foreign mission enterprise, Sunday-schools, prayer meetings, etc., and the confident tone and (to them) wonderful learning of Alexander Campbell, combined with his strong personality and remarkable industry and zeal in bringing his influence to bear with tongue and pen, gave him great acceptance with the people. He laid much stress on the baptismal act as connected with the remission of sins, repudiated all formal statements of the doctrine of the Trinity, contenting himself with Scripture language, made of faith little more than intellectual belief in the divine sonship of a historical personage, put little emphasis on the emotional element in repentance and conversion, was strongly anti-Calvinistic in his anthropology and theology, and insisted that the Holy Spirit operates only through the word (meaning apparently the Scriptures rather than the divine Logos).

The Disciples now constitute a great denomination of about eight hundred thousand members, and are thoroughly equipped with educational institutions, missionary societies, publication societies, periodical press, etc. They have become considerably divided among themselves, many of them repudiating foreign missions, ministerial education, and human institutions in general, while the progressive majority have become more and more assimilated to other evangelical denominations in their methods of work and in their conceptions of Christianity. There is less difference to-day between the progressive Disciples and the Baptists than there was between Alexander Campbell and the Baptists of 1830.

c. The Free-will Baptists.[1] In 1779 Benjamin Randall, of New Hampshire, who had been converted through

[1] See Stewart, "Hist. of the Free-will Baptists," 1862; Carroll, "Religious Forces in the U. S.," p. 33 *seq.*; Newman, "A Hist. of the Bapt. Churches in the U. S.," p. 269 *seq.*; and Art. in Schaff-Herzog.

Whitefield's preaching (1770), but had from Wesleyan Methodism derived his Arminian views, was arraigned for heresy and disfellowshiped by a Baptist council. The charges brought against him were the preaching of unlimited atonement and of the freedom of the will. He immediately gained a considerable following, chiefly from the Regular Baptists of the New England States, and his views were widely disseminated in the Maritime Provinces of the Dominion of Canada. The Free-will churches held their first General Conference in 1827. Besides holding to Arminian views the Free-will Baptists practise open communion. Their present membership is about one hundred thousand.

d. Primitive Baptists. A large number of Baptist churches and Associations, chiefly in the South and Southwest, assumed a malignant attitude toward the foreign missionary cause, ministerial education, and all "human institutions," and have so continued to the present time. They are of several types, and are without any general organization. Their main reliance for the maintenance of their existence is in shutting out educational influences, and they exist to-day chiefly in the mountainous regions and in communities where educational facilities are meager. According to the census of 1890 there were considerably more than one hundred thousand Baptists of this type. They teach an extreme and harsh type of Calvinism, practise feet-washing, and are bitterly opposed to Sunday-schools, prayer meetings, Bible societies, temperance societies, and in fact to every sort of "human institution."

e. The Church of God.[1] This denomination was founded by John Winnebrenner, a German Reformed minister of Pennsylvania, in 1830. Like the Christians and Disciples they repudiate sectarian names and human creeds and insist upon the sufficiency of the Scriptures without note or comment for the guidance of believers. They practise the immersion of believers. They drew their members, presumably, chiefly from the German Reformed body. They have at present a membership of something over twenty thousand.

[1] Carroll, "Religious Forces," p. 102 *seq.*, and Encyclopædia Articles on Winnebrenner.

f. The Dunkards.[1] A party of German origin having much in common with Primitive Baptists, emigrated in considerable numbers to America 1719 onward. Like the Waldenses and Anabaptists they have a connexional organization and a three-fold ministry (bishops, ministers, and deacons), practise trine immersion, feet-washing, love-feasts, and the kiss of charity, and insist upon the greatest simplicity in dress. A large proportion of them are still resisting innovations in the direction of ministerial education, Sunday-schools, missions, and freedom in dress; but a progressive element is seeking to minimize the peculiarities of the denomination and to bring it into accord with modern ideas. It has a membership of about seventy thousand in the United States and Canada.

g. The Mennonites. These are emigrants from Germany, Russia, and the Netherlands, and have maintained the party divisions of their European brethren and have added some of their own. They agree with Baptists in rejecting infant baptism; but a large majority of them practise pouring as the act of baptism. They maintain their connexional organization, and their organization is presbyterial rather than congregational. In the United States and Canada they have a membership of about seventy-five thousand.

h. The Seventh-Day Baptists.[2] These originated in the seventeenth century, and have perpetuated themselves with considerable vigor, but without much increase in membership. They agree with Baptists respecting the ordinance of baptism, but they spend their strength in contending that the substitution of the Lord's Day for the Jewish Sabbath is a heathen perversion that involves a plain violation of a command of God meant to be of perpetual obligation. Their type of thought is distinctly Judaizing. They have at present a membership of about ten thousand.

III. THE METHODISTS AND RELATED PARTIES.

LITERATURE: Stevens, "Hist. of Methodism," 1858, "Hist. of the M. E. Church," 1864, and "The Centenary of Am. Methodism," 1866; Taylor, "Wesley and Methodism," 1860; McTyeire,

[1] Carroll, "Religious Forces," p. 129 *seq.*, and Encyclopædia Articles.
[2] Carroll, "Religious Forces," p. 31 *seq.*; Newman, "Bapt. Ch. in the U. S.," pp. 110 *seq.*, 204, and 485 *seq.*

"A Hist. of Methodism," 1884; Atkinson, "Centennial Hist. of Am. Methodism," 1884; Buckley, "A Hist. of the Methodists in the United States," 1896 (contains fine bibliography); a history of Methodism, by Bishop Hurst, to be completed in six volumes, is in course of publication and should be the standard work on the subject.

Sufficient notice has already been taken of the founder of Methodism and his chief coadjutors, of the type of life, doctrine, and Christian activity represented by the movement, and of the influence of the revival led by Wesley and Whitefield on other bodies of Christians and on modern Christianity in general. It has been observed that Wesley was strongly averse to separation from the Church of England and until late in life, though he did much that tended toward and logically involved separation, he refused to admit that separation was inevitable. The following summary of the history of the movement by Bishop Hurst[1] will give an idea of the evolution of Methodism:

1738, John Wesley's conversion; 1739, the first class meeting, or the origin of the Methodists as a special body, and the beginning of open-air preaching and of lay preaching; 1740, Methodism becomes differentiated from Calvinism and Moravianism; 1744, the first Conference (six clergymen and five lay preachers), which fixes doctrine and polity on substantially the same basis as at present; 1747, a tract society formed; 1748, the first academy opened; 1763, a fund for superannuated ministers established; 1778, the "Arminian Magazine" started . . ; 1784, all hope of amalgamation with the Church of England or any other denomination set at rest by Wesley entering in the Court of Chancery a deed for the permanent constitution of the Conference; 1784, Wesley ordains Coke superintendent and Whatcoat and Vasey elders—the climax to a long series of acts inconsistent with his identity with the Church of England; 1785, Wesley ordains Pawson, Hanby, and Taylor as presbyters to officiate in Scotland; 1786, ordains Keighley and Atmore for England and Warrener and Hammett for missions abroad, and consents to holding services in church hours; 1787–1789, ordains several presbyters and Mason as superintendent; 1788, death of Charles Wesley . . ; 1790, further plans for the consolidation of Methodism—Wesley still presiding in the Conference session; 1791, death of John Wesley.

In 1790 there were about one hundred and twenty thousand members in the Wesleyan societies or churches, of whom more than a third were in the United States.

[1] "Hist. of the Christian Church," Vol. II., p. 828.

1. *British Methodists since 1791.*

For many years dissension interfered somewhat seriously with the progress of Methodism in England. A considerable party insisted on adhering to Wesley's original plan of continuing in union with the Church of England. Others were urgent for complete separation. The unionist party triumphed for the time. Some, in opposition to Wesley's position, insisted upon lay representation in the Conference, others opposed. In 1795 a "Plan of Pacification" adopted by the Conference conceded a measure of lay representation and advanced somewhat in the direction of separation. The party of separation were still dissatisfied and seceded from the Conference in 1797 with about five thousand members (The Methodist New Connection). The Primitive Methodist Connection grew out of the refusal of the Conference to approve of camp-meetings, an American institution (1810). They gained a large following and have at present a membership of about two hundred thousand. The Bible Christians separated from the Wesleyan Methodists in 1815 from dissatisfaction with the remuneration of the itinerant preachers and opposition to the use of the term "Reverend" as a ministerial title. They also went further than the Wesleyan Conference in the matter of encouraging female preaching and lay representation. In 1816 a more important schism occurred in Ireland, where nine thousand withdrew because of the use of church hours for Methodist services (Primitive Wesleyan Methodists). They were reunited with the main body in 1877. In 1834 the Wesleyan Methodist Association was formed of twenty thousand seceders, who withdrew, under the leadership of Samuel Warren, as a protest against the establishment of a theological seminary by the Conference. About the middle of the nineteenth century widespread dissatisfaction with the centralization of power in the Conference and the refusal of the body to make any concessions in response to repeated and numerously signed petitions led to the withdrawal of about a hundred thousand members of the three hundred and fifty-eight thousand which the denomination then contained (1850 onward). Some of these united with the Protes-

tant Methodists, who had gone out in 1825, and the Wesleyan Methodist Association, to form the United Methodist Free Churches (1857), a body that has attained to considerable numerical strength. Others formed the Wesleyan Reform Union, which did not greatly prosper. The Wesleyan Methodist body soon more than regained its former strength, having increased its membership from two hundred and sixty thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight in 1855, to five hundred and nine thousand three hundred and sixty-seven in 1881. It constitutes to-day one of the largest and most influential bodies of dissenters in Great Britain. An indication of the strength and enthusiasm of the Wesleyans is the recent successful effort to raise a million guineas, as a twentieth century fund for education, missions, church building, etc.

2. *American Methodists.*

Methodism invaded America in a feeble way in 1766 and met with so much opposition that it made little headway before the Revolution. The first American Conference was held in 1773, when the aggregate membership reported was one thousand one hundred and sixty. By 1775 the membership had increased to three thousand one hundred and forty-eight, and by 1777 to six thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight. There was considerable decline during the next year; yet in 1783 about fourteen thousand members and between seventy and eighty itinerants were reported. The fact that many of the Methodists were loyal to Britain was in part responsible for the comparatively slow growth of the denomination during this period. When the independence of the United States had been acknowledged, Wesley saw the necessity of giving autonomy to American Methodism, and ordained several elders for the American work and placed over them as superintendent (Wesley was strongly averse to the use of the term "bishop") Thomas Coke, a well-educated Englishman of high character and strong personality (1784). Francis Asbury, who had labored successfully as an itinerant during the Revolutionary time, was in the same year and by appointment of the Conference associated with Coke in

the superintendency, and ordained by him to this office. Asbury became the apostle of American Methodism. The organization of what is now known as the Methodist Episcopal Church occurred at the same time and place (Baltimore, 1784). The growth of this body has been remarkable. Several divisions of minor importance occurred chiefly on questions of polity during the earlier years of its history.

In 1844–1845 controversy on the slavery question and the unwillingness of the Northern Methodists to tolerate slaveholding in bishops or elders led to a withdrawal of the Southern churches to form the Methodist Episcopal Church South. This division does not, in the writer's opinion, any more than that of the Baptists, constitute the two sections different denominations. Both the Northern and Southern branches of the denomination have greatly prospered in the way of numerical growth, in institutions of learning, in home and foreign missionary work, in book concerns, etc. The total membership of the various Methodist bodies in the United States is at present more than five millions, of whom about three millions and a half are in the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Of the remainder, about a million and a quarter belong to various colored bodies, and the rest to the minor parties.

In the dominion of Canada Methodists are among the strongest and best-equipped of the denominations. They early gained a foothold, a considerable number of the United Empire Loyalists being of that persuasion. The various English Wesleyan bodies were until 1885 represented by church organizations. At that time all came together to form one great body. It sustains friendly relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, but it follows English Wesleyans in adopting a general superintendency rather than episcopacy.

3. *Some Related Bodies.*

(1) *The United Brethren in Christ.*[1] This body resulted from the evangelistic efforts of Otterbein, a well-educated and highly gifted German Reformed minister who was sent as a missionary to America in 1752, and Henry

[1] See Berger, "Hist. of U. B. in Christ," 1894.

Boehm, a Mennonite minister. These leaders came under the influence of the Methodist evangelism and labored for some time in the hope of bringing their own denomination into accord with the principles of the new evangelism. For a time they were in close relations with the Methodist body and would no doubt have permanently identified themselves with that body but for the refusal of the Methodist leaders to allow them a larger freedom in work than the Methodist discipline provided for. Their organization is practically identical with that of the Methodist Episcopal body. They drew their membership chiefly from German Reformed and Mennonites and in the earlier years the German language was for the most part used in their work. In consideration of the antipedobaptist sentiments of the Mennonite members infant baptism was made optional and has so remained, as was also the mode of baptism. The denomination is well equipped with educational institutions, a publishing house, missionary societies, etc. There has been considerable controversy between the progressive and the non-progressive elements. The first Conference of the body was constituted in 1789. The organization was completed and the name it now bears adopted in 1800. The present membership of the denomination is about two hundred and fifty thousand.

(2) *The Evangelical Association.*[1] This denomination was founded by Jacob Albright, a Pennsylvania German Lutheran, who was converted in connection with the Methodist evangelism (1790), and soon afterward (1793) began to preach among the neglected Germans of his State with remarkable zeal and success. His converts came, it may be presumed, chiefly from the Lutheran ranks, as those of Otterbein and Boehm came chiefly from the Reformed and Mennonite bodies. The Methodists cared little at that time for the control of work among German-speaking people, and made no adequate effort to bring Albright and his work into the Methodist Episcopal system. An organization was effected almost identical with the Methodist Episcopal in 1807, and Albright was elected bishop. He died the next year. Some years later the body, which had come to be known as

[1] See Spreng, "Hist. of the Evan. Ass.," 1894.

'Albright People," adopted the above name. They have carried on their work with considerable vigor, and by 1891 had become a well-equipped body with a membership of a hundred and fifty thousand. Controversy had by this time arisen which led to schism and litigation.

(3) *The Salvation Army.*[1] In 1861 William Booth withdrew from the Methodist ministry to engage in independent work. As a result of his efforts for the evangelization of the depressed classes in East London he reached the conviction that coarse and sensational methods should be used for attracting and holding the ignorant and depraved masses, and that a military organization could be used to advantage in organizing the results of evangelization and in directing a world-wide mission to the "submerged tenth." There is something in common between the Salvation Army evangelism and that of the early Methodists, and there is much in their doctrines and discipline that shows indebtedness to Methodism ; but, it scarcely need be said, the Methodists are in no way responsible for any extravagances of the army. The movement has reached vast proportions, and its evangelistic and rescue work is controlled with almost despotic authority by General Booth and his hierarchy of military officials. That much good is being accomplished in the way of direct help to the neglected classes and of stimulus given to other denominations to engage in efforts for the spiritual and temporal well-being of these classes does not admit of doubt; that the good accomplished is counterbalanced by the irreverence practised and promoted seems almost equally certain.

IV. SOME OTHER DENOMINATIONS.

1. *The Society of Friends.*

LITERATURE: Thomas, "The Society of Friends," in "Am. Ch. Hist. Series," Vol. XII., and extensive bibliography there given.

In 1647 George Fox, a young man of twenty-three, having had a deep spiritual experience and having come under the influence of Continental mysticism, began to

[1] G. Railton, "Heathen England," 1885, and "Twenty-one Years of the S. A.," 1886; Kolde, "*Die Heilsarmee,*" 1899; and Hauck-Herzog, Art., "*Heilsarmee,*" by Kolde.

preach his doctrine of the inner light and of the necessity of direct communion with God, and to disparage external ordinances as tending only to formalism and hypocrisy, and as worse than useless. While he did not reject the Scriptures, but treated them with reverence, he laid so much stress on the direct impartation of truth to the believer as greatly to lessen their importance. With the zeal and assurance of a prophet he denounced the divine wrath upon all forms of immorality and all sorts of ecclesiastical abuses. He soon had a host of enthusiastic followers who, by reason of their violent denunciations of ministers and other Christians of various types and of all things regarded as contrary to the divine will, incurred much persecution in Great Britain and America. Multitudes heard Fox's preaching, and many were deeply impressed. Within a few years zealous preachers of his doctrines, men and women, were preaching throughout Europe, in Africa, Asia, and America. Among his most distinguished converts was William Penn, who, with some associates of the same faith, acquired the proprietorship of Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and Delaware, and secured in the new world free course for their own teachings and furnished an asylum for the persecuted of different lands and creeds. Like the mediæval evangelicals and the Anabaptists of the sixteenth and following centuries, the Friends have repudiated oaths, magistracy, warfare, and capital punishment as contrary to the spirit of the gospel of Christ, and they have been foremost in philanthropy and in all kinds of moral and social reform. After the enthusiasm of the first few decades had subsided their numbers, which had reached many thousands in Europe and America, declined. But by reason of their wealth and their deep interest in philanthropic movements their influence has been out of proportion to their numbers. Their doctrines, like those of the mediæval evangelicals and the Anabaptists, were from the beginning strongly anti-Augustinian. A schism occurred among the American Friends in 1826–1827 through the defection of Elias Hicks to anti-trinitarianism. The Orthodox Friends in the United States now number about eighty thousand, and the Hicksite Friends about twenty thousand.

2. *The Plymouth Brethren.*

LITERATURE: Neatby, "A History of the Plymouth Brethren," 1901. The Bibliographical Appendix, pp. 341-348, gives a critical survey of the literature of the subject.

In the so-called Plymouth Brethren we have a reproduction of some features of mediæval and sixteenth century dissenting bodies and other features that seem peculiar. About 1827 Edward Cronin, an ex-Romanist, began to hold meetings at his house in Dublin every Lord's Day morning for "the breaking of bread." Shortly afterward another assembly was formed in Dublin led by J. N. Darby, a Church of England minister, which Cronin joined. In 1828 Darby published a pamphlet, which attracted much attention, on "The Nature and Unity of the Church of Christ." This brought many to his support, and other assemblies in various places were formed. In 1830 Darby visited Paris, Cambridge, and Oxford for the promulgation of his views. At Oxford he won B. W. Newton, who requested him to visit Plymouth. Here Captain Hall, a disciple of Darby's, was already preaching, and an assembly ("Providence Chapel") was formed. Plymouth became a chief center of the movement, and gave its name to the Brethren. Darby maintained that just as the old economy had fallen by the unfaithfulness of the covenant people and as a whole had apostatized, so Christians wholly apostatized in the apostolic age. The whole Christian system depended upon continuance in God's goodness. Failure in this involved "the ruin of the church." He regarded the apostasy of the church as "fatal and without remedy." To rehabilitate the church a new apostolate would be necessary. All so-called churches, Roman Catholic, Anglican, and dissenting, are alike unauthorized and repose upon an unchristian sentiment. The church, in view of the hopeless apostasy, is a heavenly and not an earthly institution. All that is left for true believers is to gather themselves in assemblies in accordance with Christ's promise: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. 18 : 20). With the apostasy of the church ecclesiastical offices went to the ground

and believers worshiping in assemblies are on a perfect equality. Every believer besides possessing the general gifts of the Spirit possesses a special gift (charism) which he is bound to exercise for the good of the assembly. He maintained that those gifted for such work should evangelize, because Christ has entrusted to man the word of reconciliation.

In opposition to the rationalism of the age the Brethren have maintained most earnestly the absoluteness of Scripture authority, and have greatly promoted the careful and comparative study of the inspired records, and especially of the prophetical and apocalyptic books ; but their services in this direction have been greatly impaired by the arbitrariness of their exegesis. Taking the most pessimistic view of the present age, and utterly distrusting means at present available for the betterment of the world, they have from the beginning laid the utmost stress upon the pre-millennial advent of the Lord as the present and only hope of the church, and have been at great pains to give a chiliastic interpretation to the prophetic Scriptures.

Supposing that each body of believers assembled in Christ's name possessed the unity of the Spirit, and that all like assemblies were alike actuated and guided by the Spirit in the interpretation of Scripture, Darby and his associates adopted the policy of keeping their "testimony consistent" by rigorously excluding from communion dissenting minorities. Thus, if in a given assembly discordant testimony be given by way of the interpretation of a passage of Scripture or a dogmatic statement, and a majority should condemn the teaching, the speaker with all his supporters must withdraw. It is open to them to appeal to all other assemblies in fellowship with their own and to compel them to consider the question involved, and if unanimity cannot be reached, to excommunicate the minority. As issues are often raised on what to others would seem exceedingly delicate shades of teaching, the divisiveness of the system can be easily understood.

Holding, as did Darby and his followers, that existing church organizations are evil and only evil, it was natural that they should devote their energies very largely to

winning earnest Christians from membership and support of these apostate organizations to membership in their own assemblies. The only possibility of securing a continuously consistent testimony lay in the acceptance by all of Darby's own scriptural interpretation and dogmatizing.

In 1845 Newton revolted from Darby's leadership and authority. It was a source of profound grief to Darby that Newton should have views of prophecy and church order different from his own, should claim for his teachings the appellation "the truth," and that he should be willing to lead others into what he considered a truer form of teaching. These two parties, who came to be known as "Exclusive" and "Newtonian" Brethren, were soon supplemented by a "Neutral" party, led by George Müller, that refused to go the length of excommunicating all who were in fellowship with Newton, and came to be known as "Open" Brethren. The Exclusive Brethren afterward underwent further schism, and three parties since 1881, known as Darbyites, Kelleyites, and Cluffites, are distinguishable.

The Brethren have laid much stress on vicarious atonement and upon the blood of Christ, and have taught a modified Calvinism, eliminating reprobation and proclaiming an unlimited gospel. Darby was a Pedobaptist; but a large proportion of the brethren have rejected infant baptism and practised the immersion of believers.

The Brethren soon had their assemblies throughout the civilized world; but they have never attained to great numerical strength. They have exerted an influence, however, quite out of proportion to their numbers. Their chiliastic views have gained acceptance among English Low Churchmen and in nearly all of the evangelical denominations. The large class of evangelists, of whom Dwight L. Moody was the most eminent, have drawn their inspiration and their Scripture interpretation largely from the writings and the personal influence of the Brethren. Young Men's Christian Association work has come largely under the influence of this type of teaching.

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